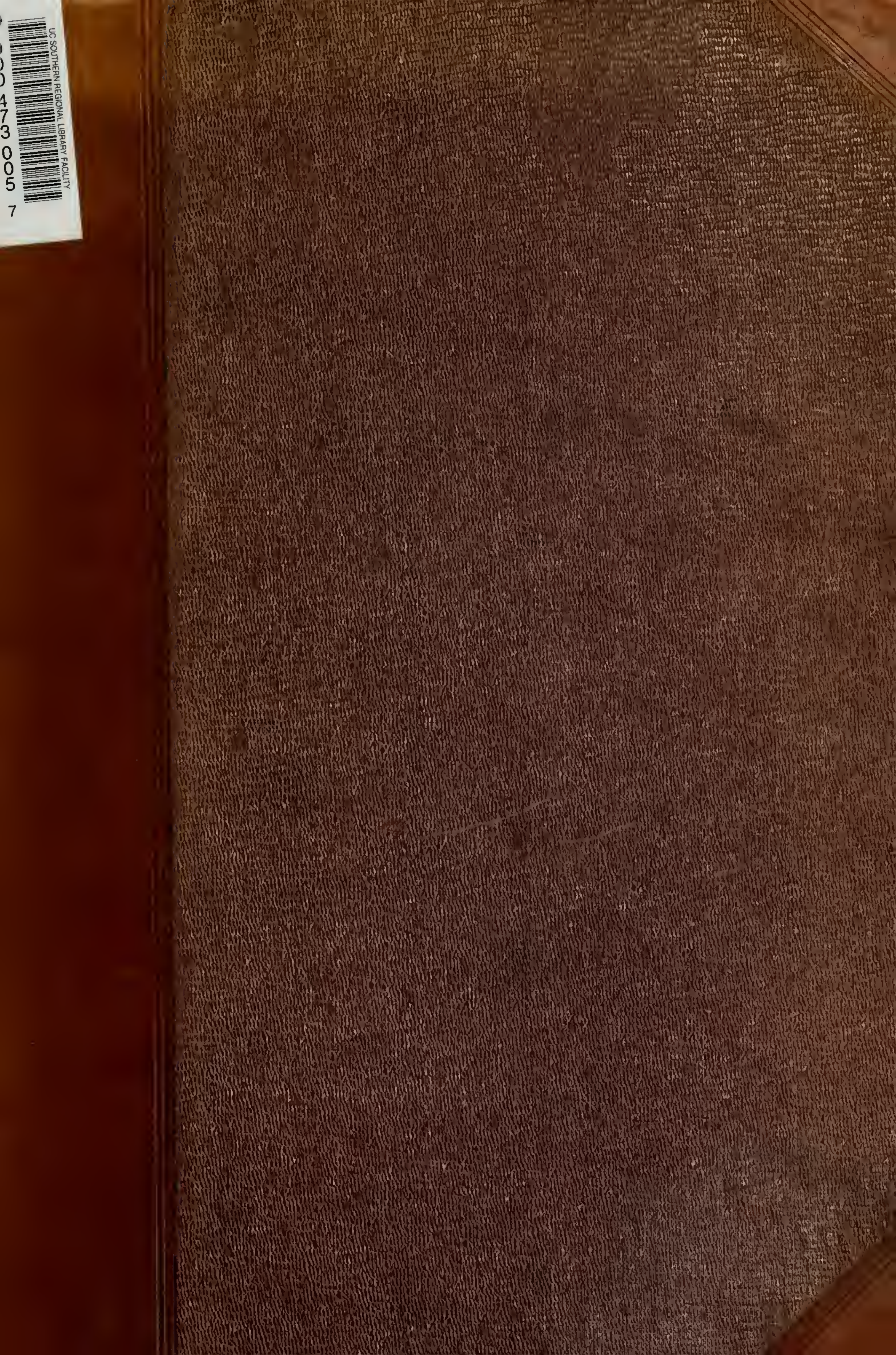
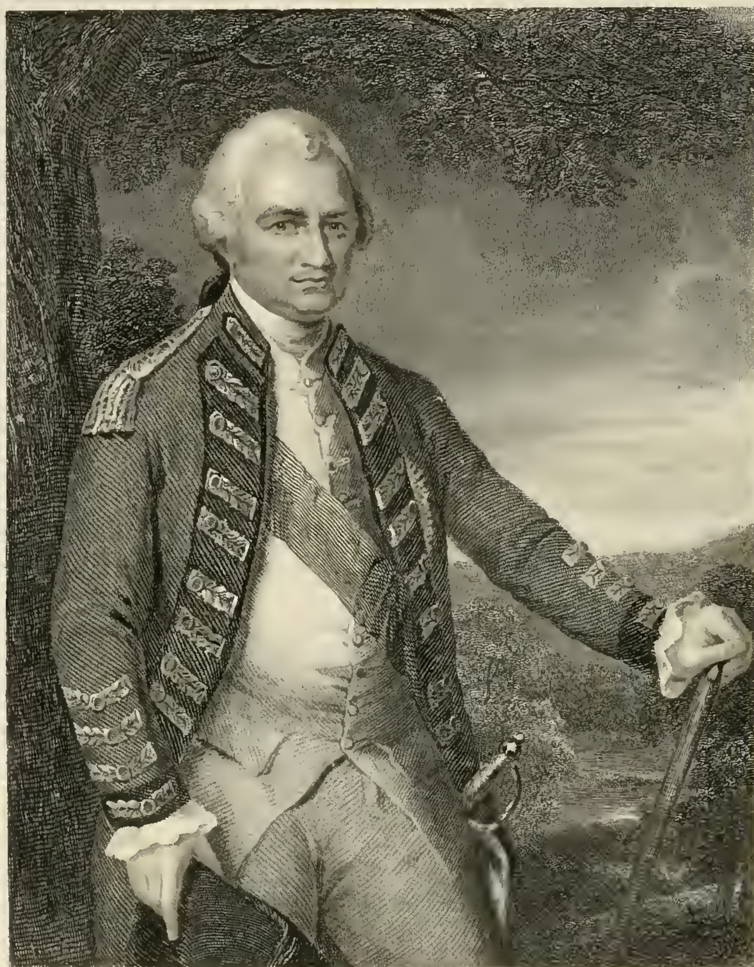

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY





ROBERT, FIRST LORD CLIVE.

OB 1774

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN

THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA

DEDICATED BY SPECIAL AUTHORITY

TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

# THE BRITISH COLONIES;

THEIR

## History, Extent, Condition, and Resources:

BY R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN, ESQ.,

LATE TREASURER TO THE QUEEN AT HONG-KONG; AND MEMBER OF HER MAJESTY'S LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL IN CHINA.

VOL. V.

## BRITISH INDIA.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY,

LONDON AND NEW YORK.

# TABULAR INDEX TO VOL. V.—BRITISH INDIA.

[CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO DIVISIONS OF THE WORK.]

| Heads. | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. | N. W. Province, or Western India. | Eastern India | Punjab. | Scinde. | India generally. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pages | Pages | Pages | Pages | Pages | Pages | Pages | Pages |
| Area and Boundaries | 3; 500 | 4; 500 | 4; 500-'1 | 4; 500 | 3; 501 | 3; 501 | 4; 501 | 2; 464-'5 |
| Acquisition | 224 | 213 | 216 | 399 | 425 | 456 | 452 | 213—458 |
| History | 199 | 253 | 219 | 249; 386 | 423 | 453 | 449 | 13—463 |
| Topography | vi.; vii. *a.* | vi.; vii., *a.* | vi.; vii., *a.* | vi; vii., *a.* | vi.; vii., *a.* | vi, *a.* | vii., *a.* | 464-'5 |
| Mountains | 466—470 | 469 | 468 | 468-'9 | 469-'70 | — | 467 | 466—471 |
| Rivers | 472—477 | 472—474 | 473 | 472-'3 | 472 | 472 | 472 | 472—480 |
| Cities and Towns | 481 | 481—485 | 481 | 484 | 483 | 484 | 483 | 481—485 |
| Climate and Diseases | 487-'8 | 488 | 487-'8 | 489 | 489 | 489 | — | 486—491 |
| Geology and Soil | 492 | 494-'5 | 494 | 493-'4 | 492 | 494 | 493 | 492—494 |
| Mineralogy | 496 | 497 | 496 | 496 | 496 | 497 | — | 496-'7 |
| Population | 3; ii., *a.* | 4; i., *a.* | 4 | i., *a.* | 3 | 3; 499 | — | 498—506 |
| Military Defence | 5; 536; xii., *a.* | 538 | 538 | 5; 538 | — | — | — | 5—11; 536—539; xii., *a.* |
| Government | 528 | 532 | 532 | — | — | — | — | 528—534 |
| Revenue | 540; v., *a.* | 540; v., *a.* | 540; v., *a.* | — | — | v., *a.* | — | 539 |
| Banks and Monies | xii., *a.* | — | — | — | — | — | — | 542; xii., *a.* |
| Commerce | iii., *a.* | iii, *a.* | iii., *a.* | — | — | — | — | 543 |
| Shipping | iv., *a.* | iv., *a.* | iv., *a.* | — | — | — | — | — |
| Tariffs | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | xii., *a.* |
| Products | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 544 |
| Public Works | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Religion | 510—517 | 516 | 515 | 515 | — | — | — | 510—518 |
| Education | 520 | 521 | 521 | 521 | 521 | — | — | 519—521 |
| Crime | 524 | 524 | 525 | 526 | 526 | 527 | — | 524—527 |
| Newspaper Press | 522 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 522 |
| Languages | 523 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 523 |
| Native States (under) | 5—8; 539 | 9 | 9—10 | 5 | 8 | 6 | — | — |

# INDEX.

# ILLUSTRATIONS.


OVERLAND ROUTE TO INDIA
NORTH SEA
SWEDEN
DENMARK
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
HANOVER
PRUSSIA
GERMANY
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
BAY OF BISCAY
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
TURKEY
BLACK SEA
ASIA MINOR
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
Gulf of Sidra
Sicily
Sardinia
Archipelago
Cyprus
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
Arabia Petræa
Persian Gulf
PERSIA
CABOOL
Afghanistan
BELOOCHISTAN
ARABIA
Syrian Desert
Mecca
ARABIAN SEA
HINDOOSTAN
Delhi
Lahore
Bombay
Madras
Mysore
Ceylon
CALCUTTA
BAY OF BENGAL
Aden
Str. of Bab el Mandeb
Socotra



TIBET MONGOLIA, MANDCHOURIA.
12
MONGOLIA
MANDCHOURIA
CHINESE
EMPIRE
CHINA
TARTARY
NEPAUL
BHOTAN
PUNJAB
SEA OF JAPAN
YELLOW
SEA
EASTERN SEA
SEA OF OKHOTSK
SAGHALIEN
KOREA
NIPHON
FORMOSA
Formosa Str
DESERT OF GOBI OR SHAMO
Great Sandy Desert
Krasnoyarsk
Irkoutsk
L. Baikal
Nertchinsk
Yarkand
Kashgar
Khotan
L. Lob
Lassa
Peking
Nanking
Canton
Gof Petchele
Longitude East from Greenwich

# INDEPENDENT TARTARY





Verkho Ouralsk
Orenburg
Ouralsk
ASTRAKHAN
Mouths of the Volga
KIRGHIZ
Akasakal or Ak en kal
MIDDLE HORDE
DESERT OF KARA-KOUM
Kangour Desert
Kizil Koum Desert
LAKE BALKASH OR TENGHIZ
GREAT HORDE
ARAL SEA
KARA KALPAKS
DESERT OF KIZIL KOUM
Boukhan Hills
Batkak Koum Desert
KHIVA OR KHARESM
KHIVA
DESERT OF KHIVA OR KHARESM
USBEKS
KOKAND
BOKHARA
Samarkand
Kara Bughaz Gulf
C. Apsheron
Cumberland
Balkan
Astrabad
Mushed
Balkh
KAFFIRSTAN
CABOOL

Longitude East from Greenwich



Engraved by W. T. Fry

GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

OB. 1605.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE

BODLEIAN GALLERY, OXFORD.

# BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN ASIA.

## INDIA OR HINDOOSTAN.

### CHAPTER I.

POSITION, AREA, AND POPULATION OF THE TERRITORIES OF THE CROWN—TABULAR VIEW OF THE PROTECTED, TRIBUTARY, AND SUBSIDIARY STATES—EARLY HISTORY, MYTHOLOGICAL AND TRADITIONAL—PERSIAN AND OTHER INVASIONS—GREEK EXPEDITION AND CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER—PLUNDERING INCURSIONS OF MAHMOOD, THE GHAZNIVEDE—MOHAMMEDAN CONQUESTS, DOMINION, AND DOWNFALL—RISE AND PROGRESS OF BRITISH POWER AND SUPREMACY.

The British Possessions in India cannot, in the ordinary sense of the word, be termed colonies; they have been acquired by purchase, cession, or conquest, at various periods, within the last hundred years, as will be shown in subsequent pages. Up to the year 1784, their affairs were administered by a joint-stock trading body, termed the East India Company, which was originally incorporated in 1601, and endowed with exclusive trading privileges in relation to India and China. Since 1784, the political functions of the Company have been controlled by the direct authority of the Crown, acting through a ministerial board of commissioners for the affairs of India; by this "double government" the governor-general, the subordinate governors, the commanders-in-chief of the army and other functionaries have been appointed, in the name of the sovereign. In 1813, the mercantile monopoly possessed by the Company in the continental portion of the East Indies was abrogated by parliamentary enactment,* and the commerce thrown open to all British subjects; but the exclusive trade with China was still left in the hands of the association, and individuals not engaged in the service of the Crown or of the Company were obliged to obtain from the latter a licence or permission to reside in India.

In 1833–4, the above-mentioned enactment expired, and, by the subsequent act† no peculiar privileges were conferred with regard to China. By the arrangement entered into with the corporation respecting their Indian possessions, "all their rights and interests to or in the said territories, and all territorial and commercial, real and personal assets and property whatsoever, subject to the debts and liabilities affecting the same," were placed at the disposal of Parliament, which declared the dividends of the proprietors, at the rate of £10 10*s.* per cent. per annum on £6,000,000 stock, a charge on the revenues of India. Two million sterling of the commercial assets of the Company were invested in the national debt as a security fund, at compound interest, at the rate of £3 10*s.* per annum, to provide a sum of twelve million sterling for the redemption of the capital stock in the year 1874, at the rate of £200 for every £100 stock. Subject to these and other minor provisions, the Company, through their executive representatives, the Court of Directors, were vested—in conjunction with, but generally subordinate to, the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India—with the administration of the home and foreign government and with the patronage of appointing all writers or civilians, cadets or military and marine officers, assistant-surgeons, chaplains, judicial and other functionaries, until the 30th of April, 1854.‡ An unrestricted right of residence in any part of India was granted to every British subject, and all disqualifications of natives in reference to colour, caste, or creed, were abolished. The British dominions in Hindoostan con-

* Act 53 Geo. iii. c. 155.

† Entitled "an act for effecting an arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better government of His Majesty's Indian Territories, till 30th day of April, 1854." Will. IV., act iii. and iv., c. 85.

‡ The measure adopted by Parliament in the session of 1853, for the future home and foreign administration of India, will be described in the chapter on government. It is now under discussion by the imperial legislature.

sequently appertain, not to the East India Company, but to the Crown; their description is therefore appended to this History of the Colonies, they being likewise unrepresented in the parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. These territories are so widely interspersed among native states, that it would be tedious and difficult to define the exact boundaries of the districts comprised under each presidency. The entire region over which British sway is exercised stretches from that portion of the Himalaya termed the Indian Caucasus, in 35°, to Cape Comorin, the southern extremity of the peninsula, in 8° N. lat., a distance of about 1,900 miles; and from the mouths of the river Indus, in about 68°, to 97° E. long., showing an extreme breadth of 1,800 miles. The whole area is vaguely estimated at 1,385,669 square miles, of which 668,543 are under our immediate government, and 717,126 square miles under indirect control and supervision. With the exception of small tracts belonging to France, Portugal, and Holland respectively, which will hereafter be noticed, England commands the sealine from Kurachee, in 25° N. lat., near the river Indus, to the Ganges and Brahmapootra on the north-east side of the Bay of Bengal, and thence in a southerly direction towards the Straits of Malacca, (excepting Rangoon and the mouths of the Irrawaddy,) a maritime frontier of 4,500 miles; the total boundary (by sea and land) being 11,260 miles in length. In 1757 our acquisitions commenced in Bengal, and they have since been almost yearly extended, until the late wars in the north-west of India, when 169,827 square miles were annexed by conquest; viz., Sinde, 60,240; the Punjaub, 78,000; Jalander, Doab, and Kohistan, 16,400; and the Sikh and Hill States, 15,187. The area of many of the British provinces is accurately stated, as a complete trigonometrical survey has been in operation since the commencement of the present century, and at a cost of £312,389 stg.; 477,044 square miles have been triangulated; the area of unsurveyed British districts, and of the native states (excepting about 200,000 sq. miles of territory) is only approximative.

The population of a considerable portion of the British territories is merely an estimate; the total number is officially stated at 105,372,173 (including Malacca, Penang, Wellesley Province, and Sincapore; extent 1,575 square miles; population, 202,540), which, on an area of 668,543 square miles, gives about 157 mouths to each square mile. The population of the protected and tributary native states is estimated at 53,401,892, which, on an area of 717,126 square miles, gives only 74 mouths to each square mile, or not one-half the density that is stated to exist in the British territories.† This subject will, however, be more fully discussed in the population section.

The following tables show the area and other particulars respecting the territories above referred to; they are given in this place, for the convenience of the reader, when perplexed by details of their history, acquisition, or past and present condition :—

*Note*—The paramount authority of Great Britain has been established over all the native states of India (delineated in the maps given with this volume), excepting the large territory of Nepaul, the petty rajahship of Dholpore, and a wild, jungly tract, called Tipperah, contiguous to one of the same name in Bengal. The means adopted for the accomplishment of this object are known under the designation of subsidiary and protective treaties :—" Under the subsidiary system the British government provides a regular military force (special or otherwise) for the protection of the native state, and the native government defrays the cost. With the states not included within that system, the engagements involve the obligation of protection on the part of the paramount power—allegiance on that of the subordinate. In some instances the dependent state is subject to the payment of tribute; in others it is exempt from any pecuniary claim. Under both subsidiary and protective treaties, native governments relinquish the right of self-defence as well as that of maintaining diplomatic relations with other states; and the British government, which guarantees external security and internal tranquillity, is constituted the arbiter of disputes arising between native princes. In one half of the subsidiary treaties, however, and in the large majority of the protective treaties, the British government engages to refrain from interference in the internal administration of the native state. The stipulations in other respects vary in the several treaties and engagements; but a prohibition of the employment of Europeans or Americans is a common article, and one binding the native chief to act in 'subordinate co-operation' with the paramount power, is almost universally introduced into the engagements concluded with protected states. But though debarred from the exercise of military power in respect to external aggression, the native governments are not prohibited from maintaining a separate military force; in some cases they are required to maintain such a force, and which, in the event of war, is to be available to the British government against the common enemy. In some instances, the number of troops to be maintained is restricted. A subsidiary force is composed of the regular troops of the British government; a contingent is a force raised and maintained by the native state, though it may be commanded by British officers." — (*Official Report of the East India Company*, by E. Thornton.)

† From latest returns at India House, Aug. 1853.



BRITISH INDIA
Himalaya Mounts
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Beloochistan
Great Sandy Desert
Punjab
Ajmeer
Delhi
Oude
Malwa
Berar
Deccan
Aurungabad
Hyderabad
Mysore
Circars
Travancore
Bombay
Calcutta
Madras
Lucknow
Moultan
Jesulmer
Ameer
Gulf of Cutch
Gulf of Cambay
Runn of Cutch
Mouths of the Ganges
Mouths of the Indus
Western Ghauts
Ceylon
Candy
Adams Pk
Gulf of Manaar
Palk Str.
Laccadive Is
Maldive Is
9 Degree Chanl
8 Degree Chl
C. Comorin
Pondicherry
Longitude East from Greenwich

| Districts. | Area, Square Miles. | Population. |
|---|---|---|
| BENGAL. | | |
| *Jessore*— | | |
| Jessore | 3,512 | 381,744 |
| 24 Pergunnahs | 1,186 | 288,000 |
| Burdwan | 2,224 | 1,854,152 |
| Hoogly | 2,089 | 1,520,840 |
| Nuddea | 2,942 | 298,736 |
| Bancoorah | 1,476 | 480,000 |
| Baraset | 1,424 | 522,000 |
| | 14,853 | 5,345,472 |
| *Bhaugulpore*— | | |
| Bhaugulpore | 5,806 | 2.000,000 |
| Dinajpore | 3,820 | 1,200,000 |
| Monghyr | 2,558 | 800,000 |
| Poorneah | 5,878 | 1,600,000 |
| Tirhoot | 7,402 | 2,400,000 |
| Maldah | 1,000 | 431,000 |
| | 26,464 | 8,431,000 |
| *Cuttack*— | | |
| Cuttack with Pooree:— | | |
| Cuttack . . . 3,061; Pooree . . . 1,768 | 4,829 | 1,000,000 |
| Balasore | 1,876 | 556,395 |
| Midnapore and Hidgellee | 5,029 | 666,328 |
| Koordah | 936 | 571,160 |
| | 12,664 | 2,793,883 |
| *Moorshedabad*— | | |
| Moorshedabad | 1,856 | 1,045,000 |
| Bagoorah | 2,160 | 900,000 |
| Rungpore | 4,130 | 2,559,000 |
| Rajshahye | 2,084 | 671,000 |
| Pubna | 2,606 | 600,000 |
| Beerbhoom | 4,730 | 1,040,876 |
| | 17,566 | 6,815,876 |
| *Dacca*— | | |
| Dacca | 1,960 | 600,000 |
| Furreedpore, Dacca Jelalpore | 2,052 | 855,000 |
| Mymensing | 4,712 | 1,487,000 |
| Sylhet, including Jyntea | 8,424 | 380,000 |
| Bakergunge, including Deccan Shabazpore. | 3,794 | 733,800 |
| | 20,942 | 4,055,800 |
| *Patna*— | | |
| Shahabad | 3,721 | 1,600,000 |
| Patna | 1,828 | 1,200,000 |
| Behar | 5,694 | 2,500,000 |
| Sarun, with Chumparan | 2,560 | 1,700,000 |
| | 13,803 | 7,000,000 |
| *Chittagong*— | | |
| Chittagong | 2,560 | 1,000,000 |
| Tipperah and Bulloah | 4,850 | 806,950; 600,000 |
| | 7,410 | 2,406,950 |
| *Saugor and Nerbudda*— | | |
| Jaloun and the Pergunahs ceded by Jhansic | 1,873 | 176,297 |
| Saugor | 1,857 | 305,594 |
| Jubbulpore | 6,237 | 442,771 |
| Hoshungabad | 1,916 | 242,641 |

| Districts. | Area, Square Miles. | Population. |
|---|---|---|
| Seonee | 1,459 | 227,070 |
| Dumoh | 2,428 | 363,584 |
| Nursingpore | 501 | 254,486 |
| Baitool | 990 | 93,441 |
| British Mahairwarrah | 282 | 37,715 |
| | 15,670 | 1,967,302 |
| *Cis-Sutlej*— | | |
| Umballah | 293 | 67,134 |
| Loodianah, includ. Wudni | 725 | 120,898 |
| Kythul and Ladwa | 1,538 | 164,805 |
| Ferozepore | 97 | 16,890 |
| | | 369,727 |
| Territory lately belonging to Seik chiefs. | 1,906 | 249,686 |
| | 4,559 | |
| *North-East Frontier (Assam)*— | | |
| Cossya Hills | 729 | 10,935 |
| Cachar | 4,000 | 60,000 |
| | 4,729 | |
| Camroop, Lower 2,788 | — | 300,000 |
| Nowgong, do. 4,160 | 8,948 | 70,000 |
| Durrung, do. 2,000 | — | 80,000 |
| Joorhat (Seebpoor) Upper 2,965 | — | 200,000 |
| Lucikmpoor, do. 2,950 | 12,857 | 30,000 |
| Sudiya, including Mutruck 6,942 | — | 30,000 |
| | 21,805 | 780,935 |
| Goalpara | 3,506 | 400,000 |
| Arracan | 15,104 | 321,522 |
| Tenasserim, Tavoy, Ye, | 29,168 | 115,431 |
| Pegu | no | returns. |
| *South-West Frontier*— | | |
| Sumbulpore | 4,693 | 800,000 |
| Ramgurh or Hazareebah | 8,524 | 372,216 |
| Lohurdugga { Chota Nagpore; and Palamow } | 5,308; 3,468 | 482,900 |
| Singbhoom | 2,944 | 200,000 |
| Maunbhoom { Pachete; Barabhoom } | 4,792; 860 | 772,340 |
| | 30,589 | 2,627,456 |
| *The Punjaub*, inclusive of the Julundur Doab and Koolo territory— | | |
| Lahore | | |
| Jhelum | | |
| Mooltan | | |
| Leia | 78,447 | 4,100,983 |
| Peshawur | | |
| Huzara and Kohat | | |
| The Sunderbunds—Mouths of Ganges. | 6,500 | unknown. |
| Total, Bengal | 325,652 | 47,958,320 |
| NORTH WEST. PROV. | | |
| *Delhi*— | | |
| Paneeput | 1,279 | 283,420 |

| Districts. | Area, Square Miles. | Population. |
|---|---|---|
| Hurreeanah . . . . | 3,300 | 225,086 |
| Delhi . . . . | 602 | 306,550 |
| Rhotuck . . . . | 1,340 | 294,119 |
| Goorgaon . . . . | 1,942 | 460,326 |
| | 8,463 | 1,569,501 |
| *Meerut*— | | |
| Saharunpoor . . . . | 2,165 | 547,353 |
| Mozuffernuggur . . | 1,617 | 537,594 |
| Meerut . . . . | 2,332 | 860,736 |
| Boolundshuhur . . | 1,855 | 699,393 |
| Allygurh . . . | 2,149 | 739,356 |
| | 10,118 | 3,384,432 |
| *Rohilcund*— | | |
| Bijnour . . . . | 1,904 | 620,546 |
| Moradabad . . . | 2,967 | 997,362 |
| Budaon . . . . | 2,368 | 825,712 |
| Bareilly and Pillibheet . | 2,937 | 1,143,657 |
| Shajehanpore . . | 2,483 | 812,588 |
| | 12,659 | 4,399,865 |
| *Agra*— | | |
| Muttra . . . . | 1,607 | 701,688 |
| Agra . . . . | 1,860 | 828,220 |
| Furruckabad . . . | 1,909 | 854,799 |
| Mynpoorie . . . | 2,009 | 639,809 |
| Etawah . . . . | 1,674 | 481,224 |
| | 9,059 | 3,505,740 |
| *Allahabad*— | | |
| Cawnpore . . . | 2,337 | 993,031 |
| Futtehpore . . . | 1,583 | 511,132 |
| Humeerpore and Calpee | 2,240 | 452,091 |
| Banda . . . . | 2,878 | 552,526 |
| Allahabad . . . | 2,801 | 710,263 |
| | 11,839 | 3,219,043 |
| *Benares*— | | |
| Goruckpore . . . | 7,346 | 2,376,533 |
| Azimghur . . . | 2,520 | 1,313,950 |
| Jounpore . . . | 1,552 | 798,503 |
| Mirzapore . . . | 5,235 | 831,388 |
| Benares . . . . | 994 | 741,426 |
| Ghazepore . . . | 2,187 | 1,059,287 |
| | 19,834 | 7,121,087 |
| The Butty Territory, including Wutton. | 3,017 | 112,274 |
| Pergunnah of Kote Kasim | 70 | 13,767 |
| Jaunsar and Bawur . . | 579 | 24,684 |
| Deyrah Dhoon . . . | 673 | 32,083 |
| Kumaon (including Ghurwal. . . . | 6,962 | 166,755 |
| | 2,029 | 224,891 |
| Ajmeer . . . . | 269 | 25,727 |
| British Nimaur . . . | | |
| | 13,599 | 600,181 |
| Total, N. W. Provinces | 85,571 | 23,800,549 |

| Districts. | Area, Square Miles. | Population. |
|---|---|---|
| MADRAS. | | |
| Rajahmundry . . . | 6,050 | 1,012,036 |
| Masulipatam . . . | 5,000 | 520,860 |
| Guntoor, including Palnaud | 4,960 | 570,089 |
| Nellore . . . . | 7,930 | 935,690 |
| Chingleput . . . | 2,993 | 583,462 |
| Madras, included in Chingleput. | — | 720,000 |
| Arcot, South Division, including Cuddalore. | 7,600 | 1,006,005 |
| Arcot, North Division, including Consooddy. | 5,790 | 1,485,873 |
| Bellary . . . . | 13,056 | 1,229,599 |
| Cuddapah . . . . | 12,970 | 1,451,921 |
| Salem, including Vomundoor and Mullapandy. | 8,200 | 1,195,377 |
| Coimbatore . . . | 8,280 | 1,153,862 |
| Trichinopoly . . . | 3,243 | 709,196 |
| Tanjore, including Najore | 3,900 | 1,676,086 |
| Madura, including Dindigul | 9,535 | 1,756,791 |
| Tinnivelly . . . . | 5,700 | 1,269,216 |
| Malabar . . . . | 6,060 | 1,514,909 |
| Canara . . . . | 7,720 | 1,056,333 |
| | 118,987 | 19,847,305 |
| Gangam . . . . | 6,400 | 926,930 |
| Vizagapatam . . . | 7,650 | 1,254,272 |
| Kurnool . . . . | 2,643 | 273,190 |
| Total, Madras . . | 135,680 | 22,301,697 |
| BOMBAY. | | |
| Surat . . . . . | 1,629 | 492,684 |
| Broach . . . . . | 1,319 | 290,984 |
| Ahmedabad . . . | 4,356 | 650,223 |
| Kaira . . . . . | 1,869 | 580,631 |
| Kandeish . . . . | 9,311 | 778,112 |
| Tannah . . . . . | 5,477 | 815,849 |
| Poonah . . . . . | 5,298 | 666,006 |
| Ahmednuggur, including Nassick Sub-collectorate. | 9,931 | 995,585 |
| Sholapore . . . . | 4,991 | 675,115 |
| Belgaum . . . . | 5,405 | 1,025,882 |
| Dharwar . . . . | 3,837 | 754,385 |
| Rutnagherry . . . | 3,964 | 665,238 |
| Bombay Island, including Colaba Island. | 18 | 566,119 |
| Sattara . . . . . | 10,222 | 1,005,771 |
| Colaba . . . . . | 318 | 58,721 |
| Sinde: Shikapore . . | 6,120 | 350,401 |
| Sinde: Hydrabad . | 30,000 | 551,811 |
| Sinde: Kurrachee . . | 16,000 | 185,550 |
| Total, Bombay . | 120,065 | 11,109,967 |
| Total, Madras and Bombay | 255,745 | 33,410,764 |

The foregoing districts are under the sole control of the British government; the succeeding tables exhibit the locality, area, population, revenue, subsidy or tribute paid by, and military resources of, each of the protected and subsidiary native states; several of these, however—Mysore, for instance—are entirely under our government, although the administration is carried on in the name of the legitimate sovereign.

*Native States, not under direct Rule, but within the limits of Political Supremacy.*[1]

| Name. | Locality. | Area, in square miles. | Population. | Revenue. | Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment. | Military Resources.[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Artillery. | Cavalry. | Infantry. |
| BENGAL. | | | | Rupees. | Rupees. | | | |
| Allee Mohun or Rajpoor Ali | Cent. In. (Malwa) | 708 | 69,384 | 35,000 | 12,000 | — | 30 | 100 |
| Amjherra . . . . | Do. . . | 584 | 57,232 | 100,000 | 35,000 | — | 400 | 600 |
| Bahadoorgurh . . | N.W. Prov. (adjacent to Delhi dist. | 48 | 14,400 | 130,000 | — | — | 70 | 80 |
| Berar (*vide* Nagpoor). | | | | | | | | |
| Bhawlpore . . . | Cis Sutlej . . | 20,003 | 600,000 | 1,400,000 | — | — | 3,127 | 10,048 |
| Bhopal[3] . . . . | Cent. In. (Malwa) | 6,764 | 663,656 | 2,200,000 | — | 117 | 442 | 2,457 |
| Bhurtpore . . . | Cent. In. (adjacent to city of Agra) | 1,978 | 600,000 | 1,700,000 | — | 200 | 1,500 | 3,700 |
| Boria (*vide* Jabooa). | | | | | | | | |
| Bullubgurh . . | N.W. Prov. (adjacent to Delhi dist. | 190 | 57,000 | 160,000 | — | — | 100 | 350 |
| Bundlecund— | | | | | | | | |
| „ Adjyghur . . | C.In.(Bundlecund) | 340 | 45,000 | 325,000 | 7,750 | 18 | 200 | 1,200 |
| „ Allypoora . . | Ditto . . | 85 | 9,000 | 45,000 | — | — | — | 75 |
| „ Banda . . | Ditto . . | — | — | — | — | 69 | 167 | 207 |
| „ Behree . . | Ditto . . | 30 | 2,500 | 23,000 | — | 2 | 25 | 100 |
| „ Behut . . | Ditto . . | 15 | 2,500 | 15,500 | — | 1 | 10 | 50 |
| „ Berounda . . | Ditto . . | 275 | 24,000 | 45,000 | — | 1 | 40 | 200 |
| „ Baonee . . | Ditto . . | 127 | 18,800 | 100,000 | — | — | 50 | 300 |
| „ Bhysonda . . | Ditto . . | 8 | 2,000 | 9,000 | — | — | 11 | 125 |
| „ Bijawur . . | Ditto . . | 920 | 90,000 | 225,000 | — | 4 | 100 | 1,300 |
| „ Bijna . . . | Ditto . . | 27 | 2,800 | 8,000 | — | 2 | 15 | 125 |
| „ Chirkaree . . | Ditto . . | 880 | 81,000 | 460,830 | 9,484 | 30 | 300 | 1,000 |
| „ Chutterpore . | Ditto . . | 1,240 | 120,000 | 300,000 | — | 10 | 100 | 1,000 |
| „ Dutteah . . | Ditto . . | 850 | 120,000 | 1,000,000 | — | 80 | 1,000 | 5,000 |
| „ Doorwae . . | Ditto . . | 18 | 3,000 | 15,000 | — | — | 8 | 230 |
| „ Gurowlee . . | Ditto . . | 50 | 5,000 | 14,000 | — | 4 | 35 | 257 |
| „ Gorihar . . | Ditto . . | 76 | 7,500 | 55,000 | — | 3 | 50 | 225 |
| „ Jignee . . | Ditto . . | 27 | 2,800 | 15,000 | — | 1 | 19 | 51 |
| „ Jusso . . | Ditto . . | 180 | 24,000 | 13,000 | — | 1 | 8 | 60 |
| „ Jhansi . . | Ditto . . | 2,532 | 200,000 | 611,980 | 74,000 | 40 | 200 | 3,000 |
| „ Kampta . . | Ditto . . | 1 | 300 | 1,500 | — | — | — | — |
| „ Logasee . . | Ditto . . | 29 | 3,500 | 12,680 | — | — | 14 | 40 |
| „ Mukree . . | Ditto . . | 10 | 1,600 | 5,000 | — | — | — | — |
| „ Nowagaon or Nygowan | Ditto . . | 16 | 1,800 | 9,100 | — | 4 | 12 | 100 |
| „ Nyagaon . . | Ditto . . | 30 | 5,000 | 10,500 | — | — | 7 | 100 |
| „ Ooreha or Tehree | Ditto . . | 2,160 | 192,000 | 701,000 | — | 100 | 527 | 7,283 |
| „ Punna . . | Ditto . . | 688 | 67,500 | 400,000 | 10,000 | 18 | 250 | 3,000 |
| „ Paharee or Puharee | Ditto . . | 4 | 800 | 800 | — | — | — | 50 |
| „ Puhrah . . | Ditto . . | 10 | 1,600 | 8,000 | — | — | 4 | 99 |
| „ Paldeo . . | Ditto . . | 28 | 3,500 | 21,000 | — | — | 10 | 50 |
| „ Poorwa . . | Ditto . . | 12 | 1,800 | 9,500 | — | — | 5 | 40 |
| „ Sumpthur . . | Ditto . . | 175 | 28,000 | 450,000 | — | 45 | 300 | 4,000 |
| „ Surehlah . . | Ditto . . | 35 | 4,500 | 45,000 | — | — | 25 | 75 |
| „ Tohree Futtepore | Ditto . . | 36 | 6,000 | 36,830 | 2,650 | 12 | 20 | 251 |
| „ Taraon or Turaon | Ditto . . | 12 | 2,000 | 10,000 | — | 3 | 5 | 40 |
| Burwanee . . . . | Cent. In. (Malwa) | 1,380 | 13,800 | 30,000 | — | — | 25 | 50 |
| Cashmere (Gholab Sing's Dominions) . . | Punjab . . . | 25,123 | 750,000 | — | — | 1,200 | 1,972 | 20,418 |
| Cooch Behar . . | N.E. frontier, Bengal . . . | 1,364 | 136,400 | 132,000 | 66,000 | — | 342 | 108 |
| Cossya and Garrow Hills— | | | | | | | | |
| The Garrows . . | | 2,268 | | | | | | |
| Ram Rye . . | | 328 | | | | | | |
| Nustung . . | | 360 | | | | | | |
| Muriow . . . | | 283 | | | | | | |
| Molyong . . | Ditto . . | 110 | 65,205 | — | — | — | — | 2,282 |
| Mahram . . | | 162 | | | | | | |
| Osimla . . . | | 350 | | | | | | |
| Kyrim, and other petty Chiefs . . . | | 486 | | | | | | |

*Notes.*—[1] Some of these states are protected and tributary, others protected but *not* tributary; several, under subsidiary alliances, are bound to maintain a body of troops in readiness, when required, to co-operate with the British army; a few small states are protected by England, but tributary to larger states. Nepaul is not protected, tributary, or subsidiary, but the rajah is bound by treaty to abide in certain cases by the decision of the British government, and, like all the other rulers, prohibited from retaining in his service subjects of any European or American state.

[2] In some states the troops are officered by Europeans from the British army; in many there are police corps and irregular feudal forces—corresponding in some measure to our militia. In several instances there is a road police, and an organized corps for the collection of the revenue.

[3] Under the treaty of 1818 the Nabob was to furnish a contingent force of 600 cavalry and 400 infantry; but in 1824 the numbers were reduced to 259 cavalry, 522 infantry, and 48 artillery, and placed under European command. The contingent is exclusive of the Nabob's troops. There is also a feudal force, consisting of 30 artillery, 200 cavalry, and 1,000 infantry.—[*Statistical Papers relating to India, laid before Parliament*, 1853.]

| Name. | Locality. | Area, in square miles. | Population. | Revenue. | Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment. | Military Resources. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Artillery. | Cavalry. | Infantry. |
| BENGAL—*continued* | | | | | | | | |
| Cuttack Mehals— | | | | Rupees. | Rupees. | | | |
| „ Angool | | — | — | — | 1,550 | — | 5,000 | |
| „ Autgur | | — | — | — | 6,718 | — | 1,500 | |
| „ Bauky | | — | — | — | 4,162 | — | 1,500 | |
| „ Berumbah | | — | — | — | 1,310 | — | 1,500 | |
| „ Dhenkanaul | | — | — | — | 4,780 | — | 7,000 | |
| „ Hindole | | — | — | — | 516 | — | 250 | |
| „ Kundiapurra | | 7,695 | 346,275 | — | 3,948 | — | 2,000 | |
| „ Neelgur | | — | — | — | 3,617 | — | 500 | |
| „ Nursingpore | Cuttack, in the | — | — | — | 1,364 | — | 1,500 | |
| „ Nyaghur | prov. of Orissa. | — | — | — | 5,179 | — | 7,000 | |
| „ Runpoor | | — | — | — | 1,313 | — | 1,500 | |
| „ Talchur | | — | — | — | 974 | — | 500 | |
| „ Tiggreah | | — | — | — | 826 | — | 300 | |
| „ Autmallik | | 648 | 29,160 | — | 450 | — | 500 | |
| „ Boad | | 1,377 | 61,965 | — | 750 | — | 2,000 | |
| „ Duspulla | | 162 | 7,200 | — | 620 | — | 500 | |
| „ Koonjerry | | 5,022 | 225,990 | — | 2,790 | — | 15,000 | |
| „ Mohurhunge | | 2,025 | 91,125 | — | 1,001 | — | 8,000 | |
| Deojana | North-West Provs. (near Delhi dist.) | 71 | 6,390 | — | — | — | 50 | 150 |
| Dewas | Cent. In. (Malwa) | 256 | 25,088 | 400,400 | — | — | 175 | 500 |
| Dhar | Do. | 1,070 | 104,860 | 475,000 | — | 47 | 254 | 798 |
| Dholpore | Hindostan (banks of Chumbul). | 1,626 | 550,000 | 700,000 | — | 40 | 177 | 1,600 |
| Furruckabad | North-West Provs. (Lower Dooab). | — | — | — | — | 2 | 106 | 294 |
| Furrucknuggur | North-West Provs (adjacent to Delhi). | 22 | 4,400 | — | — | — | — | 25 |
| Gholab Sing's Dominions, *vide* Cashmere. | | | | | | | | |
| Gwalior (Scindia's Pos.)[1] | Central India | 33,119 | 3,228,512 | 6,000,000 | 1,800,000 | 314 | 6,548 | 2,760 |
| Hill States— | | | | | | | | |
| Cis-Sutlej— | | | | | | | | |
| Bhagul | Northern In. (Cis-Sutlej) | 100 | 40,000 | 50,000 | 3,600 | — | 3,000 | |
| Bujee or Beejee | Ditto | 70 | 25,000 | 30,000 | 1,440 | — | 1,000 | |
| Bejah | Ditto | 5 | 3,000 | 4,000 | 180 | — | 200 | |
| Bulsun | Ditto | 64 | 5,000 | 6,000 | 1,080 | — | 500 | |
| Bussahir | Ditto | 3,000 | 150,000 | 150,000 | 15,000 | — | — | 300 |
| Dhamie | Ditto | 25 | 3,000 | 3,500 | 720 | — | 100 | |
| Dhoorcatty | Ditto | 5 | 200 | 400 | — | — | — | — |
| Ghurwal | Ditto | 4,500 | 100,000 | 100,000 | — | — | — | — |
| Hindoor or Nalagarh | Ditto | 233 | 20,000 | 80,000 | — | — | — | 300 |
| Joobul | Ditto | 330 | 15,000 | 14,130 | 2,520 | — | — | — |
| Kothar | Ditto | 12 | 4,000 | 7,000 | 1,080 | — | 400 | |
| Koonyhar | Ditto | 12 | 2,500 | 3,500 | 180 | — | — | 200 |
| Keonthul | Ditto | 272 | 26,000 | 33,500 | — | — | 2,690 | |
| Koomharsin | Ditto | 56 | 12,000 | 10,000 | 1,440 | — | 1,000 | |
| Kuhloor | Ditto | 150 | 32,250 | 110,000 | — | — | — | 400 |
| Mangul | Ditto | 15 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 72 | — | 50 | |
| Muhlog | Ditto | 50 | 13,000 | 10,000 | 1,440 | — | 500 | |
| Manee Majrah | Ditto | 80 | 16,720 | 60,000 | — | — | — | — |
| Sirmoor or Nahun | Ditto | 1,075 | 62,350 | 100,000 | — | — | — | 400 |
| Hill States— | | | | | | | | |
| Trans-Sutlej— | | | | | | | | |
| Mundi | Jullunder Dooab | 759 | 113,091 | 350,000 | — | — | — | 500 |
| Sookeit | Ditto | 174 | 25,926 | 80,000 | — | — | — | 300 |
| Holcar's Pos., (*vide* Indore). | | | | | | | | |
| Hyderabad (Nizam's dominions[2]) | Hindostan | 95,337 | 10,666,030 | 15,500,000 | 3,500,000[3] | — | 4,521 | 12,369 |
| Indore (Holcar's Pos.) | Cent. Ind. (Malwa) | 8,318 | 815,164 | 2217,210 | — | 642 | 3,145 | 3,821[4] |

*Notes.*—[1] The revenues of Gwalior amount to 60 lacs of rupees per annum, exclusive of the districts assigned for the payment of the contingent force (18 lacs of rupees). The contingent consists of 8,401 men, commanded by British officers. The military force of the Maharajah, exclusive of the contingent, is not to exceed 9,000 men.

[2] In addition to these troops the Nizam maintains an irregular force, composed of Arabs, Sikhs, Turks, &c., amounting to 9,811 men. The State is also entitled to the services of 4,749 armed retainers, maintained by the Feudal Chiefs from revenues assigned by the Government for their support. The total military force of Hyderabad comprises five separate bodies, viz.:—1. British Subsidiary Force, 10,628. 2. Nizam's Auxiliary Force, 8,094. 3. Nizam's Irregulars, 16,890. 4. Force of Feudal Chiefs, 4,749. 5. Miscellaneous Force of Arabs, Sikhs, Turks, &c., 9,811. Total, 50,172. Under the Treaty of 1800, the Nizam's Contingent was to consist of 6,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry; but the *Auxiliary Force*, organized under British officers, and paid by the Nizam, has been substituted for the Contingent, and consists of 8,094 cavalry, infantry, and artillery. The British subsidiary force amounts to 10,628 artillery, cavalry, and infantry.

[3] The cost of the Nizam's Auxiliary Force.

[4] This force is inclusive of the contingent of cavalry, which Holcar is bound to furnish. This prince contributes 11,000 rupees per annum towards the maintenance of the Malwa Bheelcorps, and also a further sum in aid of the United Malwa contingent.

| Name. | Locality. | Area, in square miles. | Population. | Revenue. | Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment. | Military Resources. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Artillery. | Cavalry. | Infantry. |
| BENGAL—*continued.* | | | | Rupees. | Rupees. | | | |
| Jabooa . . . . | Central India . | 1,348 | 132,104 | 144,536 | 39,000 | — | 40 | 125 |
| Borai or Boree . . | Cent In. (Malwa) | included in that of Jabooa. | included in that of Jabooa. | 14,000 | — | — | 15 | 30 |
| Jucknowda . . | Ditto . . | Ditto . | Ditto . | 10,000 | — | — | 15 | 25 |
| Jhujur . . . | North-West Provs. (adjacent to Delhi) | 1,230 | 110,700 | 600,000 | — | 180 | 1,280 | 1,700 |
| Jobut . . . . . | Cent. In. (Malwa) | — | — | 10,000 | — | — | 15 | 25 |
| Jowra . . . . . | Ditto . . | 872 | 85,456 | 800,000 | — | 50 | 60 | 740 |
| Jucknowda (*vide* Jabooa) | | | | | | | | |
| Koorwace . . . . | Ditto . . | 200 | 19,600 | 75,000 | — | — | 40 | 150 |
| Loharoo . . . | North-West Provs. (near Delhi.) | 200 | 18,000 | — | — | — | 60 | 260 |
| Macherry (*vide* Alwur, *under* Rajpoot States). | | | | | | | | |
| Munneepoor . . | N. Eastern Frontier (Bengal). | 7,584 | 75,840 | — | — | 452 | — | 3,158 |
| Nagpore or Berar . . | Deccan . . . | 76,432 | 4,650,000 | 4,908,560 | 800,000 | 372 | 2,424 | 4,163[1] |
| Nepaul . . . . | Northern India . | 54,500 | 1,940,000 | 3,200,000 | — | 1,100 | — | 8,400[2] |
| Nizam (*vide* Hyderabad). | | | | | | | | |
| Nursinghur (*vide* Omutwarra). | | | | | | | | |
| Omutwarra— | | | | | | | | |
| Rajghur . . . | Cent. In. (Malwa) | 1,348 | 132,104 | 200,000 | — | 10 | 50 | 150 |
| Nursinghur . . | Ditto . . | | | 275,000 | — | 20 | 150 | 350 |
| Oude . . . . | North-West Provs. | 23,738 | 2,970,000 | 14,473,380 | — | 5,304 | 4,088 | 44,767[3] |
| Patowdee . . . | North-West Provs. (near Delhi dist.) | 74 | 6,660 | 50,000 | — | — | 75 | 280 |
| Rajghur (*vide* Omutwarra) | | | | | | | | |
| Rajpoor Ali (*vide* Allee Mohun). | | | | | | | | |
| Rajpoot States— | | | | | | | | |
| Alwur or Macherry, including Tejarra. | Rajpootana . . | 3,573 | 280,000 | 1,800,000 | — | — | 4,000 | 11,000 |
| Banswarra . . . | Ditto . . | 1,440 | 144,000 | 95,000[4] | 25,000 | — | 150 | 225 |
| Bikaneer . . . | Ditto . . | 17,676 | 539,250 | 650,380 | — | — | 1,581 | 2,100[5] |
| Boondee . . . | Ditto . . | 2,291 | 229,100 | 500,000[6] | 40,000 | 150 | 1,000 | 520[7] |
| Doongerpore . . | Ditto . . | 1,000 | 100,000 | 109,000 | —[8] | — | 125 | 200[8] |
| Jessulmere . . . | Ditto . . | 12,252 | 74,400 | 84,720 | — | 30 | 754 | 252 |
| Jyepore or Jyenagur . | Ditto . . | 15,251 | 1,891,124 | 4,583,950[9] | 400,000 | 692 | 2,096 | 18,377[10] |
| Jhallawur . . . | Ditto . . | 2,200 | 220,000 | 1,500,000 | 80,000 | 500[11] | 450 | 3,010 |
| Joudpore . . . | Ditto . . | 35,672 | 1,783,600 | 1,752,520 | 223,000 | — | 2,630 | 5,850[12] |
| Kerowlee . . . | Ditto . . | 1,878 | 187,800 | 506,900 | — | — | 248 | 546 |
| Kishengurh . . | Ditto . . | 724 | 70,952 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Kotah . . . | Ditto . . | 4,339 | 433,900 | 2,800,000 | 384,720 | 601 | 710 | 2,140 |
| Odeypore or Mewar . | Ditto . . | 11,614 | 1,161,400 | 1,250,000 | 200,000 | — | 1,200 | 4,200[13] |

*Notes.*—[1] The Rajah is bound by treaty to furnish 1,000 horse to serve with the British army in time of war. His military force, as here stated, is exclusive of a police corps of 2,274 men.

[2] In addition to this body of infantry there is an irregular force of 5,000 men, and a police corps amounting to 2,000 men. An accredited minister from the British Government resides at the court of Nepaul, with an escort of 94 rank and file, officered and paid by the British.

[3] The obligation of the British government, under the treaty of 1798, to maintain a force of 10,000 men in Oude, was superseded by the treaty of 1801. Under the provisions of the latter treaty, the British Government are bound to the defence of the kingdom against all enemies, but exercise their own discretion as to the requisite number of troops. The strength of the British subsidiary force amounts at the present time to 5,578 men. By the treaty of 1837, the limit on the number of troops to be maintained by the king was removed, and his majesty may employ such a military establishment as he may deem necessary for the government of his dominions—power being reserved to the British government to insist upon reduction in case of excess. A police corps of 100 horse and 460 foot is also maintained by the King of Oude for the protection of the British frontiers of Goruckpoor and Shahjehanpoor, bordering on the territory of Oude.

[4] Irrespective of the revenues of feudal grants and religious endowments.

[5] The military force is irrespective of the quotas to be furnished by the Feudal Chiefs, amounting to 1,500 horse, but inclusive of a mounted police, numbering 535 men.

[6] Irrespective of feudal estates and religious endowments.

[7] Irrespective of a police force of 2,000 men, and also of an irregular feudal force of 2,500.

[8] The tribute is not to exceed three-eighths of the annual revenue. The force is exclusive of a police force, amounting to 100 men.

[9] The revenue, as here stated, is independent of feudal jaghires and charitable endowments, producing 4,000,000 more. The amount of tribute payable by Jyepore, under the treaty of 1818, namely, 800,000 rupees, was reduced, in 1842, to 400,000 rupees.

[10] The military force here stated is exclusive of the troops maintained by the Feudatory Chiefs, amounting to 5,690 men, and exclusive of the garrisons of forts, amounting to 5,267.

[11] There is also a police force of 1,500 men in Jhallawur.

[12] This force is irrespective of the Joudpore legion, which was embodied in 1847, in lieu of the Joudpore contingent, and consists of—artillery, 31; cavalry, 254; infantry, 739; Bheel companies, 222. Total, 1,246 men, commanded by British officers. There is also a force of 2,000 men maintained by the Feudal Chiefs.

[13] Irrespective of the Kotah contingent, which consists of—cavalry, 283; artillery, 66; infantry, 799. Total, 1,148 men, commanded by British officers. There is also a police force consisting of 2,000 men.

| Name. | Locality. | Area, in square miles. | Population. | Revenue. | Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment. | Military Resources. Artillery. | Military Resources. Cavalry. | Military Resources. Infantry. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BENGAL—*continued.* | | | | | | | | |
| Rajpoot States—*continued.* | | | | Rupees. | Rupees. | | | |
| Pertabgurh & Dowlea | Rajpootana . . | 1,457 | 145,700 | 175,000 | 57,874 [1] | — | 250 | 300 |
| Serohee . . . | Ditto . . | 3,024 | 151,200 | 74,060 | 3-8ths of An. Rev. | — | 200 | 600 [2] |
| Rampore . . . | North-West Provs. (Bareilly). | 720 | 320,400 | 1,000,000 | — | 60 | 497 | 1,387 |
| Rutlam . . . . | Cent In. (Malwa) | 936 | 91,728 | 450,000 | 66,150 | 10 | 225 | 600 |
| Saugor and Nerbudda Territories— | | | | | | | | |
| Kothee . . | Cent. In. (Saugor and Nerbudda). | 100 | 30,000 | 47,000 | — | 1 | 10 | 50 |
| Myheer . . . | Ditto . . | 1,026 | 100,000 | 64,500 | — | 14 | 25 | 300 |
| Ocheyrah . . . | Ditto . . | 436 | 120,000 | 66,320 | — | — | — | — |
| Rewa and Mookundpore. | Ditto . . | 9,827 | 1,200,000 | 2,000,000 | — | 29 | 842 | 7,291 |
| Sohawul . . . | Ditto . . | 179 | 80,000 | 32,000 | — | — | — | — |
| Shahgurh . . . | Ditto . . | 676 | 30,000 | — | — | 8 | 150 | 860 |
| Scindia's Dominions (*vide* Gwalior). | | | | | | | | |
| Seeta Mow . . . | Cent. In. (Malwa) | 208 | 20,384 | 90,000 | 47,250 | — | 130 | 225 |
| Sikh Protected States— [3] | | | | | | | | |
| Boorea (Dealgurh) . | Cis Sutlej . . | 80 | 11,920 | 50,000 | — | — | 20 | 50 |
| Chickrowlee (Kulseah) | Ditto . . | 63 | 9,387 | 165,000 | — | — | 75 | 50 |
| Furreedkote . . | Ditto . . | 308 | 45,892 | 45,000 | — | — | 60 | 100 |
| Jheend . . . | Ditto . . | 376 | 56,024 | 300,000 | — | — | 250 | 500 |
| Mulair Kotla . . | Ditto . . | 144 | 21,456 | 390,000 | — | — | 168 | 200 |
| Mundote . . . | Ditto . . | 780 | 116,220 | — | — | — | 109 | 60 |
| Nabha . . . | Ditto . . | 541 | 80.609 | 400,000 | — | — | 400 | 500 |
| Puttiala . . . | Ditto . . | 4,448 | 662,752 | — | — | — | 1,500 | 1,500 |
| Rai Kote . . . | Ditto . . | 6 | 894 | 5,500 | — | — | 12 | 20 |
| South-West Frontier of Bengal— [4] | | | | | | | | |
| Bombra . . . | Orissa . . . | 1,224 | 55,980 | 10.000 | 340 | — | — | — |
| Bonei . . . . | Ditto . . | 1,057 | 47,565 | 6.000 | 200 | — | — | — |
| Bora Samba . . | Ditto . . | 622 | 27,990 | 4,000 | 160 | — | — | — |
| Burgun . . . | Ditto . . | 399 | 17,955 | 10.000 | 320 | — | — | — |
| Gangpoor . . . | Ditto . . | 2,493 | 112,185 | 10,000 | 500 | — | — | — |
| Jushpore . . . | Ditto . . | 617 | 27,765 | 10,000 | Included in Sirgooja. | — | — | — |
| Keriall or Koren, including Bhokur. | Ditto . . | 1,512 | 68,040 | 20,000 | 1,095 | — | — | — |
| Korea . . . . | Ditto . . | 2,225 | 100,000 | 10,000 | 1,600 | — | — | — |
| Nowagur or Bindra Nowagur. | Ditto . . | 1,512 | 68,040 | 5,000 | 400 | — | — | — |
| Odeypore . . | Ditto . . | 2,306 | 133,748 | 15,000 | Included in Sirgooja. | — | — | — |
| Patna . . . . | Ditto . . | 1,158 | 52,110 | 25,000 | 600 | — | — | — |
| Phooljee . . . | Ditto . . | 890 | 40,050 | 6.000 | 440 | — | — | — |
| Rhyghur . . . | Ditto . . | 1,421 | 63,945 | 20,000 | 170 | — | — | — |
| Sarunghur . . . | Ditto . . | 799 | 35,955 | 6,000 | 1,400 | — | — | — |
| Singboom (States in British district of Singboom) | — | — | — | 4,000 | 107 | — | — | — |
| Kursava (States in British district of Singboom) | Ditto . | Included in British dist. of Singboom. | | 6,000 | — | — | — | — |
| Seriekala (States in British district of Singboom) | — | — | — | 10,000 | — | — | — | — |
| Sirgooja . . . | Ditto . . | 5,441 | 316,252 | 50,000 | 3,200 | — | — | — |
| Sohnpoor . . . | Ditto . . | 1,467 | 66.015 | 60,000 | 6,400 | — | — | — |
| Suctee . . . | Ditto . . | 268 | 12,060 | 4,000 | 240 | — | — | — |
| Sikkim . . . . | Northern India . | 1,670 | 61,766 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Tijarra (*vide* Alwur, Rajpoot States). | | | | | | | | |
| Tonk, and other Dependencies of Ameer Khan, viz.— 1. Chuppra; 2. Nimbera; 3. Perawa; 4. Rampoora; 5. Seronjee. | Central India . | 1,864 | 182,672 | 820,000 | — | — | — | — |

*Notes.*—[1] The tribute is received by the British Government, but paid over to Holcar.

[2] These troops, as well as the force maintained by feudatories, amounting to 905 cavalry and 5,300 infantry, are employed also in revenue and police duties.

[3] The Sikh States were taken under British protection by treaty with Runjeet Sing, ruler of the Punjab, dated 25th April, 1806. All but those above mentioned have been deprived of independent authority, in consequence of failure in their allegiance during the war with the Sikhs.

[4] These States are comprised within the territory ceded to the British by the Rajah of Nagpore, under the treaty of 1826.

| Name. | Locality. | Area, in square miles. | Population. | Revenue. | Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment. | Military Resources. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Artillery. | Cavalry. | Infantry. |
| BENGAL—*continued.* Tonk, &c.—*continued.* | | | | Rupees. | Rupees. | | | |
| Tipperah [1] | Eastern India, adjacent to Burmah. | 7,632 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Tuleram (Senaputty's Territory). | Eastern In. (Assam) | 2,000 | 30,000 | — | — | — | — | — |
| MADRAS. | | | | | | | | |
| Cochin [2] | Coast of Malabar | 1,988 | 288,176 | 486,000 | 240,000 | — | — | — |
| Jeypore, and the Hill Zemindars. | Orissa | 13,041 | 391,230 | — | 16,000 | — | — | — |
| Mysore | Southern India | 30,886 | 3,000,000 | 6,931,870 | 2,450,000 | — | — | 2,472 |
| Poodoocottah (Rajah Tondiman's Dominions). | Southern India (Madura). | 1,165 | 61,745 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Travancore | Southern India | 4,722 | 1,011,824 | 4,158,075 | 796,430 | — | — | — |
| BOMBAY. | | | | | | | | |
| Balasinore | Guzerat | 258 | 19,092 | 41,548 | 10,000 | — | 8 | 50 |
| Bansda | Ditto | 325 | 24,050 | 47,000 | 7,800 | — | — | 77 |
| Barnda (Dominions of the Guicowar. | Ditto | 4,399 | 325,526 | 6,687,440 | — | 63 | 5,912[3] | 3,054 |
| Cambay | Guzerat | 500 | 37,000 | 300,000 | 60,000 | — | 200 | 1,500 |
| Colapore, including its dependencies, viz.— | Southern Mahratta country. | | | 550,000 | — | 27 | 450 | 3,818[4] |
| Bhowda | — | | | 51,662 | — | — | 16 | 468 |
| Inchulkunjee | — | 3,445 | 500,000 | 75,000 | — | — | 50 | 1,051 |
| Khagul | — | | | 72,760 | — | — | 25 | 672 |
| Vishalgur | — | | | 123,146 | — | — | 5 | 164 |
| 113 Surinjams, or minor dependencies. | — | | | 631,628 | — | | | |
| Cutch | Western India | 6,764 | 500,536 | 738,423 | 209,000 | — | — | — |
| Daung Rajahs | Guzerat | 950 | 70,300 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Dhurrumpore | Ditto (collectorate of Surat). | 225 | 16,650 | 91,000 | 9,000 | — | 105 | |
| Guzerat (Guicowar's Dominions), *vide* Baroda. | | | | | | | | |
| Guzerat Petty States— [5] | | | | | | | | |
| Chowrar [6] | Guzerat | 225 | 2,500 | 9,000 | — | — | 25 | — |
| Pahlunpore | Ditto | 1,850 | 130,000 | 298,838 | 50,000 | 10 | 110 | 429 |
| Radhunpore | Ditto | 850 | 45,000 | 165,000 | — | 20 | 285 | 197 |
| Baubier | Ditto | 120 | 500 | 1,206 | — | — | — | — |
| Charcut | Ditto | 80 | 2,500 | 2,524 | — | — | — | — |
| Deodar | Ditto | 80 | 2,000 | 3,650 | — | — | — | — |
| Kankrej | Ditto | — | — | 12,895 | — | — | — | — |
| Merwara | Ditto | included | in Thurraud | 4,230 | — | — | 6 | 1 |
| Santulpoor | Ditto | — | — | 11,346 | — | — | — | — |
| Soegaum | Ditto | 64 | 4,500 | 5,404 | — | — | — | — |
| Therwarra | Ditto | 48 | 800 | 2,363 | — | — | — | — |
| Thurra | Ditto | — | — | 6,460 | — | — | 24 | 8 |
| Thurraud | Ditto | 600 | 23,000 | 11,335 | — | — | 20 | 18 |
| Warrye | Ditto | 299 | 20,000 | 16,770 | — | — | — | — |
| Wow | Ditto | 364 | 10,000 | 7,360 | — | — | 15 | 8 |

*Notes.*—[1] This district is hilly, much covered with jungle, and very thinly inhabited.

[2] In Cochin, in consequence of the misrule of the Rajah, the affairs of the State have been conducted, since 1839, by a native minister, in communication with the British resident.

[3] This force includes a contingent of 3,000 cavalry, which acts with the British subsidiary force, but is supported at the Guicowar's expense, and paid and equipped agreeably to the suggestions of the British Government. There is also another body of troops (the Guzerat Irregular Horse), consisting of 756 men, paid by the Guicowar, but commanded by British officers, and stationed in the British district of Ahmedabad. In addition to the foregoing there is a police force, consisting of 4,000 men. The military force in Guzerat is thus composed of—1st. British subsidiary, 4,000 infantry; 2 regiments of cavalry, and 1 company of artillery. 2nd. Guicowar's Regular Troops, 6,059. 3rd. Guicowar's Contingent, 3,000 cavalry. 4th. Guzerat Irregular Horse, 756. 5th. Police Corps, 4,000.

[4] The Colapore force here specified consists of native troops, uncontrolled as to discipline; they are assembled under the orders of the political superintendent whenever required. There is, however, an efficient force (the Colapore Local Corps), commanded by British officers, and consisting of—cavalry, 303; infantry, 604; total, 907. The military force of the four Feudal Chiefs is shown under "Military Resources." They are hound to furnish a contingent for their feudal superior, consisting of—cavalry, 246; infantry, 580; total, 826. Besides the above there is a regular police corps of 674 men, and a body termed extra fighting-men, available for police duties, amounting to 3,113 men.

[5] Quotas of horse and foot are furnished by chiefs in the petty States of Guzerat to their feudal superiors, which have not been included in the military resources of each State. They amount, in the aggregate, to 1,496 horse and 16,954 foot.

[6] The petty State of Chowrar is divided among a number of chieftains.

| Name. | Locality. | Area, in square miles. | Population. | Revenue. | Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment. | Military Resources. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Artillery. | Cavalry. | Infantry. |
| BOMBAY—*continued.* | | | | Rupees. | Rupees. | | | |
| Guzerat Petty States—*continued.* | | | | | | | | |
| Hursool (*vide* Peint). | | | | | | | | |
| Kattywar [1] Petty Chiefs . | Guzerat . . | 19,850 | 1,468,900 | 4,501,723 | 1,047,396 | 102 | 3,888 | 8,122 |
| Khyrpore . . . . | Scinde . . . | 5,000 | 105,000 | — | — | 47 | 727 | 105 |
| Myhee Caunta [2] is distributed into Six Districts—1st. Nanee Marwar—comprising Edur, Ahmednuggur, Morassa, Hursole, Byer, Tintooe, Daunta, Malpoor, Pole, Pall, Posuna, Gudwarra, Wallasun, and Hurrole. 2nd. Behwur—comprising Gorewarra, Runassum, Mohunpoor, Surdooe, Roopal, Boroodra, Wurragaen, and Dhudulea. 3rd. Sabur Caunta—composed of Cooly possessions on the eastern bank of the Sabur Muttee, with the Rajpoot districts of Wursora, Maunsa, and Peethapore, on the western bank of that river. 4th. Kuttosun,—composed exclusively of Cooly possessions. 5th. Byul, or Baweesee—comprising Wasna and Sadra. 6th. Watruck—comprising Amleyara, Mandwah, Khural, Bar Mooarah, & Satoomba. | Guzerat . | 3,400 | 150,000 | 500,000 [3] | 138,400 | — | 291 | 630 [4] |
| Peint and Hursool . | Collectorate of Ahmednuggur. | 750 | 55,500 | 29,724 | 3,360 | — | — | 100 |
| Rewa Caunta, comprising: | | | | | | | | |
| 1st. Barreea or Deoghur Barreea. | Guzerat . . | 870 | 64,380 | 57,651 | 12,000 | — | 43 | 168 |
| 2nd. Loonawarra . | Ditto . . . | 500 | 37,000 | 40,000 | 19,200 | — | 50 | 100 |

*Notes.*—[1] The province of Kattywar is divided among a considerable number of Hindoo chiefs. Some of them are under the direct authority of the British Government; the remainder, though subject to the Guicowar, have also been placed under the control and management of the British Government, which collects the tribute and accounts for it to the Guicowar. The following Table exhibits the division of the province into talooks, or districts, with the number of chiefs, the amount of revenue and tribute, and the military resources of each:—

| TALOOKAS. | Number of Chiefs in each Talooka. | Revenue. | Tribute. | Remainder. | Sebundy Force. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Artillery. | Cavalry. | Infantry. |
| | | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. | | | |
| Soruth . . . . | 3 | 628,000 | 90,959 | 528,041 | 30 | 903 | 1,930 |
| Hallar . . . . | 26 | 973,100 | 322,461 | 650,639 | 25 | 827 | 1,702 |
| Muchookanta . . . | 2 | 151,000 | 66,358 | 84,642 | 20 | 102 | 175 |
| Babriawar . . . . | 32 | 30,200 | 8,127 | 22,073 | — | 40 | 65 |
| Oud Surna . . . . | 23 | 32,923 | 10,307 | 22,616 | — | 2 | 5 |
| Jhalawar . . . . | 51 | 831,900 | 238,143 | 593,757 | 7 | 472 | 717 |
| Gobelwar . . . . | 27 | 725,300 | 146.492 | 578,808 | — | 915 | 1,720 |
| Katteewar . . . . | 47 | 855,800 | 121,113 | 734,687 | 20 | 480 | 895 |
| Burda . . . . | 1 | 200,000 | 34,436 | 165,564 | — | 100 | 400 |
| Okamundel, &c. . . . | 4 | 73,500 | — | 73,500 | — | 47 | 513 |
| Total . . . | 216 | 4,501,723 | 1,047,396 | 3,454,327 | 102 | 3,888 | 8,122 |

[2] The province of the Myhee Caunta is divided among several petty chiefs, tributary to the Guicowar. The whole province has been placed under the control and management of the British Government, which collects the Guicowar's dues, and pays over the amount to that prince.

[3] Revenue of Edur and Ahmednuggur, 234,000 rupees; of the remaining states, 266,000. Total revenue of Myhee Caunta, 500,000 rupees.

[4] The force maintained by the other chiefs of the Myhee Caunta is stated to consist of about 6,000 men

| Name. | Locality. | Area, in square miles. | Population. | Revenue. | Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment. | Military Resources. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Artillery. | Cavalry. | Infantry. |
| BOMBAY—*continued.* | | | | Rupees. | Rupees. | | | |
| Rewa Caunta—*continued.* | | | | | | | | |
| 3rd. Mewassee Chiefs, residing on the banks of the Nerbudda and the Myhee. | Guzerat | 375 | 27,750 | — | 67,613 | — | — | — |
| 4th. Odeypore (Chota) or Mohun. | Ditto | 1,059 | 78,366 | 74,000 | 10,500 | — | 70 | 368 |
| 5th. Rajpeepla | Ditto | 1,650 | 122,100 | 203,966 | 60,000 | — | 98 | 286 |
| 6th. Soauth | Ditto | 425 | 31,450 | 20,000 | 7,000 | — | 40 | 100 |
| Sattara Jaghires— | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Akulkote | Sattara | The area and population of these States cannot be given separately from the principality of Sattara | | — | — | — | 122 | 493 |
| 2. Bhore | Ditto | | | | | — | 20 | 908 |
| 3. Juth | Ditto | | | | | — | 10 | 202 |
| 4. Ounde | Ditto | | | | | — | 25 | 255 |
| 5. Phultun | Ditto | | | | | — | 15 | 175 |
| Wyhee | Ditto | | | | | — | — | — |
| Sawunt Warree | South Concan | 800 | 120,000 | 200,000 | — | — | — | 611 |
| Sinde (*vide* Khyrpore). | | | | | | | | |
| Southern Mahratta Jaghires— | | | | | | | | |
| Hablee | Southern Mahratta country. | 3,700 | 410,700 | 10,024 | 61,720 | — | 14 | 75 |
| Jhumkundee | | | | 270,246 | | — | 102 | 785 |
| Koonwar | | | | 167,392 | | — | 43 | 682 |
| The two chiefs of Meeruj | | | | 275,343 | | — | 87 | 1,053 |
| Moodhole | | | | 94,645 | | — | 35 | 420 |
| Nurgoond | | | | 51,609 | | — | 103 | 643 |
| Sanglee | | | | 468,044 | | — | 575 | 3,900 |
| Savanore | | | | 29,670 | | — | 25 | 431 |
| Shedbal | | | | 123,599 | | — | 68 | 212 |
| Sucheen | Guzerat | 300 | 22,200 | 89,000 | — | — | — | 18 |
| Wusravee (Bheel Chiefs) | Ditto (southern boundary of Rajpeepla. | 450 | 33,300 | — | — | — | — | — |
| ABSTRACT— *Native States.* | | | | | | | | |
| Bengal | — | 607,949 | 44,255,517 | 84,151,786 | 7,995,471 | 12,593 | 54,671 | 287,309 |
| Madras | — | 51,802 | 4,752,975 | 4,158,075 | 796,430 | — | — | 2,472 |
| Bombay | — | 57,375 | 4,393,400 | 18,670,820 | 1,862,990 | 369 | 13,632 | 27,872 |
| | | 717,126 | 53,401,892 | 106,980,681 | 10,654,891 | 12,962 | 68,303 | 317,653 [1] |

*Note.*—It will be seen from the above that the military resources of the native princes of India comprise a force of 398,918 men. Where no distinction has been made in the official records between the cavalry and infantry of a native state, the whole armed force has been included in this statement under the head of infantry. In reference to this enormous force it is proper to observe, that considerable portions of the regular troops of native States are described in the official returns as fitted rather for police purposes than as available for regular military duties. Where the military force of a native prince is not under the command of European officers, it rarely happens that there exists any regular system of payment; and, under such circumstances, a native army is invariably found to be badly organised and inefficient. The figures above given do not include either the police corps or the quotas of troops which the military chiefs are bound to furnish to their feudal superior. [1] Including officers attached to native regiments.

Abstract of Population, Area of British and other European States, and Army of British Government in India, exclusive of H. M. European Cavalrp and Infantry, comprising 30,000 men.

ABSTRACT OF POPULATION.

| —— | Area. | Population. |
|---|---|---|
| *British States—* | Sq. Miles. | |
| Bengal | 325,652 | 47,958,320 |
| North-Western Provinces | 85,571 | 23,800,549 |
| Madras | 135,680 | 22,301,697 |
| Bombay | 120,065 | 11,109,067 |
| Eastern Straits Settlements | 1,575 | 202,540 |
| | 668,543 | 105,169,633 |
| *Foreign States—* | | |
| French (Pondicherry, Mahe, &c.) | 188 | 171,217 |
| Portuguese (Goa, Diu, Demaun.) | 800 | not known. |
| Total | 988 | 171,217 |

ARMY OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

| Description. | European. | Company's Troops. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Natives. | Total. |
| Engineers | 321 | 2,248 | 2,569 |
| Artillery | 7,436 | 9,004 | 16,440 |
| Cavalry | 469 | 30,851 | 31,984 |
| Infantry | 9,648 | 193,942 | 229,406 |
| Medical | 1,111 | 652 | 1,763 |
| Warrant Officers | 243 | — | 243 |
| Veterans | 700 | 3,424 | 4,124 |
| Total | 19,928 | 240,121 | 289,529 |

The Contingent Troops of the Native States commanded by British officers, and available, under treaties, to the British Government, amount to about 32,000 men, viz.:—Hyderabad (Nizam's) Auxiliary Force, 8,094; Gwalior (Scindia's) Contingent, 8,401; Kotah Contingent, 1,148; Mysore Horse, 4,000; Guzerat (Guicowar's) Contingent, 3,756; Bhopal Contingent, 829; Malwa United Contingent, 1,617; Malwa Bheel Corps, 648; Joudpore Legion, 1,246; Meywar Bheel Corps, 1,054; Colapore Local Horse, 907; Sawunt Warree Local Corps, 611. Total, 32,311. Holkar and the Rajah of Nagpore are bound by treaty to furnish contingents, the former of 3,000, and the latter of 1,000 horse.

The relation between the Anglo-Indian government and native states, is thus described:

"The states with which subsidiary alliances have been contracted are ten in number:—Cochin; Cutch; Guzerat (territory of the Guicowar); Gwalior (possessions of Scindia); Hyderabad (territory of the Nizam); Indore (territory of Holcar); Mysore; Nagpore, or Berar; Oude; Travancore. In some of these states, enumerated in the above list, the charge for the maintenance of the subsidiary force has been commuted by various cessions of territory at the undermentioned dates, viz.:—*Guzerat* (Guicowar), ceded districts in Guzerat, in 1805; and Ahmedabad farm, &c., in 1817: *Gwalior** (Scindia), Upper Dooab, Delhi territory, &c., 1803: *Hyderabad*, (Nizam), Northern circars, 1766; Guntoor, 1788; districts acquired from Tippoo, 1800; *Indore* (Holcar), Candeish and other districts, 1818; *Oude*, Benares, 1775; Goruckpore, Lower Dooab, Bareilly, &c., 1801. The Rajah of Nagpore, or Berar, in addition to the cession of territory on the Nerbudda and parts adjacent, pays to the British government an annual subsidy of £80,000. The four remaining subsidiary states pay annual subsidy, as under:—Cochin, £24,000; Cutch, £20,000; Mysore, £245,000; Travancore, £79,643. The British government has reserved to itself the right, in the event of misrule, of assuming the management of the country in the states of Cochin,† Mysore,‡ Nagpore,§ Oude,§ Travancore.‖ The other subsidiary states—Cutch, Guzerat, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Indore, are not subject to control in their internal administration; yet so oppressive in some instances have been the rule of the chiefs, and, in others, so lawless the habits of the people, that the interference of the British government has been occasionally rendered absolutely necessary, in some of the above *subsidiary*, as well as in several of the *protected* states. Indeed, a clear necessity must be held to confer the right of such interference in all cases, as the prevalence of anarchy and misrule in any district must be fraught with danger to all around it; while its long continuance would lead to the dissolution of the state itself where it prevailed, and, consequently, interference would become essential to the effective exercise of that protection which the British government has engaged to afford. Besides the native states having subsidiary treaties, there are about two hundred¶ others which acknowledge the supremacy of the British government, and which, by treaty or other engagement, are entitled to its protection. The rulers of these states are of various creeds, as shown in the following list:—Mussulman; Hindoo, or orthodox Brahmins; Mahratta, Boondela, Rajpoot, Jaut, Sikh—all professing Hindooism, with some modifications; Bheel. In some of the petty states included in the above enumeration, the chiefs are not absolutely independent, even as to matters of ordinary internal administration. In several states on the south-west frontier of Bengal (Sirgooja, and other districts), civil justice is administered by the chiefs, subject to an appeal to the British agent, while in criminal matters their jurisdiction is still more strictly limited.** Somewhat similar is the position of the southern Mahratta jaghiredars, who are required to refer all serious criminal matters for British adjudication. In two of the protected states, Colapore and Sawunt Warree,†† the administration has been assumed by the British government, and carried on in the names of the native rulers, who are in the position of stipendiaries. In respect to Colapore, the retransfer of the government to the minor chief is made dependent upon the opinion which may be entertained by the British government of his character, disposition, and capacity to govern. In Sawunt Warree, the heir apparent, having forfeited his rights, the country, upon the death of the present chief, will be at the disposal of the paramount authority. In some other states, as those in Kattywar, the Myhee and Rewa Cauntas, and others which are tributary to the Guicowar, or ruler of Guzerat, arrangements have been made, under which the Guicowar abstains from all interference, and the British government undertakes the management of the country, guaranteeing the Guicowar's tribute. In carrying out such arrangements, the British government has conferred important benefits upon the country by abolishing infanticide, suttee, slave-dealing, and the marauding system, termed bharwuttee,‡‡ as well as by the introduction of a criminal court for the trial of the more serious offences, through the agency of the British resident; the native chiefs of the several states within the jurisdiction of the court acting as assessors. From 1829, when the practice of suttee was abolished throughout the British dominions, the British government have laboured to procure its abolition in the native states of India, and to a great extent succeeded. This success has been attained without either actual or threatened coercion, resort to such means having been deemed indiscreet; but by vigilant watchfulness for appropriate opportunities and perseverance in well-timed suggestions, the desired object has been effected in almost every native state where the rite was practised."—(Thornton's *Official Report*, 1853.)

* "By the treaty of 1817, funds were set apart for the payment of a contingent to be furnished by Scindia, and commanded by British officers. These provisions were modified by treaty in April, 1820, and by a new arrangement in 1836. By the treaty of Gwalior, concluded in 1844, certain districts were assigned to the British government for the maintenance of an increased force, to be commanded by British officers, and stationed within Scindia's territories."

† "In Cochin, in consequence of the mismanagement of the rajah, the affairs of the state have been conducted, since 1839, by a native minister in communication with the British resident."

‡ "In respect to Mysore, the administration was assumed by the British government in 1831, in consequence of the misrule of the rajah. The claim of the rajah to be reinstated was deemed inadmissible in 1847, on the ground of his incompetency to govern."

§ "Oude and Nagpore remain under the government of their respective rulers."

‖ "In 1805, the entire management of the state of Travancore was assumed by the British; but in the year 1813, the minor rajah, upon attaining his sixteenth year, was admitted to the full enjoyment of his rights."

¶ "This number does not include the petty rajahs in the Cossya and Garrow Hills, those of the Cuttack Mehals, or the chiefs in the province of Kattywar. The addition of these would more than double the number given in the text."

** "The power of passing sentence not involving the loss of life is exercised by them; but where the punishment is severe, it is under the control of the British agent, while sentence of death can only be passed by him in cases regularly brought before his tribunal; and each infliction of punishment must be included in a monthly report to the government."

†† "These two states were long convulsed by internal disorders, which at length burst into a general rebellion."

‡‡ "Resort to indiscriminate plunder, with a view to extort the favourable settlement of a dispute with a feudal superior."

ANCIENT HISTORY, TO THE TIME OF ALEXANDER.—India or Hindoostan,* with its noble rivers, diversified climate, productive soil, and extensive coast-line, offered advantages for colonization, which were availed of at a very early period in the history of the human race. Of its first inhabitants we know little, beyond their being, as it is generally believed, still represented by various barbarous tribes who yet inhabit the mountains and forests, and follow rude religious practices that are no part of the primitive Hindoo system.† By whom or at what time these were subdued or expelled there is no ground to rest anything more than a surmise; and of the many that have been, or might be, hazarded on this difficult but interesting subject, perhaps not the least reasonable is the supposition based on the varied craniological development, and distinct languages of the existing Hindoo race—that they were originally composed of numerous migrating hordes who, at intervals, poured in from the wild Mongolian steppes and Turkomanian ranges, from the forests of Scythia, the arid shores of the Caspian, and the sunburnt plains of Mesopotamia; from the plateaux of Persia, the deserts of Arabia, and even from the fertile valley of the Nile, allured by the extraordinary fertility of this most favoured portion of the Asiatic continent, or driven from their native land by tyranny or want. Time and circumstances gradually fused the heterogeneous mass into something like homogeneity; the first step to which was probably made by the introduction, in a rude form, of that village system which so markedly characterises India when viewed as a whole, and which, under the scourge of sanguinary wars, and the heavy exactions of native or foreign rulers, has ever been the mainstay of the people. The invaders, if such they were, probably brought with them the elements of civilisation; and the peaceful pursuits of pastoral and agricultural life would necessitate a certain amount of concentration, as no single man or family could dwell alone in a country whose dense jungle required combined labour, both to clear it for use and guard it from wild beasts. All this, however, relates to a period concerning which we possess no historical record whatever—in which must have originated what may be termed Brahminical Hindooism, whose rise and early progress is shrouded in dense obscurity. From the internal evidence afforded by the system itself, so far as we are acquainted with it during its early purity, it would seem to have been framed by a small confederacy of persons, whose knowledge, both religious and secular, being far in advance of their age, had enabled them to draw up rules for the guidance of their countrymen, both as regarded their duty to God and their fellows. Fully aware, as it would appear, of the great fact, that human institutions have strength and permanence only when based on a religious principle, they set forth their own scheme as the direct ordination of the "Self Existent One," the "Great First Cause," whose attributes they described in a tone of solemn grandeur not unbefitting their high theme; and, to enforce their precepts and heighten their influence, made much use of the rude lyrics extant among the people, to which they added others. These were compiled under the name of the Vedas (a word derived from a Sanscrit root, signifying *to know*), by one Vyasa, who lived in the fourteenth century before the Christian era.‡ In describing the religious creed of the

* The classical designation, India, is generally supposed to have been derived from the Indus (the black or blue river), so called from the colour of its waters during an early part of its course; but the wide application of the word renders it more probable that it was employed to denote the country of the *Indi*, or Asiatic Ethiops; for the ancient Greeks used the words Indian and Ethiop as convertible terms. The term Hindoostan, which is not known in the Sanscrit but in the Persian language, signifies the country of the Hindoos, and was, at the earliest period with which we are acquainted, applied exclusively to the region between the Himalaya and Vindya Mountains, which latter chain extends between the 23rd and 25th parallels—nearly from the desert, north-west of Guzerat, to the Ganges — forming the northern boundary of the Deccan (south) peninsula. By the Brahmins, the designation of Medyama (the central land) is applied to India, which is also called, in Sanscrit, Bharat-khand, or the kingdom of Bharat, who is fabled to have been its first monarch; but how far his sway extended is not stated.

† Note of Professor Wilson, on Mills' *History of British India*, vol. i., p. 253.

‡ Each Veda contains an astronomical treatise, explaining the adjustment of the calendar, for the purpose of fixing the proper period for the performance of the various religious duties enjoined; and from this circumstance Mr. Colebrooke was enabled to fix the date of the whole compilation (not, of course, of the several pieces), by ascertaining the place assigned to the solstitial points in the treatises to be that in which those points were situated in the fourteenth century, B.C. The Hindoos themselves declare Vyasa to have lived at least 3,000 years, B.C.; many have asserted the Vedas to be more ancient than the creation of the world, according to the Mosaic account; and some of our own earlier writers held them to be 5,000 years old. Tod, in his *Annals*

Hindoos, and commenting on the opinions entertained respecting the comparative anquity of Brahminism and Boodhism, the most ancient sacred writings of each of these great sects will be noticed; but here it is only necessary to remark, that the Vedas bear incontestable evidence of having been written at different periods, some being in very rugged Sanscrit, others, though antiquated, coming within the pale of that language in the polished form in which Sir William Jones found it, when he declared it to be "of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either."* One only of the Vedas, the *Sama Veda*, has yet been translated into English. The translator, Dr. Stephenson, of Bombay, leans to the opinion of its having been composed out of India, but brought there by the Brahmins from some northern country at a very remote period. Another authority, after a careful examination of the same book, has arrived at a directly opposite conclusion.† Be this as it may, there are expressions in the Vedas which prove that the majority of the detached pieces of different kinds of poetic composition which they comprise, were written in a country where maritime commerce was highly esteemed, where a sacrificial ritual had already been fixed, and mythological legends abounded. The frequent reference to war and to chariots indicate, moreover, the previous establishment of separate states, and the cultivation of military art.

The first comprehensive view of the state of society among the Hindoos is afforded by the code of laws which bears the name of Menu, and is supposed, but not on very convincing data, to have been compiled in or about the ninth century, B.C.‡ Whether Menu himself were a real personage or no is an open question, and one of little importance, since his appearance is merely dramatic, like that of the speakers in the dialogues of Plato or of Cicero. No hint is given as to the real compiler, nor is there any clue to the ancient commentator Culluca, whose endeavours to gloss over and explain away some doctrines of Menu, seems to indicate that opinion had already begun to change, even in his day; while many succeeding commentators, and some of very ancient date, speak of the rules of Menu as applicable to the good ages only, and not extending to their time.

The chief feature in the code is its division of the people into four classes or casts;§ namely, the Brahmins or sacerdotal; the Cshatriya or military; the Vaisyas or industrial; and the Soodras‖ or servile. The three first classes were termed the "twice-born," their youths being admitted, at certain ages, by a solemn ceremony, to participate in the religious and social privileges of their elders; but the fourth and lowest cast was rigidly excluded from all these. The degradation of the Soodras has given rise to the idea of their being the people whom the superior classes had conquered; and similar inferences may be drawn from the fact that, while the "twice-born" were all strictly forbidden, under any circumstances, to leave, what, for want of a better term, may be styled Hindoostan Proper;¶ the Soodra, distressed for the means of subsistence, might go where he would. It appears, however, from the code, that there were still cities governed by Soodra kings, in which Brahmins were advised not to reside. From this it seems probable that the independent Soodra towns were situated in such of the small territories into which Hindoostan was divided as yet retained their freedom, while the whole of the tracts south of the Vindya mountains remained untouched by the invaders, and unpenetrated by their religion. On the other hand, it is remarkable that neither the code of Menu, nor the more ancient Vedas, so far as we are at present acquainted with their contents, ever allude to any prior residence, or to a knowledge of more than the name of

*of Rajasthan*, speaks of Vyasa as the contemporary of Job; Arthur, in his *Mission to Mysore*, mentions the former as having precedence by 200 years.

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 422.

† Arthur's *Mission to the Mysore*, p. 441.

‡ Sir W. Jones supposed the Code to have been compiled about 300 years after the Vedas (As. R., vol. vii., p. 283); but Elphinstone fixes the date at some time about half-way between Alexander, in the fourth century, B.C., and the Vedas in the fourteenth. (Vol. i., p. 430.)

§ Cast, the common word, is not Indian, but English; and is given in Johnson's *Dictionary* as derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, *casta*, a breed. In Sir W. Jones' *Translation of Menu*, the word employed is class: the Brahmins constantly use the Sanscrit term as signifying a species.

‖ There are few things more perplexing in the study of Indian history than the various modes of spelling proper names and other words, which have resulted from the difficulty of representing them in the characters of our alphabet. In the present work, the author has deemed it advisable to adopt that best known and most easily read, in preference to what might have been more critically correct.

¶ See note to previous page.

any country out of India. Even mythology goes no farther than the Himalaya mountains for the location of the gods. With regard to the condition of the Soodras, it appears to have been in many points similar, but in some decidedly preferable, to that of the helot, the slave, or the serf of the Greek, the Roman, and the feudal systems, excepting only its stern prohibition of any share in the ordinances of religion. But this might have originated in the probable circumstance of the conquered people having a distinct creed of their own, to prevent the spreading of which among their disciples, the Brahmins* (in whom, Elphinstone has well said, the common interests of their class, mingled, probably, with much pure zeal for their monotheistic faith, was deeply rooted) united religion and rank so closely in their able scheme, that to break through, or even in minor observances to deviate from the strict rules of duty laid down for the guidance of the several regenerate classes, was to forfeit position, and literally to incur the penalty of a civil death, far passing excommunication in severity, and to place themselves under a ban which wearisome penance could alone remove. One passion—and it would seem only one—was strong enough to break down the barriers of cast. A mixed race sprang up, who were gradually formed into classes, and divided and subdivided, until the result is now seen in an almost countless number of small communities. In subsequent sections, in describing manners, customs, laws, and government, it will be necessary to show what these were in the days of Menu, and the changes which gradually took place up to the period of English dominion; but at present we are more immediately concerned with that difficult subject, the chronological succession of events in Hindoo history.

Oriental research has, as yet, revealed to us but one Hindoo work that can be strictly considered historical, the *Annals of Cashmere*, ably translated by Professor Wilson, which refers chiefly to a limited territory on the extreme northern frontier of India, and contains little more than incidental mention of Hindoostan and the Deccan. There is, besides, an evident and not unnatural desire on the part of the native writer to aggrandize the rulers of Cashmere at the expense of the neighbouring princes, which gives an impression of one-sidedness to a production possessed, notwithstanding, of much value and interest. The student is, therefore, compelled to fall back upon the wide field, as yet but very partially explored, presented in the sacred books, the legislative records, and the two great epic poems. The knowledge obtainable from these sources is, in too many cases, rendered comparatively useless, by the misleading chronology taught by the Brahmins, apparently as a means of sustaining the claim of their nation to a fabulous antiquity. The periods employed in the computation of time are equally strange and unsatisfactory, and are rendered peculiarly puzzling by the astronomical data on which they are partially founded. A complete revolution of the nodes and apsides, which they suppose to be performed in 4,320,000,000 years, forms a calpa, or day of Brahma. In this are included fourteen manwantaras, or periods, each containing seventy-one maha yugas, or great ages, which again comprise, respectively, four yugas, or ages, of unequal length. These last bear some resemblance to the golden, silver, brazen, and iron ages of the Greeks, and are alone considered by the Brahmins as marking the periods of human history since the creation of the existing world, which they believe to have occurred about four million years ago. The first, or satya yuga, lasted 1,728,000 years, through the whole of which a king named Satyavrata, otherwise called Vaivaswata, lived and reigned. This monarch is described as having escaped with his family from an universal deluge, which destroyed the rest of the world. From him descended two royal lines, one of which, under the designation of Soorya, the children of the sun, reigned at Ayodhya or Oude; the other, Chandra, or the children of the moon, at Pratisht'hana or Vitora, in the tract between the Jumna and Ganges, through the 1,296,000 years of the second, or treta yuga; the 864,000 years of the third, or dwapar yuga; and the first 1,000 years of the present, or cali yuga, at which time both the solar and lunar races became extinct; as also a distinct cotemporary race, the descendants of Jarasandha, who began to reign in Magadha or Behar, at the

* Elphinstone suggests a doubt "whether the conquerors were a foreign people or a local tribe, like the Dorians in Greece; or whether, indeed, they were not merely a portion of one of the native states (a religious sect, for instance,) which had outstripped their fellow citizens in knowledge, and appropriated all the advantages of the society to themselves."—*History of India*, vol. i., p. 96.

† It is evident that in the time of Menu there were no slaves attached to the soil.

commencement of the cali yuga. The last reigning prince of the Jarasandha family was slain by his prime minister, who placed his own son, Pradyota, on the throne. Fifteen of the usurping race enjoyed the sovereignty to the time of Nanda, who, in extreme old age (after a reign, it is said, of 100 years), was murdered by a Brahman, by whom a man of the Maurya race, named Chandra-Gupta, was placed on the vacant throne.*

The genealogies of the two parallel lines of the sun and moon are derived from the sacred writings called the Puranas.† Sir William Jones framed his list from the Bhagavat Purana; Captain Wilford subsequently collated his genealogical table of the great Hindoo dynasties from the Vishnu and other Puranas;‡ and, if critical research should eventually succeed in enabling us to correct the errors of Indian chronology, much information may be obtained by means of those lists respecting the early rulers. Wanting this clue, the student will find abundant material for theory, but the historian little that he dares make his own; for the narratives given in the Puranas abound in discrepancies regarding time and place, and are so blended with myths and allegories, that it is next to impossible, at present, to separate truth from fiction, until the period of the Maha Bharat or Great War.§

The scene of the adventures of the first princes, and the residence of the most famous sages, appears to be uniformly placed, both in the Puranas, and the far older institutes of Menu, in a tract called Bramhaverta, because of its sanctity, situated between the rivers Seraswati (Sersooty) and Drishadwati (Caggar), 100 miles to the north-west of Delhi; and about 65 miles long by 20 to 40 broad.|| Probably the next territory acquired lay between that above-mentioned and the Jumna, and included North Behar, this country being mentioned in the second place under the honoured name of Brahmarshi, while Brahmins born within its boundaries were pronounced suitable teachers of the several usages of men.¶ At Oude, in the centre of Brahmarshi, the Puranas, (in which the preceding early stages are not noticed,) fix the origin of the solar and lunar races, from one or other of which all the royal families of ancient India were descended. Some fifty to seventy generations of the solar race, who, in the absence of reliable information, appear little better than myths, bring down the Purana narrative to Rama, the ruler of a powerful kingdom in Hindoostan, and the hero of the oldest Hindu epic—the Ramayana. The chief incident is the carrying off of Sita, the queen of Rama, by Ravana, the king of the island of Lanka, or Ceylon. Rama leads an army into the Deccan, penetrates to Ceylon, and, with the assistance of a strange people allegorized as an army of monkeys, led by Hooniman, their king, gains a complete victory over the ravisher, and recovers his wife, who vindicates her fidelity by successfully passing the ordeal of fire. According to the system of

* According to Mill (vol. i., p. 160); but Elphinstone states Chandra Gupta to have been ninth in succession from Nanda.—Vol. i., p. 261.

† There are eighteen Puranas, which are considered to have been composed between the eighth and sixteenth centuries, A.D.; but several of the authors appear to have made use of much more ancient MS. histories to interweave among their own.

‡ The lines of the Sun and Moon, and the Magadha dynasty, are given at length by Colonel Tod, in the first volume of his valuable and voluminous work the *Annals of Rajasthan*. They were extracted from the Puranas by a body of pundits, and differ more or less in various parts from those published by Sir W. Jones, Mr. Bentley, and Colonel Wilford. Tod's view of the vexed question of early Hindoo records may be understood from his careful enumeration of various traditions which all "appear to point to one spot, and to one individual, in the early history of mankind, when the Hindoo and Greek approach a common focus, for there is little doubt that Adnath, Adiswara, Osiris, Baghes, Bacchus, Menu, Menes, designate the patriarch of mankind, Noah" (vol. i., p. 22). The solar and lunar lines he considers to have been established 2,256 years, B.C., about a century and a half after the flood, the former by Ichswaca the son of Vaivaswatoo Menu, the latter by Boodha, who married Ichswatoo's sister Ella, asserted to be the earth personified—Boodha himself being "the parent and first emigrant of the Indu [Sanscrit for the moon] race, from Saca Dwipa or Scythia to Hindust'han" (p. 45). In another place Tod describes Boodha as the great progenitor of the Tartars, Chinese, and Hindus, "Boodha (Mercury), the son of Indu (the moon), [a male deity] became the patriarchal and spiritual leader, as Fo in China; Woden and Teutates of the tribes migrating to Europe. Hence it follows that the religion of Boodha must be coeval with the existence of these nations; that it was brought into India Proper by them, and guided them until the schism of Crishna and the Sooryas, worshippers of Bal, in time depressed them, when the Boodha religion was modified into the present mild form, the Jain" (p. 58).

§ See Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, Professor Wilson's edition of the *Vishnu Purana*, Sir W. Jones and Colonel Wilford's articles in *Asiatic Researches*, vols. ii. and v., and Dr. H. Buchanan's *Hindoo Genealogies*.

|| Menu, book ii., v. 17, 18: Wilson, preface to *Vishnu Purana*, p. lxvii.

¶ Menu, book ii., v. 19, 20; Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 388.

deifying great men after their decease, which gradually crept into Brahminism, Rama, upon his death, was honoured as a god, and his image worshipped, his natural form being declared to have been an incarnation (the seventh) of Vishnu, one of the three persons, or principles, of the Hindoo Trinity.

A remarkable passage occurs in the Ramayana, in which mention is made of certain foreign princes, who were invited by Dasaratha (the father of Rama) to be present at the Aswamedha* or solemn sacrifice of a horse about to be offered up by the aged monarch, to procure from the gods the blessing of male posterity. The names mentioned are the "sovereign of Kasi or Benares, the rajahs of Magadha or Behar, of Sindu and Surashta (Sinde and Surat), of Unga and Savira (of which one is conjectured to mean Ava, the other some district situated on the Persian frontier), and, in fine, the princes of the south or the Deccan. Heeren, who cites the above passage from the Ramayana, adds—"they are represented as the friends, and some of them also as the relations of Dasaratha, by no means however as his vassals. It is therefore evident that the author of the most ancient Hindoo epic poem considered India to be divided into a number of separate and independent principalities."† This opinion, however, is not founded on indisputable grounds, for many of his auxiliaries appear to have stood to Dasaratha in the relation of viceroys, or at least inferior chieftains. The antiquity of the poem is unquestioned; the author, Valmiki, is said to have been cotemporary with the event he has so ably commemorated,‡ but we have no means of fixing the date of either poem or poet except as somewhere between that of the Vedas and the Maha Bharat, since king Dasaratha is described as deeply versed in the precepts of the Vedas and Vedangas, while on the other hand an epitome of the Ramayana is given in the Maha Bharat. After Rama, sixty princes of his race ruled in succession over his dominions, but as no more mention is made of Ayodha (Oude) it is possible that the kingdom (which was at one time called Coshala) may have merged in another; and that the capital was transferred from Oude to Canouj. The heroic poem, entitled the "Maha Bharat" or Great War, affords an account of many historical events, in the details of a contest between the lines of Pandoo§ and of Curoo, two branches of the reigning lunar race for the territory of Hastinapoora, supposed to be a place on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi, which still bears the ancient name.‖ The rivals are supported by numerous allies, and some from very remote parts. The enumeration of them appears to afford evidence similar to that deducible from the above cited passage of the Ramayana, that there were many distinct states in India among which a considerable degree of intercourse and connection was maintained. Not only are princes from the Deccan and the Indus mentioned, as taking part in the struggle, but auxiliaries are likewise included belonging to nations beyond the Indus, especially the Yavans, a name which most orientalists consider to apply exclusively to the Greeks.¶ The Pandoos are eventually conquerors, but are represented as having paid so dearly for their victory, in the loss of their friends and the destruction of their armies, that the chief survivors quitted their country, and are supposed to have perished among the snows of the Himalaya.** The hero of the poem is Crishna, the great ally of the Pandoos, who was deified after his death as having been an incarnation of Vishnu, or even Vishnu himself. He was born of the

* Aswa is thought to be the etymon of Asia, medha signifies "to kill."

† Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Oxford Translation; 1833: vol. iii., p. 291.

‡ "Rama preceded Crishna: but as their historians, Valmika and Vyasa, who wrote the events they witnessed [this point is, however, questioned], were cotemporaries, it could not have been by many years."—(Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 457.

§ The origin of the Pandoo family is involved in fable, invented, evidently, to cover some great disgrace. According to tradition, Pandoo, whose capital was at Hastinapoora, being childless, his queen, by a charm, enticed the deities from their spheres, and became the mother of Yoodishtra, Bhima, Arjoona (the famous archer), Nycula, and Sideva. On the death of Pandoo, Yoodishtra, with the aid of the priesthood, was declared king, although the illegitimacy of himself and his brothers was asserted by Duryodhanu, the nephew of the deceased sovereign, who, as the representative of the elder branch, retained his title as head of the Curoos. For the whole story of the Maha Bharat, and it is a very interesting one, see the *Asiatic Researches*, and the comments of Tod in the early part of his *Annals of Rajasthan*.

‖ Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 390.

¶ The Greeks, or Ionians, are descended from Javan, or Yavan, the seventh from Japhet.—(Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 51.

** Tod surmises that they did not perish thus, but migrated into the Peloponnesus, and founded the colony of the Heraclidæ, stated by Volney to have been formed there 1078 years, B.C. See the reason for this conjecture, based chiefly on the supposition of the Pandoos being the descendants of the Indian Hercules, pp. 48, 51.

royal family of Mattra on the Jumna, but brought up by a herdsman in the neighbourhood, who concealed him from the tyrant who sought to slay him. This phase of his life is a very favourite one with the Hindoos, and he is worshipped in an infant form by an extensive sect, as also under the figure of a beautiful youth, in commemoration of the time he spent among the "gopis" or milkmaids, dancing, sporting, playing on the pipe, and captivating the hearts alike of rural maidens and princesses. Among the numerous exploits of his more mature age was the recovery of his usurped inheritance, whence, being driven by foreign foes, he removed to Dwarika, in Guzerat, where he founded a principality. He soon however became again involved in civil discord, and, according to Tod, was slain by one of the aboriginal tribes of Bheels. The Maha Bharat describes the sons of Crishna as finally returning to the neighbourhood of the Jumna. The war is supposed to have taken place in the fourteenth century, B.C., about 200 years before the siege of Troy, and the famous and lengthy poem in which it is commemorated is, as before stated, attributed to Vyasa, the collector of the Vedas.

The princes who succeeded the Pandoos, are variously stated at from twenty-nine to sixty-four in number; they appear to have transferred the seat of their government to Delhi; but little beyond a name is recorded of any of them. The kings of Magadha or Behar (the line mentioned as cotemporary with the latter portion of the dynasties of the sun and moon), play a more conspicuous part in the Purana records; they afford a connected chain from the war of the Maha Bharat to the fifth century after Christ, and present an appearance of probability, besides receiving striking confirmations from various quarters. They are frequently referred to in inscriptions sculptured on stone, or engraved on copper plates, conveying grants of land, or charters of privileges and immunities, which are very numerous, and not only contain the date of the grant, and the name of the prince by whom they were conferred, but in most cases enumerate, also, certain of his predecessors.

The first of the Magadha kings, Jarasandha, is mentioned in the Maha Bharat as the head of a number of petty princes. The ruling monarch at the conclusion of the war was Sahadeva; the thirty-fifth in succession from him was Ajata Satru; and in his reign, according to high authority,* Sakya, or Gotama, the founder of the Boodha religion flourished, and died about 550, B.C. This date, if reliable, does good service by fixing the era of Satru; but other eminent writers consider Boodhism of much earlier origin; and some as coeval with, or even older than Brahminism.† The sixth in succession from Satru was Nanda, who, unlike his long line of regal ancestors of the Cshatriya, or military class, was born of a Soodra mother; his ninth successor, who bore his name, was murdered by Chandra Gupta,‡ a man of low birth who usurped the throne. This Chandra Gupta has been, after much research, identified with Sandracottus, the cotemporary of Alexander the Great, and thus a link had been obtained wherewith to connect India with European history, and also with that of other Asiatic nations. The foregoing particulars have been given on strictly Indian authority, for although much extraneous information may be obtained from early foreign writers it is difficult to ascertain how to separate truth from fiction.§ According to Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Cicero, the first Indian conqueror was Bacchus or Dionysius, afterwards deified, who led an army out of Greece, subdued India, taught the inhabitants the use of wine, and built the city of Nysa. The Egyptians, who spared no pains to fortify their claim to the highest antiquity and earliest civilization, and never scrupled to appropriate the great deeds of the heroes of other countries, as having been performed by their own rulers, maintained that Osiris, their conqueror, having first added Ethiopia to his dominions, marched thence to India through Arabia, taught the use of wine, and built the city of Nysa. Both these stories evidently refer to the same person; namely, the Indian prince Vaisvawata Menu; whom Tod, the pains-taking but wildly theoretical Maurice, and other writers affirm to have been no other than the patriarch Noah. Be this as it may, one of the most valuable of ancient writers, Diodorus the Sicilian, declares, on the authority of Indian tradition, that Bacchus (Vaisvawata Menu) belonged to their own nation, was a lawgiver, built many stately

* Elphinstone, vol. i., pp. 209, 261.

† See note to page 14.

‡ Chandra Gupta signifies "protected by the moon."

§ Justin states that the Scythians conquered a great part of Asia, and penetrated to Egypt 1,500 years before Ninus, first king of Assyria.

cities, instituted divine worship, and erected everywhere courts of justice.

The alleged invasions of Semiramis,* Sesostris,† Hercules,‡ and Cyrus, are all denied by Arrian, except that attributed to Hercules. Strabo disputes even that, adding that the Persians hired mercenaries from India but never invaded it.§ The whole question respecting the nature of the alleged connection existing between India and Persia, is one which scarcely admits a satisfactory explanation. Before the time of Cyrus the Great (the son of King Cambyses, the conqueror of Babylon and the Shepherd whose coming to perform the pleasure of the omnipotent God of the Hebrews, was foretold by Isaiah)||, Persia was no more than an inconsiderable kingdom, afterwards comprehended in a single province, retaining the ancient name of Fars; but the conquests of the youthful general, on behalf of his uncle and father-in-law, Cyaxares, King of Media, whom he succeeded, enabled him to unite the thrones of Persia and Media, as well as to sway neighbouring and distant states, to an extent which it is at present not easy to define, though it was amply sufficient to form what was termed the Persian empire, 557, B. C. His eastern frontier certainly touched the verge of India; but whether it encroached yet farther, is a matter of doubt, and has been so for centuries. Nor is it even an established point where India itself terminated; for although Elphinstone and

* The Assyrian invasion, according to the chronology of Capellus, took place about 1970, A. M. It was planned by Semiramis, the widow of Ninus, who, after consolidating her husband's Bactrian conquests, resolved to attempt the subjugation of India, being led thereto by the reported fruitfulness of the soil and the riches of its inhabitants. She spent three years in assembling an immense army, drawn from all the provinces of her extensive empire, and caused the shipwrights of Phœnicia, Syria, and Cyprus, to send to the frontier 2,000 ships or large barks, in pieces, so that they might be carried thence to the Indus, and there put in array against the naval force of the Indians. All things being ready, Semiramis marched from Bactria (Balk) with an army, which it has been well said, "the Greek historians have, by their relations, rendered less wonderful than incredible;" for they describe it as having consisted of 3,000,000 foot, 500,000 horse, 100,000 war chariots, and 100,000 camels, a portion of the latter being made to resemble elephants—by means of a framework being covered with the skins of oxen; this device being employed to delude the Indians into the belief of the invaders being superior to them even in this respect. Stabrobates, the king of the countries bordering the Indus, on receiving intelligence of the intended invasion, assembled his troops, augmented the number of his elephants, caused 4,000 boats to be built of cane (which is not subject to rot, or to be eaten by worms, evils known to be very prevalent at the present day), to occupy the Indus; and headed his army on the eastern bank, in readiness to support them. The attacking fleet being victorious, Stabrobates abandoned his position, leaving the enemy a free passage; and Semiramis, making a bridge of boats, crossed over with her whole force. The counterfeit elephants, which play an important part in the narrative, were marched in front, and at first created great alarm; but the deception being revealed by some deserters from the camp, the Indians recovered their spirits. A fierce contest ensued, in which the Assyrians had at first the advantage, but were eventually totally overthrown, and Semiramis fled, accompanied by a very slender retinue, and escaped with great difficulty to her own dominions. Such is the tale related by Diodorus Siculus; and, however little to be relied on in many respects, it may at least be cited in testimony of the reputation for wealth and civilization enjoyed by India at a very early period. With regard to Semiramis, recent discoveries of ruins and deciphering of inscriptions have placed her existence as an historical personage beyond a doubt.

† The invasion of Sesostris, king of Egypt, A.M. 3023, is alleged to have been as successful as that of Semiramis had proved disastrous. Desiring to render his subjects a commercial people, he fitted out a fleet of 400 ships in the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea (being the inventor, it is alleged, of ships of war), by means of which all the countries stretching along the Erythrean or Arabian Sea to India were subjugated. Meanwhile he led his army through Asia, and being everywhere victorious, crossed the Ganges and advanced to the Indian Ocean. He spent nine years in this expedition, but exacted no other tokens of submission from the conquered nations than the sending annually of presents to Egypt. Perhaps this story, recorded by Diodorus Siculus, and quoted by Harris and by Robertson (who discredits it), in his *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 6, may have originated in the efforts of Sesostris for the extension of commerce; but the success of his plans, whether pursued by warlike or peaceful means, could have been at best but short-lived, since, after his death the Egyptians relapsed into their previous anti-maritime habits; and centuries elapsed before their direct trade with India became of importance.

‡ The Greek accounts of Hercules having been in India is thought to have arisen from the fact of there having been a native prince of that name, who, according to the Hindoo traditions cited by Diodorus Siculus (who wrote 44, B.C.), was after his death honoured as a god, having in life excelled all mere men in strength and courage; cleared both the sea and land of monsters and wild beasts; founded many cities, the most famous of which was Palibrotha, where he built a stately palace strongly fortified, and rendered impregnable by being surrounded by deep trenches, into which he let an adjacent river. When his numerous sons were grown up, he divided India equally among them; and they reigned long and happily, but never engaged in any foreign expeditions, or sent forth colonies into distant countries, being content with the resources of their own fertile domains.

§ Arrian's *Indica:* Strabo, lib. xv.; Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 440.

|| Isaiah; chap. xliv., v. 28.

other writers follow Strabo in declaring the Indus, from the mountains to the sea, to have formed its western limit, other authorities consider the territory of the Hindoos to have stretched far beyond. Colonel Wilford adduces a verse in their Sacred Writings, which prohibits the three upper, or "twice-born" classes, from *crossing* the Indus, but says that they were at liberty to pass to the other side, by going round its source.* Amid so many difficulties and contradictory statements, it is only possible to note the points which seem most reasonable and best authenticated.

Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was raised to the throne of Persia, B. C. 521, by the seven nobles who conspired against Gomates, the Magian, by whom it had been usurped after the death of Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, whose daughter Atossa he afterwards married. Desiring to know the termination of the Indus, and the state of the adjacent countries, with a view to their conquest, Darius built a fleet at Caspatyrus, in the territory of Pactyica on that river, which he entrusted to a skilful Greek mariner named Scylax, who fulfilled his instructions by sailing down the whole length of the Indus, thence coasting to the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and ascending the Arabian gulf to the port at its northern extremity. The account given by Scylax of the fertility, high cultivation, and dense population of the country through which his route lay, incited Darius at once to attempt its acquisition. By the aid of the Tyrians, who were intimately acquainted with the navigation, he brought a numerous force on the coast, while he himself headed a land attack. According to Dr. Robertson, he subjugated "the districts watered by the Indus;"† while Colonel Chesney speaks of his conquests as limited to the "Indian territory westward of the Indus.‡" Both appear to rely exclusively on the testimony of Herodotus, who states that "the Indians" consented to pay an annual tribute of 360 Eubœan talents of gold, or a talent a day—the Persian year being then considered to comprise only 360 days. The sum would appear to be overstated; for a single talent, at the lowest computation, was equal to £3,000 English money; and even, though India may have then deserved its high reputation as a gold-producing region, this tax would have been very onerous. It is, however, certain, that at this time the force of Persian gold was known and feared by neighbouring states, and had a powerful share in enabling the successors of Darius to keep together the chief part of the widely-scattered dominions, which he displayed great ability in even partially consolidating and dividing into satrapies, or governments; of these his Indian possessions formed the twentieth and last.§

Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, had a body of Indian troops in his service; but he discouraged maritime intercourse, considering traffic by land more desirable; and indeed he and his successors are said to have adopted the Babylonian policy of preventing invasions by sea, by blocking up the navigation of some of the chief rivers, instead of guarding the coast with an efficient naval force.

We find but few traces of India|| during the remaining reigns of the Persian monarchs, until the time of their last ruler, Darius Codomanus, who succeeded to the sway of a disorganized territory, consisting of numerous provinces, or rather kingdoms, differing in religion, languages, laws, customs, and interests; and bound together by no tie of a permanent character. A powerful enemy was at hand, in the neighbouring kingdom of Macedon, which had sprung into importance almost as rapidly as Persia, and in a similar manner, having been raised by the talents of a single individual. Philip had acceded to the government of an ordinary state, weakened by war and dissension; but taking full advantage of the commanding geographical position of the country, and the warlike spirit of its hardy sons, he ren-

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 585.

† Dr. Robertson's *Historical Disquisition*, p. 12.

‡ Colonel Chesney's *Survey of the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates*. London: 1850; vol. ii., p. 180.

§ Herodotus, lib. iii. and iv.

|| During the reign of Artaxerxes, the third son of Xerxes (the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther), Ctesias, the king's physician, and the author of a voluminous history of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires, wrote a book on India, founded upon the accounts he obtained from the Persians. His works are not now extant, though various extracts are to be found in different authors. They are all unfavourably commented on, especially that on India, by several Greek writers, who pronounce them fabulous. Plutarch, Aristotle, and even Strabo, notwithstanding their severe censures, have, however, not scrupled to borrow from the pages of Ctesias such statements as appeared to them probable; and Diodorus, as well as Herodotus and Athenæus, are said to have drawn largely from the same source. Xenophon, who was personally acquainted with Ctesias, speaks of him with great respect, though differing from many of his opinions.

dered it the centre of arts and civilization, second only to Persia in power, and superior even to Persia in influence, on account of the state of corruption and excessive luxury into which that empire had fallen.

The free Grecian republics, weakened by strife and division, became for the most part subject to Macedonia, whose ancient constitution—a limited monarchy, which it was the interest of the community at large to maintain—proved a source of strength alike in offensive and defensive warfare. Still Macedonia appears to have been in some sort tributary to Persia; and it was possibly a dispute on this point which had led Philip to form the hostile intentions he was preparing to carry out, and which Arses, King of Persia, was occupied in endeavouring to prevent, when both were suddenly arrested in the midst of their schemes; Philip, who had escaped so many dangers in the battle-field, being stabbed in his own palace during the bridal festivities of his daughter Cleopatra, by Pausanias,* a Macedonian youth of rank; and Arses was poisoned about the same time.

The tender age of Alexander was forgotten in the enthusiasm raised by his manly and powerful eloquence. He assured the assembled Macedonians, previous to the funeral obsequies of his father, that though the name was changed they would find the king remained;—and he kept his word, elevating none of his personal friends, but continuing the able statesmen and generals in the positions in which he found them. By extraordinary address, this youth (for he was but twenty years old) succeeded in stifling the disturbances which followed the catastrophe at home, and in establishing his ascendancy as chief, by the free choice of the majority of the Grecian republics, notwithstanding the unremitting exertions of Demosthenes and his party.

Once firmly seated on the throne, having brought the Illyrian war to a rapid and successful conclusion and captured Thebes, Alexander made ready for a hazardous contest with his powerful compeer Darius, the successor of Arses; who, previous to his accession to the throne of Persia, had been distinguished for the judicious government of a large tract of country of which he had been satrap (viceroy). Although averse to war,† he had nevertheless distinguished himself in the conduct of military proceedings with hostile nations; and he lost no time in preparing for the threatened invasion. In the spring of the year 334, B.C., Alexander, with very limited resources in his possession, but with the riches of the East in prospect, crossed the Hellespont at the head of a confederated ‡ army, variously estimated at 30,000 to 43,000 infantry, and 5,000 cavalry; and after a severe contest, defeated a Persian army 110,000 strong, who disputed with him the passage of the river Granicus, near Zelia, in Bithynia.

In eastern warfare the first victory is of incalculable importance—for the satraps and inferior governors are ever ready to transfer their allegiance to the conqueror, considering that he could be such only by the will of God, to which they are bound to submit.

* The motive of Pausanias is variously stated as having been the instigation of the Persian monarch (in which light Alexander chose to view it); a desire to revenge a personal insult; or otherwise, from ungovernable passion for Olympias, the mother of Alexander.—Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i., p. 54. Justin attributes the deed to the incitement of the vindictive Olympias, who, immediately after her husband's assassination, caused his youngest wife and child to be put to a cruel death.

† Historians agree in describing Darius as amiable and equitable. The tale related by the Persian author, Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, concerning his message to Alexander, is therefore inconsistent with his character. According to this writer, Philip had agreed to furnish an annual subsidy of 1,000 eggs of pure gold. The Persian envoy, sent to demand the tribute from his successor, received the jeering reply that "the birds that laid the eggs had flown to the other world." Darius thereupon despatched an ambassador, with a bat and ball, as a fit amusement for the youthful monarch, and a bag of very small seed, called gunjud, as an emblem of the innumerable Persian army. Alexander taking the bat, said—"This is my power with which I will strike your sovereign's dominion; and this fowl," pointing to one which had been brought at his command, and rapidly devoured the grain, "shows what a mere morsel his army will prove to mine." Then, giving the ambassador a wild melon, he desired him to tell Darius what he had heard and seen, and to give him that fruit, the taste of which might indicate the bitter lot that awaited him.—Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i., p. 55.

‡ The Grecian republics, excepting Lacedemonia, were favourable to Alexander's proposition of an Asiatic expedition; and his own hopes of success rested upon the jealousy and dissension which he knew existed among the numerous satraps or viceroys of Damascus, over whom the supreme authority of "the king of kings," as the Persian monarch was grandiloquently styled, sat lightly enough. The zeal of his officers, to whom rewards, almost princely, were held out in the event of success, and the admirable discipline of his troops, would, he trusted, prevail over the opposing force, and probably cause the defection of the bands of Greek mercenaries employed against him, as well as gain the suffrages of the Greek settlements in Asia, whose release from Persian rule was one of his avowed objects.

The consequence of this brilliant opening must have exceeded the hopes even of the Macedonian, who conducted himself with singular moderation—treating the people everywhere as subjects, not enemies; exacting from them no additional tribute to that previously claimed by Darius; and strictly forbidding pillage or massacre. Having obtained the "sinews of war" in the treasury of the Persian monarchs at Sardis, through the treachery of Mithrenes, the governor, Alexander proceeded on his brilliant career, until he became master of the whole of Lesser Asia. The possession of Cilicia was the next point necessary to his purpose, as it comprised the most practicable route between Greater and Lesser Asia, as well as the communication with Syria by land and with Greece by sea. The province was gained without difficulty; and Alexander (when recovered from a dangerous fever, which for a time checked his impetuous career) employed himself in securing his position, while Darius was straining every nerve to form an army, which should decisively defeat his adversary and re-establish the tottering fabric of the Persian empire. According to Arrian, he increased his Greek mercenaries to 30,000, to whom were joined about 60,000 Asiatics, called Cardacs, trained like the Greeks for close fight, and the middle and light-armed made up a total (including the followers) of 600,000, of whom perhaps 150,000 to 200,000 were fighting men. Darius crossed the Euphrates, and with his immense force covered the plains of Cilicia.

After a fierce struggle between the Macedonian phalanx* and the Persian-Greeks, the powerful monarchs met face to face: Darius, in the centre of the line, in a striking costume, and seated on a splendid chariot drawn by four horses abreast, had been from the first a special object of attack: Sabaces, the satrap of Egypt, and many illustrious Persians, perished by his side, until his wounded horses became so ungovernable among the heaps of slain by which they were hemmed in, that the monarch was with difficulty rescued from the mêlée, by the valour of his brother Oxathres, and placed in another chariot, in which he fled, hotly but unsuccessfully pursued by Alexander, who had himself been slightly injured in the thigh.†

The loss of the Persians is stated by Arrian at 100,000, including 10,000 horse; the most valuable part of the baggage had been conveyed to Damascus, but was soon after captured by Parmenio, Alexander's ablest general, through the treachery of its governor.‡ Meanwhile the family of Darius—his mother, wife,§ and children—fell into the hands of the conqueror, who showed them much personal kindness; but when earnestly solicited to release them at the price of any ransom he might name, haughtily replied, that he would listen to that request only if asked in person, and on condition of being addressed as king of Asia, and lord of all once possessed by Darius. The insulted monarch had no resource but once more to prepare for war, which he had still ample opportunities of doing with a fair prospect of success, for the troops of the eastern satrapies, including some of the most warlike in his dominions, were on their way towards Babylon, and a few months might again see him at the head of a more numerous and more powerful host than that defeated at Issus, and Alexander might yet meet the fate of the younger Cyrus. Nearly two years elapsed before the kingly rivals again met. Meanwhile the conqueror pursued his meteor-like course, astonishing the world by his unequalled daring, yet consolidating his successes as he proceeded, by the consummate and thoroughly consistent policy with which he used all things as instruments of his great designs; diligently and ably promoting the material welfare of subjects (made such by the sword),

* The famous Macedonian or quadruple phalanx, as it was sometimes called, to mark its division into four parts, consisted of a body of 18,000 men, each defended by helmet, breast-plate, greaves, and the large shield called the aspis, and armed with a long sword and with the famous sarissa, a spear measuring four-and-twenty feet. The ordinary depth of the phalanx was sixteen ranks, the best soldiers being placed in the foremost and hindmost ranks, which formed as it were the framework of an engine whose efficiency depended on its compactness and uniformity of movement.—Rev. Connop (now Bishop) Thirlwall's *Greece*, vol. vi., p. 147.

† Arrian, lib. ii., cap. xii.

‡ A loyal subject, moved with indignation, slew the traitor, and laid his head at the foot of his injured master.

§ Statira, the beautiful and beloved wife of Darius, died soon afterwards in childbirth, and Alexander caused her to be interred with every mark of honour; his conduct towards her throughout, so different from the usual licentious cruelty of Asiatic conquerors, excited a feeling of lively gratitude in the breast of her ill-fated husband, who never forgot this one redeeming feature in the conduct of his unrelenting opponent.

humouring prejudice, flattering national vanity, rewarding individual service with unbounded munificence, but at the same time violating in every action the recognised rights of men, and showing himself throughout utterly unscrupulous as to the amount of suffering he inflicted, whether in subduing patriots to his will, or inflicting signal vengeance on those who, from the purest motives, ventured to oppose him. The island-city of Tyre, after a seven months' siege, was conquered by him, through the unconscious fulfilment of a scripture prophecy, in joining the island to the main, by a causeway 800 yards in length. The Tyrians defended themselves to the last with unfaltering determination; and, probably to check all thoughts of capitulation, executed their Macedonian prisoners and cast them into the sea in the sight of the besiegers, who, when their hour of triumph arrived, made this cruel act the excuse for the most unmitigated ferocity. With the exception of the king and some of the principal people, all were involved in a fearful doom; 8,000 perished in the first slaughter, 2,000 prisoners were crucified by order of Alexander, and 30,000 (including a number of foreign residents) were sold into slavery.*

Gaza was next subdued: the citizens, to the last man, died in its defence, and their women and children were sold as slaves. Alexander then marched upon Jerusalem, whose high priest Jaddua, had excited his wrath by refusing to violate the fidelity due to the Persian monarch in furnishing the invader with a supply of troops and provisions during the siege of Troy. The Chaldeans and Phœnicians — ancient enemies to the Jews—accompanied the conqueror, buoyed up with the hope of sharing in the anticipated plunder, but they were witnesses of a very different result. When the army approached the Holy City, the High Priest, attended by the priests and Levites in their sacerdotal vestments, followed by a multitude of the inhabitants, decked in white feast-day robes, came out to meet Alexander, who, recognising, as he afterwards declared, in Jaddua, a figure shown to him in a dream at Dios, struck with pious awe, went up to the temple as a worshipper, and sacrificed according to the Jewish ritual. The priests informed him of his position as the fulfiller of the prophecy of Daniel,† than which nothing could be more gratifying, either to the ambitious designs or superstitious tendencies of Alexander, who took his departure, after making munificent offerings, and bestowing extraordinary privileges on the Jewish nation.‡

In January, 331, the Greeks penetrated into Egypt; and the people, whose religious prejudices had been cruelly insulted by their Persian masters, welcomed the approach of the conciliating conqueror, whose late worship of the God of Israel did not hinder him from sacrificing to their monstrous idols—even to Apis. Sailing down the western or Canobic arm of the Nile, he proceeded to found the greatest of the many noble cities which bore his name, on a site§ which he saw would render it an emporium for the commerce of the eastern and western world; it was colonised with a mixed population of Greeks and Romans—the abolition of the alienating prejudices of race being a marked feature in his mighty plan for the establishment of an universal empire.

After imitating the exploits attributed by Greek legends to his famous predecessors, Hercules and Perseus, braving the bare rocks and burning sands of the Libyan desert, and questioning the oracle of the temple of Ammon, erected in its famed Oasis, he returned to Memphis, completed the arrangements needful for the peaceable government of Egypt, and proceeded to Tyre, the appointed rendezvous of his fleet and army, to prepare for a final contest with Darius. In the autumn of the same year (331) he crossed the Euphrates, advanced at full speed towards the Tigris, where he had expected to meet the hostile force, but being disappointed, rested a few days on the left bank, and then, continuing his march, came up with Darius, whom he found encamped in one of the wide plains between the Tigris and the mountains of Kurdistan, at a village named Gaugamela (the camel's or dromedary's house), about twenty miles from the town of Arbela, which gave its name to the battle. To the last, Darius had endeavoured to make peace with Alexander, offering him the hand of

* Arrian. Curtius, however, states that 15,000 persons were rescued by the Sidonians.

† They probably showed him Daniel, chaps. 7 & 8.

‡ Whiston's *Josephus*, book xi., chap. viii.

§ The approach to the harbour of Alexandria was dangerous; for this reason the famous beacon tower, reckoned among the seven wonders of the world, was built by the first Ptolemy, on a rock near the eastern point of the island of Pharos, and threw a light to a distance, it is said, of nearly forty miles.

his daughter, with a dower of 30,000 talents in gold, and intimating even willingness to divide the empire; indeed it was probably the hope of some such compromise being effected that induced him to allow the Greeks to cross the Euphrates and Tigris unmolested. The numbers of the respective armies would seem to have warranted him in the expectation of being able to dictate rather than solicit peace; but his munificent terms were not the less unhesitatingly rejected by the invader, though Parmenio and the Council urged their acceptance. According to Arrian, Alexander's force amounted to no more than 40,000 foot, and 7,000 horse; but this is evidently exclusive of the Asiatic levies, which there is reason to believe he had raised. The Persian army has been variously stated by Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, and others, at from 200,000 to 800,000 infantry, and from 40,000 to 200,000 horse, besides the Indian contingent of 200 war chariots and fifteen elephants, ranged in the centre of the mighty host, near the person of the monarch. During the weary night preceding the combat, Darius passed along the line by torch-light, cheering his soldiers, all of whom were, by a mistaken policy, kept continuously under arms, from momentary fear of a surprise. The dreaded attempt is said to have been actually suggested by Parmenio to his sovereign after the latter had retired to his tent, but rejected on the ground that it would be alike ignoble and impolitic to steal a victory, instead of gaining it by a fair trial of strength. In the morning the battle commenced, and was long and stoutly contested; the Indo-Scythian troops being, we are expressly told by Arrian, among the flower of the Persian army, and fighting valiantly to the death. The strife became very intricate, hostile bodies intermingled with each other in fierce combat, and the issue seemed to promise little short of annihilation to both parties, when a circumstance, slight in itself, turned the scale. A dart flung by Alexander, who was on horseback, killed the charioteer of Darius; and the confusion thus occasioned gave rise to the general belief that the king himself was slain. A complete panic ensued; the Persians fled in irremediable confusion, followed by Alexander—who was, however, obliged to renounce the pursuit and return to rescue Parmenio, who commanded his left wing, from the critical position in which he had been placed by the resistless onset of the Massagetian horse. There is no credible statement of the amount of life sacrificed on this eventful day; for that of Arrian, which records the loss of the Persians at 40,000, and the Greeks at 100, can scarcely be entertained. This contest sealed the downfall of one powerful empire, and crowned the conqueror with the fallen diadem, although the escape of Darius was still felt as affording serious cause for anxiety.

After allowing his army a brief revel among the luxuries of Babylon, and draining the treasury of Susa of its vast stores of unwrought ingots and golden darics, Alexander proceeded to Persepolis, and though he met with no resistance, suffered the stately city to be plundered by his soldiers, excepting only its magnificent palace, (which he afterwards set on fire with his own hand,)* and the citadel, which ancient writers agree in stating to have contained the prodigious sum of 120,000 talents, or more than £27,000,000 sterling.† Four months elapsed before he resumed the pursuit of Darius, who had meanwhile gathered together a small force, and intended to take refuge in the Bactrian satrapy of Bessus; but this disloyal servant, considering his master's fortunes desperate, conspired with the satraps of Arachosia and Aria either to kill or to deliver him to the Greeks, according as might best serve their private purpose—the securing independent possession of their satrapies. Alexander, after marching rapidly through Media, had reached a mountain pass called the Caspian Gates, before intelligence arrived of the plot; he exclaimed bitterly against the treachery to which his own ambition had subjected the royal fugitive, and pressed eagerly onwards to his rescue. The conspirators fled before him, and Darius resolutely refusing to accompany them, was left mortally wounded in his chariot, where his lifeless body was found by Alexander, who buried it with regal honours, provided for the maintenance of Sisygambis (his mother), married his daughter Statira, took charge of the education of his other children, and declared his determination of punishing the assassins. Artabazus, the faithful and long-tried adherent of Darius, then ninety-five years of age, he took into his own service, and evinced his respect for his fidelity by unremitting kindness to him and to his sons.

* At the suggestion, it is said, of Thais, an Athenian courtesan, made to him when heated with wine. Both Plutarch and Arrian record his immediate and undisguised regret for the deed.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. v., cap. 5; Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii., cap. 18; Justin, lib. xi., cap. 14.

Bessus finding himself disappointed in his hopes now braved the worst, by boldly assuming the tiara, and the title of Artaxerxes King of Asia, in defiance of the pretensions of Alexander, who wished to be considered as the avenger and rightful successor rather than the conqueror of Darius, and to receive even from his Macedonian subjects the species of adoration offered by the Persians to their king, as a preliminary to the divine honours, to which an oracle had declared him entitled. The Macedonians viewed these pretensions with undisguised aversion, and several of his bravest subjects, including Philotas and his father Parmenio, the beloved general of Philip,* became, under different pretences, victims to their opposition to this glaring impiety.† Barzaentes, one of the confederates of Bessus, took refuge among the Indians on the border of his eastern satrapy of Arachosia, but was delivered up by them to Alexander, who caused him to be put to death; Sartabarzanes, another of the traitors (and a double-dyed one, for he had voluntarily sworn allegiance to the conqueror), was slain in battle, and the arch conspirator Bessus alone remained. He had consulted his personal safety by fleeing across the vast mountain barrier of India, a part of which is there called the Paropamisus,‡ trusting that the natural difficulties of the country would greatly impede, if not entirely block up, the pursuit of a hostile force. He probably little knew the zeal with which, from very childhood, Alexander had striven for accurate geographical knowledge, eagerly questioning the ambassadors of his father's court as to the routes they had traversed, or heard of, so as to give the wisest of them some partial insight into the schemes even then passing through his brain. On arriving at the root of the chain, he was probably well acquainted with its general direction, as well as the defiles by which it might be traversed, especially since, during his sojourn in Phœnicia, he had had abundant opportunity of ascertaining the nature of the trade with India, and the means by which it was carried on, by land as well as by sea. At the foot of the pass by which he intended crossing, Alexander founded another Alexandria (ad Caucasum), where he planted a colony of Macedonian veterans; then, undeterred by the severity of the yet unexpired winter, he avoided the dangerous period of the melting snows, by commencing his mountain march, which lasted fifteen days, and was rendered arduous and harassing, not only from the natural causes of cold and fatigue, but also by scarcity of provisions. Bessus had laid waste the whole country between the lower valleys on the northern side, and the left bank of the Oxus, before he passed over with his troops, after which he burned the boats which had conveyed them. Alexander having captured the town and fortress of Aorni, and Bactra the chief city of Bactria (supposed to be the modern Balk), committed the charge of the newly-acquired territory to the venerable Artabazus; then dismissing some of the more infirm, or least willing, of the Macedonian troops and Thessalian volunteers, he proceeded across a strip of the great desert, which stretches from the Caspian to the high table-land, containing the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes. On arriving at the former river, no boats or building materials could be procured, and the breadth was little less than 800 yards; but even this obstacle was overcome, and the whole of the troops transported safely over on skins stuffed with straw. The passage being accomplished after six days' labour, the Greeks pushed across the desert in a northerly direction, but were met by envoys from two of the chief followers of Bessus, who fell a victim to the same treachery he had practised towards Darius; and being delivered up by his followers, Spitamenes and others, suffered a cruel and ignominious death.§ The obtainment of the avowed object of the expedition did not put a stop to Alexander's progress. According to Plutarch it was about this period that he first entertained

* It is recorded by Plutarch, that Philip once said the Athenians were lucky to be able to find ten generals every year; he, in the course of many years, had only found one, Parmenio.

† The famous quarrel in which, during a carousal, Alexander slew his tried friend Cleitas, who had preserved his life in battle at the risk of his own, arose from the same cause; as did also the execution of Callisthenes, though on the avowed charge of having incited a conspiracy among the royal pages.

‡ This range (according to Masson) is distinct from the true Indian Caucasus, or Hindoo Koosh;—the name is derived from "par" and "pam," signifying *hill* and *flat*—the region around consisting of flat-topped hills.

§ He was publicly stripped and scourged, his nose and ears were cut off, and (according to Curtius and Diodorus) he was eventually surrendered to Oxathres and other kinsmen of Darius to be executed; but by some accounts he is represented as having been, by order of Alexander himself, torn limb from limb, by means of two trees, to which he was bound, being first bent and then suffered to spring back.—See Langhorne's Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, vol. iv., p. 186.

the idea of following up his conquests by that of India. He had now reached a delightful region of great beauty and exuberant fertility, whose pastures afforded him fresh horses to supply the loss sustained in marching through mountains and deserts; thence he advanced to the capital of Sogdiana, called Maracanda, since known as Samarcand, in whose citadel he placed a Greek garrison. Still proceeding northwards, he founded another Alexandria on the Jaxartes, and was involved in some sharp contests with the Asiatic Scythians, in one of which a body of Macedonian horse were surprised and slain, and in another he was himself wounded. After repressing disturbances among the Sogdians, on whom he wreaked a cruel vengeance for what he thought fit to call rebellion to his self-constituted authority, he proceeded at the close of 329 to take up his winter quarters at Bactria or Zariaspa. For the next twelve months he found ample employment in stifling the efforts for independence of the Scythians, Sogdians, and the Bactrians, incited by Spitamenes, the most active and determined enemy he had yet encountered in Asia. This chief's motive appears to have been dissatisfaction at receiving less reward than he had expected for the surrender of Bessus. By a remarkable retribution he was in turn betrayed by his own troops, who, desirous of conciliating their powerful foe, cut off the head of their leader, and offered it as their own propitiation. Several of his confederates still lived and took refuge in the mountainous region about the upper valleys of the Oxus, with other chiefs who persevered in the struggle for liberty. They were not, however, of sufficient importance to detain Alexander any longer in the countries where he had already spent nearly two years, and which had been subdued only with much difficulty and large expenditure of blood and treasure, as well as by diplomacy; for example, by his marriage with Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, an influential Bactrian chief, he converted a dangerous enemy to a firm friend.

Greek Invasion of India.—In the spring of 327, Alexander prepared to attempt the conquest of the almost unknown countries bordering and beyond the Indus. The prestige of his success, and the generosity with which he treated all who submitted to his sway, induced a native ruler to send a friendly embassy before the army quitted Sogdiana. The name of this prince was recorded by the Greeks (who are unfortunately proverbial for the manner in which they distorted foreign words to suit their own pronunciation) as Omphis, or Mophis; but he was commonly called Taxiles, from Taxila,* the capital of his country, which lay between

* Taxila must have been a large and splendid city, but its site is still a matter of dispute. Schlosser places it at Attock, and Rennell at or near the same place. On the route leading thence to Lahore, are the ruins of a very ancient town of unknown name and origin, which is also supposed to have been Taxila. Abundance of Greek and Bactrian coins have been found in the numerous ruins and cupolas or topes which are scattered over the plain on which the present small village of Manikyala stands. One of these topes or tumuli (examined in 1833-34, by Mons. Court, an engineer officer then in the service of Runjeet Sing) was 80 feet high, with a circumference of 320 feet, solidly built of well-dressed quarried stones, some of huge size, cemented with lime; while a range of small columns, the capitals ornamented with rams' heads, surrounded the base. The Hindoos resort to the spot to offer up the first cuttings of the hair of their male children, a custom said to have been prevalent in ancient Greece. There are about fifteen smaller topes near the principal one; and, indeed, similar tumuli abound in different parts of Affghanistan, at Cabool, Jellalabad, in the Khyber hills, &c. They are generally constructed of sandstone, and of a nummulitic limestone (full of shell impressions), such as is found in the Egyptian pyramids. In one of the topes, which had a height of sixty or seventy feet, a cell was discovered at ten feet from the ground-level, whose four sides corresponded with the cardinal points; it was constructed in a solid manner, and covered with a massive slab containing inscriptions, some resembling the writings of the Rajpoots of the Himalaya, others the Ethiopian character. In the centre was a copper urn or cylinder, encircled by eight copper medals, (some apparently of the Winged-cap Sassanian dynasty,) with a wrapper of white linen tightly adhering to the surface, which fell into shreds on being exposed to the air. The copper enclosed a silver urn, the intervening space being filled with a moist paste, devoid of smell, of the colour of raw umber, in which lay a thread of cotton gathered up into a knot. The silver, from age, had become quite brittle, and crumbled into bits between the fingers, as the metals found at Nineveh have since done. Within the silver vessel was a much smaller golden one, and seven silver medals with Latin characters. The gold cylinder contained four small, worn, golden coins of the Græco-Scythian, or Græco-Indian type, but of a far inferior fabrication to the silver ones; there were also two precious stones and four perforated pearls (which had been pendants of ear-rings), fragments of a vitreous nature, and small transparent yellow substances, with decayed organic matter. The country around, as proved by the quantity of ruins of old houses, must have once been very populous. Whether these topes or mounds served for royal mausolea, or Boodhistical shrines, or both, is doubtful: they were possibly the consecrated tombs of kings or of persons of distinction. Some curious coincidences are observable between the ancient monuments and the sepulchral tumuli or *barrows* discovered in Essex

the upper Indus and the Hydaspes (Behut or Jhelum), the westernmost of the five great tributaries, from which the whole eastern basin of the Indus, down to their confluence, is called the Punjaub (five rivers).

From Bactria and Sogdiana, as also from the neighbouring Scythian hordes, auxiliaries were raised to the amount of 70,000 persons, of whom 30,000 were youths, levied to serve at once as hostages and soldiers. Altogether the Greek force (exclusive of a corps of 10,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry left in Bactria, under the command of the satrap Amyntas) consisted of 120,000 foot and 15,000 horse. After crossing the Parapamisan chain, in ten days, (apparently by a different route to that which had been taken in the winter of 329,) through a pass described by Arrian as "high, narrow, and short," the troops reached Alexandria ad Caucasum, and from thence proceeded to a town named Nysa,* which would appear to have been the same city alleged to have been founded by the Indian Bacchus, or Dionysus. The inhabitants are said to have dexterously turned Alexander's claim to be considered as a son of Jupiter to advantage by entreating him to spare and protect the city founded by his "celestial brother;" and as an evidence of the truth of their statement, they pointed to the abundance of vines, wild and uncultivated, growing in their valleys, and to the ivy and laurel first planted by the hand of Bacchus, of which the Macedonians had, until then, seen none since they left Greece. Alexander offered sacrifices in honour of his divine predecessor, and permitted Nysa, which is described as an aristocratical republic under a discreet ruler named Acuphis, to retain its liberty and laws.† On proceeding to the banks of the river Cophenes, he was met at his own request by Taxiles, and several chiefs from the region west of the Indus; they brought him presents, and promised to gratify his desire for trained elephants, by the gift of all they possessed, which, however, amounted only to five-and-twenty. The army was then divided; one portion, under Hephæstion and Perdiccas, took the direct road to the Indus, with orders there to prepare a bridge of boats for the passage of the main body, which Alexander conducted by a more northern route over difficult mountain paths, to meet the hardy and warlike tribes, mentioned by Arrian under the names of the Aspii, the Thryæi, and the Arsæi. In a contest with the inhabitants of one of the towns, he was wounded, and the Greeks in their rage (having carried the double walls,) gave no quarter, but slaughtered all without distinction, and reduced the place to ashes. The whole of this campaign in the high lands of Affghanistan was marked by determined bravery on the part of the mountaineers, and sanguinary cruelty on that of the invader, who had no other plan for subduing a people, who desired—not generosity but justice, not to be well governed after his fashion, but to remain independent after their own. In the country of the unoffending Assacenes‡ he behaved with especial barbarity. Having encamped before their capital, Mazagu, he made three determined attacks with battering-engines on different days, during which he was wounded in the leg and arm; the result of a fourth assault was yet doubtful, when the Affghan chief was slain, and the garrison were suffered to capitulate on the condition that 7,000 mercenaries from the Punjaub, who had been engaged in the service of the deceased leader, should join the Greek army. They accordingly marched out and encamped on a hill for the night, but evinced so much reluctance at the thought of fighting against

and other parts of England, which contained, like those of the Punjaub, various bronze urns, enclosing fragments of burnt bones, coins, glass, and even a similar brown or light yellow liquid or paste. Virgil, also, in the *Æneid* (vi., 215), describes the Roman custom of burning the dead; milk, wine, blood, and other *munera*, supposed to be grateful to the deceased, were poured on or mingled with the ashes, and money was usually added to defray the fee of Charon for ferrying the departed spirit across the Styx.

* The locality of the different towns and rivers mentioned by Alexander's historians, is much contested by modern geographers. The site of Nysa is pointed out by M. Court, at Ashnagur (whose suburbs are scattered over with vast ruins of unknown date); that of Alexandria ad Caucasum is variously placed at Ghuznee and at a place called Siggan; while the *Cophenes* is supposed to denote either the river formed by the confluence of the *Cabool* with the *Pendjsher*, or else the eastern branch of the *Helmund*, now known as the *Tarnuck*. The reader desirous of understanding the grounds upon which these and other opposite opinions rest, will find them fully discussed by the highest Indian authorities, in the pages of the various Asiatic journals, and in the works of Rennell, Vincent, Elphinstone, Vigne, Burnes, Chesney, Masson, Long, &c.

† Recorded by Arrian, Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander*.

‡ Arrian says they had been subject to the Assyrians, then to the Medes, and subsequently to the Persians. The *Oritæ* are described by the same authority, as a nation whose country extended along the sea-coast for about 150 miles; and who wore the dress and arms of the other Indians, but differed from them in language and manners.

their countrymen, that Alexander, suspecting them of an intention to desert, caused them to be suddenly surrounded and cut to pieces. He then set at nought the capitulation by storming the defenceless city. The strongholds of Ora and Bazira were next reduced, the inhabitants of the latter place fled to a hill-fort on the right bank of the Indus, whose name seems to have been lost by the Greeks in that of Aornus,* a term indicative of its extraordinary height, above the flight of a bird. Here Hercules was said to have been defeated, and Alexander, desirous of excelling the exploits of even fabled heroes, and of proving himself not to be deterred by natural difficulties, proceeded to the attack; passing, it would appear, through the district of Peucelaotis, and taking possession of the chief city, Peucela, whose ruler, Astes, had fallen in the thirty days' siege of the force under Hephæstion and Perdiccas on their march eastward. Aornus he captured by forming a mound across a hollow of no great depth, but of considerable width, which separated a neighbouring hill from the pyramidical rock itself; thus a vantage-ground was gained to the surprise and terror of the besieged, who endeavoured to escape at night-fall, but were pursued with great slaughter into the plains beneath. The accounts given by Arrian of the next steps of Alexander's progress are scarcely reconcileable with those of Diodorus and Curtius; but it appears that he was compelled to return to the mountains to suppress insurrection, and that the people fled before him. He despatched his generals, Nearchus and Antiochus, to scour the country towards the north-west, while he himself opened a road, which no army had ever before trodden, to the banks of the Indus, and on his way captured some of the fugitives, who, among other information, told him that their elephants had been left in the thickets on the west side of the river. These animals having been obtained by the aid of native hunters, vessels were constructed, in which the force dropped down the stream to the bridge prepared for them by Hephæstion and Perdiccas, with the assistance of Taxiles, who came out with his army and elephants to meet Alexander on his arrival at the eastern shore of the Indus, and conducted him with much pomp to his capital.† Taxiles appears to have been very desirous to obtain the assistance of the

* Aornus was probably a general name for a stockaded mountain, such as that already mentioned in Bactria, and most likely Hellenized from the Sanscrit Awara, or Awarana, an enclosure. Its position is considered by some authorities to have been a little distance above Attock, while others consider it to be found at Peshawer, in front of the Khyber Pass, and reconcile this opinion with the statement of Arrian and Strabo, that the Indus flowed at the base of Aornus, by declaring that these writers evidently deemed the Cabool river the true Indus.

† It seems to have been during his stay at Taxila that Alexander had first the opportunity of gratifying his curiosity respecting the doctrine and practice of the Hindoo ascetics called gymnosophists by the Greeks. At Corinth, struck by the imperturbable stoicism of a man, who had nothing to ask, but that he should stand from betwixt him and the sun, he is reported to have exclaimed, that were he not Alexander he would wish to be Diogenes. In India he must have witnessed a far more interesting spectacle. The Greek philosopher had no higher object in his dogged abstinence from the comforts of civilized life than to place himself beyond the reach of what, in his blindness, he called chance or fortune; but the Brahmins sought, by self-inflicted tortures, and unceasing exposure to the severe influences of their burning sky, to win by slow degrees a release from mortality, and absorption into the Divine essence. Alexander was utilitarian in all his views; it might therefore be supposed he could have little sympathy with men whom he might have considered as visionary enthusiasts, but he was also extremely superstitious: his great intellect groped in darkness, unenlightened by any ray of revealed truth, which could show him the fundamental error of striving to found a universal, or at least an Asiatic empire, by means of unlimited conquests, gained at a terrible cost of blood, tears, and moral degradation. Still he was no mere conqueror; it was not simply a selfish ambition that prompted him—far less any brutal, or rather demoniacal, love of fighting. He ever strove to conciliate strange nations, by respecting their religious observances, as the best means of retaining permanent dominion over them; and it was probably a high political motive which rendered him solicitous to converse with the Brahmins (or rather Yogees), fifteen of whom were congregated in a grove near the city. The eldest and most honoured, called by the Greeks, Dandamis, refused either to visit or write to Alexander, declared (according to Strabo) to a total disbelief of his alleged Divine origin, and expressed equal indifference to persuasions or threats; gifts he needed not, and he added, alluding to the Hindoo doctrine of metempsychosis—"If he should put me to death, he will only release my soul from this old decrepit body, which will then pass into a freer and purer state; so that I shall suffer nothing by the change." One of the Yogees, named Sphines, called Calanus by the Greeks was, however, prevailed upon to go to Alexander, who, being much pleased with his discourse, carried him with him throughout his expedition, and even back to Persia. Calanus was there attacked with illness; and considering it as a summons from above, being then seventy-three years of age, prepared to terminate his life. Alexander having vainly laboured to dissuade him, caused a magnificent funeral pile to be raised, which Calanus, though weak with pain and illness, ascended with unfaltering resolution, singing hymns of prayer and praise. He then calmly composed his limbs, and without moving, was consumed in the sight of the king and the whole army.—(*Vide* Arrian, Strabo, and Plutarch.)

Greeks in carrying on war with a neighbouring and powerful prince, whose proper name has not descended to us, but only that of his family, Porus.* Alexander sent a peremptory summons, requiring tribute and allegiance, to which the Indian prince replied that he would come to the borders of his kingdom to meet the invader, but it should be in arms. His kinsman, a neighbouring ruler of the same name, whether from jealousy or induced by the munificent presents made to Taxiles, despatched an embassy with offers of submission. It is probable that Taxiles received an enlargement of his territory by the annexation of some of the newly-conquered districts on the west of the Indus; but the price paid by him was nothing less than the loss of liberty, since a Greek satrap was appointed for this part of India, and a Greek garrison stationed in his chief city. With forces strengthened by 5,000 Indian recruits, led by Taxiles, Alexander resumed his march in the middle of the year 326; for so it would appear from the statement of Aristobulus, that he experienced the commencement of the summer rains, which are not known to fall in the Punjaub before June or July. On his road to the Hydaspes he was interrupted, in a defile through which his road lay, by a nephew of Porus named Spittacus, or Spitaces, with a body of troops. These he soon dispersed, and arrived without further opposition on the right bank of the river, where he beheld the hostile army drawn up on the opposite side, the intervening stream being deep, rapid, and, at the time he reached it, probably little less than a mile broad. Although well provided with boats, rafts, and floats, Alexander was too prudent to attempt forcing a passage in the face of an equal if not superior enemy, and had therefore recourse to stratagem to disarm the vigilance of his antagonist. After making excursions in various directions, as if uncertain where to attempt crossing, he ordered magazines of provisions to be formed, as if for a long sojourn, and gave out that he intended awaiting the termination of the monsoon, which it is probable he would have really done but for intelligence that auxiliaries were on their way to strengthen the enemy. Night after night, bodies of cavalry rode noisily up or down the right bank, and Porus repeatedly drew up his elephants and proceeded towards the quarter whence the clamour arose; until, wearied by false alarms, he paid no attention to the movements upon the opposite shore. Alexander having selected a spot a day's march distance above the camp,† where the river made a westerly bend, and a thickly-wooded island divided the stream, left a strong division at the first station with orders to remain there until the elephants should be withdrawn from their menacing position, in which case they were to attempt the passage forthwith. The same command was given at the series of posts (horse and foot), stationed between the camp and the place of embarkation. Here preparations were made, under cover of the wood which clothed the projecting bank of the river, the din of axes and hammers, which might otherwise have attracted attention, (notwithstanding the feints previously resorted to) being overpowered by pealing thunder and torrents of rain, that lasted through the night hours, but ceased at daybreak. Alexander set out, accompanied by Perdiccas, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, with the flower of the Macedonian cavalry, and the Bactrian, Sogdian, and Scythian auxiliaries. In passing the wooded island before mentioned, they were first seen by the Indians, who immediately gave the alarm. The invaders landed, on what they thought to be the river bank, but really on another island, separated from the main by a channel swollen by floods into a formidable stream, which however proved fordable, and the whole division was, after some delay, landed, and drawn up in order of battle. The cavalry numbered about 5,000, the infantry probably nearly 20,000. Porus, perceiving

* Tod says that Porus was a corruption of Pooru, the patronymic of a branch of the royal Lunar race (*Rajast'han*, vol. i.); and Rennell states that the predecessor of the prince in question reigned in Canoge or Canouj, on the Ganges, which, according to Ferishta, was then the capital of all Hindoostan (*Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, p. 54).

† The precise spots at which the army encamped upon the Hydaspes, and crossed it, are not ascertained. Strabo points out that Alexander marched as near as possible to the mountains, and this useful indication is considered by Masson to establish his having followed the high road from Attock to Jhelum, which probably was then as now the most northerly of the Punjaub routes, and the one almost exclusively practicable during the monsoons. Consequently Porus took up his position on the eastern bank of the Jhelum at the point to which he knew Alexander must come, that is near the present village of that name, in whose locality, the sites of Nicæa and Bucephala, (though on different sides of the river) must be sought for. Rennell places the encampment opposite where the fortress of Rotas afterwards stood; and Vincent (who supposes the wooded island passed by Alexander to have been Jamad) about twenty-eight miles below Rotas.

that Alexander's tent remained in its place, and that the main body were apparently still at the encampment, regarded his actual approach as a stratagem to tempt him from an advantageous position, and merely sent forward his son or brother Hages with 2,000 horse and 120 war chariots, whom Alexander charged fiercely, with the whole of his cavalry. Hages and some 400 of his followers were slain, and the chariots, which had been with great difficulty brought over ground turned into a swamp by the rains, were all captured. Porus, on learning this disastrous commencement, left a part of his elephants to contest the passage of the Greeks stationed under Craterus at the encampment, and advanced to the decisive conflict, with a force (according to Arrian) of 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 300 chariots. Beyond the swampy ground, near the river, lay an open sandy tract, affording firm footing, and here he awaited Alexander's approach; his 200 elephants, bearing huge wooden towers, filled with armed men, being drawn up in front of the line, at intervals of a hundred feet, occupied with infantry; while one-half of the cavalry was posted at each flank, and the chariots (each containing six armed men) in front of them. After a long and quick march, Alexander arrived in sight with his cavalry, and halted to allow time for the foot to join him. Observing the disposition of the enemy, he instantly apprehended the necessity of depriving Porus of the advantage he must obtain from the almost invincible strength of the elephants and chariots when brought to bear in a direct attack, as well as the superior numbers of the opposing infantry, by a skilful use of the mounted troops, in which his strength lay. An attack on the enemy's left wing, would, he foresaw, draw the cavalry into action for its protection. Therefore, ordering the horse-bowmen to advance, he followed up the slight disorder caused by their arrows, by charging with the rest of the cavalry; while the Indian horse from the right being brought up, as foreseen, Cœnus, in accordance with previous orders, charged them in the rear, and the Macedonian phalanx advanced to take advantage of the confusion that ensued. The engagement became very complex; the elephants hemmed in and maddened by wounds, turned their fury indiscriminately against friend and foe, until many were killed, and the rest, spent with pain and toil, ceased to be formidable. Another general charge of horse and foot was made by the Greeks; the troops of Porus were completely routed, and fled, pursued by Craterus and the division from the right bank, who, having by this time effected their passage, engaged with ardour in the sanguinary chase. As is usual with Alexander's historians,* his loss is stated at an extremely small, and that of the enemy, at a proportionably large amount. The more moderate statement of Diodorus Siculus, gives the number of the slain on the side of Porus, at 12,000, including two of his sons and great part of his chief officers, besides 9,000 taken prisoners. The loss of the Macedonians is given at less than 1,000. Porus himself, mounted on an elephant, to the last directed the movements of his forces; and, although wounded in the shoulder, (his body was defended by a corslet of curious workmanship which was proof against all missiles,) would not retire until his troops were hopelessly dispersed; then he turned his elephant for flight, but, being a conspicuous object, was speedily captured, and carried, while senseless from loss of blood, into the conqueror's presence. Alexander, who had observed his gallant bearing during a conflict of seven or eight hours' duration, asked him how he desired to be treated, but could obtain no other answer than "as a king;" and, on observing that "this a king must do for his own sake," Porus replied that, "nevertheless in that all was included." The quick perception of character, which was one of Alexander's distinguishing and most serviceable qualities, taught him that Porus might prove a valuable and trustworthy auxiliary. He reinstated him in royal dignity, added considerably to his dominions, and brought about a reconciliation, in form at least, with Taxiles. On the Hydaspes or Jhelum, the conqueror founded two cities; one near the field of battle, named Nicæa, and another near his landing-place, named Bucephala, in honour of his famous horse, which, having accompanied him thus far, sank from fatigue, wounds, and old age, in the hour of victory. Craterus was left to superintend the building of these cities; and the main body were allowed a month's rest, probably chiefly on account of the continuance of the heavy rains. Alexander himself, with a select division of horse and foot, pursued his aggressive march through the rich and populous valleys on the north of the

* The details recorded by Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch, vary considerably, but the general tenor is the same.

territory of Porus, to the river Acesines or (Chenab,)* receiving, according to the Greek historians, the submission of thirty-seven cities—none containing less than 5,000 inhabitants,—all of which he annexed to the kingdom of Porus. The younger Porus, called the coward, fled from his dominions, from the fear that the favour shown to his kinsman portended his ruin, and took refuge at the court of Nanda, the reigning monarch of the Prachii or Prasii—who swayed nearly the whole of Eastern India. Ambisares, the king or chief of a tribe of mountaineers, and Doxareus, another native rajah or prince are mentioned by Arrian, as tendering their allegiance; the former sent a present of forty elephants. After crossing the *Hydraotes* (*Ravee*), Alexander traversed the country of the Cathæans to attack Sangala, a city of great strength and importance, which seems to have occupied nearly the same site as the modern capital of the Sikh monarchy, Lahore, on a branch of the Ravee, near the edge of a small lake.† The Cathæans or Catheri, (supposed, by Sanscrit scholars, to be a corruption of Cshatra, a mixed race, sprung from females of the warrior class, and men of inferior cast,) ‡ had confederated with the Malli and Sudracæ, or Oxydracæ, that is, the people of Moultan and Outch. On approaching Sangala, the Greeks found the Cathæans entrenched on an isolated hill, behind a triple barrier of waggons. Alexander, at the head of the phalanx, forced the three lines, and carried the place by storm; but with the loss of 1,200 killed and wounded. This vigorous resistance was revenged by sanguinary carnage—17,000 of the Cathæans were slain, 70,000 made prisoners, and Sangala razed to the ground. Despatching Porus (who had arrived during the siege with about 5,000 men) to place garrisons in the Cathæan towns, Alexander continued to advance to the south-east, received the submission of two princes, called by the Greeks Sopithes§ and Phegelus, and arrived at the banks of the *Hyphasis* (*Beyah*), just above its junction with the *Hesudrus* (*Sutlej*). The limit of his eastern progress was at length reached, for, even under his leadership, the weary and home-sick army would proceed no farther. He could have given them, at best, but unsatisfactory grounds of encouragement to continue their course. The narrow boundaries assigned by the geographers of the day to India, and the eastern side of the earth, were manifestly incorrect; the ocean which he had been taught to believe was separated by no very vast distance from the banks of the Indus, had receded, as he advanced to an immeasurable distance; and he had learned that beyond the Hydaspes a desert, more extensive than any yet encountered, parted the plains of the Punjaub from the region watered by the tributaries of the Ganges—a river superior to the Indus, having on its banks the capital of a great monarchy, that of the Prasii and Gangaridæ, whose king could bring into the field 200,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and several thousand elephants. The king himself is however represented to have been looked upon as an upstart and a usurper; and Alexander might probably have hoped to be enabled to carry out his object, by similar divisions among the natives to those which had materially aided him in his partial conquest of the Punjaub. The very dangers and difficulties of the attempt were but incitements to one whose object was universal empire—to be attained at the hazard of life itself, which he unhesitatingly imperilled in every battle. With passionate eloquence he reminded the Macedonians that the Hydraotes had already become the limit of their empire, which extended westward to the Ægean Sea, and northward to the river Jaxartes; and he urged them to cross the Hyphasis; then, having added the rest of Asia to their empire, to descend the Ganges, and sail round Africa to the pillars of Hercules.—(Arrian, lib. v., cap. 25.)

Finding this appeal without effect, or at least overborne by the recollection of the fatigues and privations undergone during the preceding campaign in the rainy season, Alexander angrily declared that he should proceed, attended only by those who desired to accompany him; the rest might return home, and say that they had forsaken their king in the midst of enemies. The silence and deep gloom which pervaded the camp at length convinced Alexander that no considerable portion of the army could be prevailed upon to cross the Hy-

* Alexander called it Acesines; the ancient native name was Chandrabagha—the moon's gift.

† Burnes, vol. i., p. 156.—Masson does not consider the Sangala of Arrian to have denoted the Indian city of Sagala, whose site is now indicated by that of Lahore, but places it at Hareepah.

‡ Masson dissents, believing them to have been the Catti, a nomadic Scythian tribe.

§ According to Arrian, Sopithes submitted in the descent of the fleet from Bucephala, whence three days' journey brought Alexander to the territory of this prince, where Strabo says there were famous salt

phasis. He found either a pretext or a reason for yielding to the general wish, in the unfavourable auspices which attended the sacrifices offered for the purpose of consulting the gods respecting his future advance; and, after erecting twelve colossal towers or altars, in token of his gratitude for having been brought thus far safe and victorious, and reviving, by horse-races and gymnastic exercises, the drooping spirits of his troops, he conferred on Porus the government of the country towards the Hyphasis,* and commenced retracing his steps. At the Acesines he found the city which Hephæstion had been ordered to build, ready to receive a colony, and there he left the disabled mercenaries, and as many natives of the neighbouring districts, as were willing to join them. At the Hydaspes, he repaired the injuries caused by floods to Nicæa and Bucephala, and was reinforced from Greece by 6,000 horse and 7,000 infantry.† The fleet, (comprising 2,000 vessels of various kinds, whereof eighty were war galleys, which part of the army had been employed all the summer in constructing, while the rest, wanted for transport and provisions, had probably been seized from the people of the country,) was completed and manned, and the command entrusted to Nearchus. Having divided his army into four corps, of which the main body, with about 200 elephants, were to advance along the eastern bank, Alexander himself embarked, and proceeded without impediment to the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines, where, owing to the narrow channel and high banks between which the united rivers were then pent up, rapid and strong eddies were formed, which so astonished the sailors as to deprive them of the self-command necessary to fulfil the instructions previously given by the Indian pilots. Several of the long galleys were much shattered, two sank with the greater part of their crews, but the shorter and rounder vessels sustained no injury.‡ A headland on the right bank afforded shelter to the fleet, which Alexander left to undergo the necessary repairs, while he proceeded on an inland expedition to the westward against the Seevi or Saivas, a people evidently thus named from their worship of the second member of the Brahminical Triad, whose symbol they marked upon their cattle. Then, crossing the river, he marched eastward against the Malli and Sudracæ, the latter of whom appear from their designation to have been derived from the Soodra caste, while among the former the Brahmins decidedly predominated. They did not intermarry, and had little or no friendly intercourse. The sudden danger which threatened their independence had driven them to a partial junction, and their aggregate forces are stated at the lowest at 80,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 700 chariots, but want of unanimity in the choice of a leader had prevented their combination. The Malli especially seem to have relied confidently on the strength of their fortified towns, and on the natural advantages of their peninsula, which was protected to the north by a desert of considerable extent. As it was on this side that they might be expected to feel most secure, Alexander struck across the desert into the heart of the country with a division of light troops, while two separate corps, under Hephæstion and Ptolemy, traversed it in other directions to intercept the fugitives he might drive before him. By marching day and night, with a very short intermission, he appeared early on the second morning before one of the strongholds, in which, as likely to be last attacked, many of the natives had taken refuge. A great number were surprised unarmed without the walls, many were put to the sword, the rest fled into the town, which, notwithstanding a gallant defence, was speedily stormed, and the people massacred without distinction. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages forsook them, and some fled to the Hydraotes, pursued in a forced night march by Alexander, who, on coming up to the ford, made considerable slaughter among those who had not yet crossed, and then, plunging in the stream, pursued the fugitives on the opposite side. Many took refuge in another fortified town, which is described by the Greeks as if inhabited by Brahmins only, and these are mentioned as a different race from the Malli, who fled to them for shelter. Here the most determined resistance was offered; when the besieged could no longer defend their walls against the

mines;—this seems to refer to the Salt range of Pindi Waden Khan.

* According to Arrian (lib. vi., cap. 2), by the final arrangement of the affairs of the northern Punjaub, Porus gained a fresh addition of territory, and became lord of (in all) seven nations and 2,000 cities.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. ix., cap. 3.

‡ The chief obstructions appear to have been worn away, for the passage is no longer formidable.

superior skill of the assailants, they retreated to the citadel, and this being stormed, set fire to their houses; and almost all, to the number of 5,000, perished fighting, or in the flames. The last memorable contest with the Malli, occurred in the taking of their capital, which Burnes considers to be represented by Moultan, but Rennell supposes to have been at Tolumba, nearer the Hydraotes. Having dispersed the hostile army drawn up on the high and steep banks of this river, Alexander encircled the town with his cavalry, and the next morning commenced the attack on two sides. The besieged retreated to the citadel, and the king and his troops, cutting their way with the hatchet through a postern, arrived at the foot of the wall. Here Alexander eagerly called for scaling ladders, but these, from the supposition that all resistance was over, had been mostly left behind. Two or three were however brought; seizing the first, Alexander fixed it himself, mounted and gained the top of the wall, which it seems was narrow and without battlements. The soldiers, alarmed for his safety, crowded after him with such impatience that the ladders broke with their weight, and Alexander, in his splendid armour, with but three companions, stood a mark for the enemy's missiles from the nearest towers and the adjacent parts of the fortress. The Macedonians beneath, entreated him to throw himself into their arms. He hesitated a moment, but to turn his back upon his foes, even under such circumstances as these, was a step he could not bring himself to take; and, probably remembering that his guards would dare a thousand deaths for his rescue, he leapt down into the citadel, and alighting on his feet, took his stand against the wall, sheltered also by the trunk and spreading boughs of a tree. Here he defended himself, until joined by his three associates, one of whom (Abreas) speedily received a mortal wound from an arrow, in the face. Almost immediately afterwards another arrow pierced Alexander's corslet, lodging deep in the right breast; and, after a short struggle, fainting through loss of blood, he sank upon his shield. His remaining companions, Peucestes and Leonnatus, though both wounded, stood over him until they were joined by their friends, who, by various expedients, (such as driving pegs into the clay walls,) had climbed the top, and forced a gate from the inside, through which numbers poured in, carried off their king, and in their fury slaughtered every man, woman, and child without exception. For some time the conqueror lay in his tent, reduced to the last extremity by the great loss of blood which followed the extraction of the barbed steel, while deep anxiety prevailed in the camp—inspired partly by true affection, and partly by fear for themselves, in the event of the death of the only man they believed capable of leading them back safely through the strange lands they had traversed as victors. At length Alexander rallied; during his tedious convalescence, such of the Malli and Sudracæ as had remained in arms, tendered submission. The envoys consisted of above 100 of their chief men; they were persons of lofty stature and bearing, all rode in chariots, were clad in linen robes embroidered with purple and gold, and bore magnificent presents. According to Curtius, a tribute of the same amount as they had previously paid the Arachosians was imposed upon them; and a thousand of their bravest warriors were demanded as hostages, or, if they were willing, to serve in the Greek army. These were immediately sent, together with 500 chariots as a free gift, and, among other rarities, several tamed lions and tigers. Alexander, pleased with their readiness, accepted the chariots and sent back the hostages. At the confluence of the Acesines with the Indus, he ordered a city,* with docks and arsenals, to be constructed; and sailed down the latter river to the chief place of a people, called, by the Greeks, Sudracæ or Sogdi. Here he planted a colony; changed the name to Alexandria, built an arsenal, refitted a part of his fleet, and, proceeding southward, entered the rich and fertile territories of a powerful ruler, whose real name has been apparently perverted into that of Musicanus. This prince proffered allegiance, which Alexander accepted, but ordered a fortress to be built in his capital, which was occupied by a Macedonian garrison; thence, marching to the westward, he advanced against a chief, spoken of under the name of Oxycanus, or Porticanus, who was con-

* It must be remembered that cities, so called, are very easily founded in the east. For this purpose a fort or castle, and walls of brick or mud, marking out the limits of "the Pettah" or town suffice for a commencement, and population soon follows, brought either by compulsion or attracted by the natural advantages of the site, to erect there the mud hovels which form their ordinary dwellings.

sidered to have held himself suspiciously aloof, and stormed two of his cities—in one of which, Oxycanus was himself taken or slain; upon this all the other towns submitted without resistance. In the adjacent high-lands, a chief, called Sambus, whose territory is now known as Sinde, fled from his capital (according to Arrian) at the approach of the invader; who took possession of his elephants and treasure, and proceeded to capture a town which ventured to oppose him, at the instigation of some Brahmins, whom he slew. The same influence, during Alexander's absence, had been exerted in the court of Musicanus, and he revolted, in an evil hour, for himself and his country: Being taken prisoner he was crucified with the leading Brahmins, and the chief towns razed to the ground, or subjected to the stern surveillance of foreign garrisons. The submission of the king of Pattala, named or entitled Mœris, whose rule extended over the Delta of the Indus, completed Alexander's command of that river. At Pattala, (thought to be now represented either by Tatta or Allore,) he immediately prepared to fortify a citadel, form a harbour, and build docks sufficient for a large fleet, and likewise to dig wells in the neighbouring districts, where there was great scarcity of water, to render the country habitable, and suitable for the passage of troops or travellers. According to a modern writer, (Droysen,) Alexander's object in so doing was nothing less than to facilitate the communication between Pattala and the east of India, and to open it for caravans from the countries on the Ganges and from the Deccan; but even supposing him to have obtained sufficient geographical knowledge for the formation of this plan, he had no present means of executing it, and must have contented himself meanwhile in surveying the mouths and delta of the Indus, and taking measures for the establishment of commercial intercourse with the West. With a squadron of fast sailing galleys he prepared to explore the western branch of the river to the sea; but the voyage proved disastrous, the native pilots brought from Pattala made their escape, and on the second day a violent gale meeting a rapid current of the Indus, caused a swell in which most of the galleys were severely injured and many went to pieces. While the shipwrights were engaged in repairing this misfortune a few light troops were sent up the country in search of pilots, who being obtained, conducted Alexander safely almost to the mouth, when the wind blew so hard from the sea, that he took refuge in a canal (*nullah*) pointed out by them. Here the Macedonians, first beheld the phenomenon called the "Bore," and witnessed with extreme consternation the sudden rush of a vast volume of water from the ocean up the river-channel, with such violence as to shatter the galleys not previously firmly imbedded in the mud. After again refitting, the fleet was moored at an island named Cilluta, but Alexander, with the best sailors, proceeded to another isle, which lay beyond in the ocean. Here he offered sacrifices to various deities; then, putting out in the open sea, to satisfy himself that no land lay within view to the southward, he celebrated different rites in honour of the sea-god Neptune, whose proper realm he had now entered. The victims, and the golden vessels in which the libations had been offered, having been thrown into the deep, he rejoined the squadron, and returned by the same arm of the Indus to Pattala.

The navigation of the rivers had employed about nine months; and nearly four appear to have been spent in and near Pattala. It was toward the end of August 325 B.C.,* when the preparations were completed for the departure of the fleet and army from the Indus; the former, under Nearchus the Cretan, being destined to undertake a voyage of discovery to the Persian Gulf; the latter, under Alexander, to march along the coast—an enterprise of little less danger, in which, according to tradition, the armies of Semiramis and Cyrus had perished almost to a man. Of the real difficulties of the route Alexander had probably but a vague conception, but he was incited to encounter them, by a desire to provide for the exigencies of the fleet, and to explore and consolidate a portion of the empire which he had hitherto at most but nominally subjected. The force of either armament is not recorded. On invading India it would appear the army had consisted of 120,000 men, and while there had received reinforcements; allowing therefore for the numbers lost or left behind in garrisons and colonies, and for the division previously sent from Pattala under Craterus, (through Arachosia to Carmania,) probably, at least

* Dr. Vincent in his *Voyage of Nearchus*, vol. i. p. 180, fixes the time of departure at a year earlier, but I have preferred following Thirlwall's reading or rather correction of Arrian's chronology.

50,000 remained under the immediate command of the king. Respecting the squadron under Nearchus, we have no other guide than the list of the thirty-three galleys before referred to as equipped on the Hydaspes; many of these were fitted out by individuals at their own cost, for it would appear that at that period the finances of their leader were at a very low ebb, probably owing to the unbounded munificence with which he lavished upon his friends what he had acquired by the sword. Some weeks had yet to elapse before the trade-winds would set in from the north-east, and so become favourable to the voyage. The departure of the army was not however delayed on this account, and Alexander set out on his return to the West, leaving the admiral and fleet to follow at leisure. His route need be here but briefly noticed. Crossing the chain of mountains which descends west of the Indus from the Paropamisus to the sea, he entered a region surrounded on three sides by lofty ranges, traversed by a river called the *Arabius*, (*Poorallee* or river of *Sonmeany*,) which separated the territory of two independent tribes—the Arabitæ and Oritæ, the former of whom fled to the adjacent desert, but the latter, who were more civilised and their lands better cultivated, offered a formidable resistance, fighting desperately with poisoned arrows. Their country was however overrun by the cavalry; and, in what seems to have been the largest of the villages in which they lived, named Rambacia, Alexander planted a colony. Thence advancing through a difficult pass in the western mountains, he arrived at about the beginning of October in the wild barren region of Gedrosia, the southern Mekran; the whole coast of which as far as Cape Jask, is called by the Greeks, the land of the Ichthyophagi or Fish-eaters. The heat, though beginning to subside, was still excessive; the troops generally moved during the night, but often at daybreak were obliged to prolong their weary march under a burning sun, until they should reach the next watering-place. Yet their road seems to have seldom diverged more than two or three days' journey from the sea —being frequently within sight of it—without crossing any part of the Great Sandy Desert, bounded by the mountains of southern Mekran; except perhaps for a short distance near the confines of Gedrosia and Carmania (Kerman). In the latter fruitful* and well-watered province, Alexander was soon after his arrival joined by Craterus and his division, and all anxiety respecting Nearchus was subsequently dispelled by tidings that the admiral had landed on the coast within five days' march of the camp. He had been compelled by the hostility of the natives at Pattala, to start before the proper season had arrived; and, though he waited four-and-twenty days on the Arabite coast, three of his vessels were afterwards lost in the adverse monsoon. On the coast of the Oritæ† he met Leonnatus, who had been left in Rambacia to furnish him with a ten days' supply of corn, and who had been meanwhile engaged in a sharp conflict with the natives. Nearchus does not appear to have lighted on any of the magazines stored at various points by Alexander for his use; but, after manifold hardships and perils from the dangers of an unknown sea, the barrenness of the coast, the hostility of the people, and the despondency of his own crews, he at length with the aid of a Gedrosian pilot reached the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and eventually landed near the mouth of the river *Anamis* (*Ibrahim*), not far to the west of the island of Ormuz. These happy events were celebrated by a solemn festival and triumphal procession—enlivened, as usual, by gymnastic games, musical and poetical contests, which probably gave rise to the idea of the march through Carmania having been one continued Bacchanalian revel. The king urged Nearchus to allow some other officer to conduct the fleet to the mouth of the Tigris and not expose himself to further danger and fatigue; but he would not consent to let another complete his glorious expedition, and rejoined the squadron with orders to meet Alexander at Susa. As it was winter the main body of the army proceeded thither along the Persian Gulf where the climate was mild, and Alexander with some light troops and cavalry took the upper road through Persepolis. At Susa we take leave of this great man; his career so far as India was concerned was quite ended, indeed life itself was fast ebbing away. In the spring of 323 B.C., in the second year after his return to Babylon, while planning a fresh capital for his Asiatic empire, he caught a fever in the Mesopotamian marshes, and this disorder being increased by one of the drinking matches

* Strabo says the grapes hung in clusters three feet long. † See note to page 27.

which disgraced his court, abruptly terminated an eventful career at thirty-two years of age, the solace of his last days being to hear Nearchus relate "the story of his voyage, and all that was most observable with respect to the ocean."* The long and sanguinary contests which ensued among his generals,—commencing while his body lay unembalmed and ending not until the majority of those disputants themselves, as well as all of his kin, (including his half-brother and successor Arridæus, his wives Statira and Roxana, his posthumous son Alexander, and his beloved though wicked and intriguing mother Olympias,) had fallen victims to the treacherous plots formed by the majority of them against each other—have no place in these pages. The history and triumphs of Alexander have been narrated at some length, for the sake of showing the manner in which he was led on, first by the pursuit of Darius, and afterwards of Bessus, to Bactria and to the verge of India. His progress is no mere matter of antiquarian research,† but exercise an important bearing on the political question of the present time, respecting the possible advance of an European army through central Asia to the Indus, or *via* Syria, the Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf, to the shores of the Indian Ocean; a subject which will be discussed when examining the motives of the British incursions into Afghanistan, in 1839-40.

In the history of the civilized world, the epoch of Alexander would ever be memorable were it only for his exploits in India, since by them this great country was first placed as it were within reach, and some firm ground afforded to European geographers whereon to set foot in future investigations. The Greek historians though often contradictory, and censurable in many respects, have yet recorded much valuable information respecting the Indians (as they term the Hindoos), the accuracy of which is attested by the ancient records revealed to us by the labours of oriental students, and further by the striking resemblance which their descriptions bear, even after the lapse of two thousand years, to the existing characteristics of the inhabitants of the countries then visited. Thus Arrian, whose account of Ancient India is unquestionably the most to be relied on of any now extant, notices among other points the slender form of the Hindoos, the classes or sects into which they were divided, and the prohibition of intermarriage, widow burning,‡ perpetuation of trades in families, vegetable diet, faces streaked with colours, men wearing earrings, veils covering the head and shoulders, parti-coloured shoes, umbrellas carried only over principal personages, cotton manufactures of great fineness and whiteness, two-handed swords, and other matters. The people appear to have been extraordinarily numerous, and to have made considerable progress in the arts of civilised life. Their bravery was strikingly manifest; and it is remarkable, that notwithstanding the numbers recorded as having fallen in their engagement with Alexander, are as usual incredibly greater on their side than

* Langhorne's *Translation of Plutarch's Life of Alexander*, p. 218.

† It may be here well to observe, that in the foregoing brief sketch of Alexander's march, written for general readers, no attempt has been made to enter upon the discussion of the disputed localities at which he conquered or founded cities. One such point would involve as much space as can here be devoted to the whole march—at least, if the varying opinions of the several authorities ancient and modern, were to be fairly and fully stated. I have, therefore (with some slight exceptions), merely given the probable sites, leaving the reader to prosecute further inquiries in the pages of the oriental scholars already repeatedly named. It is greatly to be regretted that the works of none of the primary historians have descended to us, save some fragments preserved by their successors. Of these last, Arrian, who wrote in the early part of the second century B.C., is recognized as the most trustworthy, though his bald outline contrasts forcibly with the more highly-coloured pictures of Quintus Curtius, who seems to have followed Alexander's campaigns with much diligence. Strabo also is a most valuable authority on this as on other geographical questions. Yet the loss of the writings of Bæton or Biton the authorised recorder of the marches, is irreparable, (especially when we consider the importance attached by Alexander to accurate geographical information) as also those of the first Ptolemy, and of Apollodorus the famed historian of Bactria. No conclusive opinion can be formed regarding the knowledge possessed by the Hindoos of this invasion, until we are better acquainted with the records still stored up and hidden from us in various places. Thus, the literary treasures of the libraries of Patan (a city in Rajpootana) of Jessulmer (a town north-west of Joudpore) Cambay, and the Thibetian monasteries remain to be explored, as also many other valuable MS. collections, including those of the travelling Jain and Boodhist bishops. According to Tod and other writers, Alexander is known in India under the name of *Escander Dhulcarnein* (two-horned), in allusion to his dominions in what they considered the eastern and western extremities of the earth. The rajahs of Chittoor are also said to boast of descent from the sovereign termed Porus who opposed the Macedonian conqueror.

‡ In the country of Taxiles, but only however as an exceptional instance.

his; yet he lost a larger proportion of troops in battle with them than had previously fallen in the Persian war. The office of the husbandman was invariably held sacred among the Hindoos, he was never disturbed in his labours, and to root up or wilfully injure growing crops was a breach of a recognised natural law no native prince would have ventured to commit. On the whole the impression of the Indian character left on the mind of the Greeks was decidedly favourable; the people were described as sober, moderate, peaceable, singularly truthful, averse to slavery in any form, and attached to liberal municipal institutions.

The productions of India had by tedious routes (which it will be necessary to point out in a subsequent section, when depicting the present state of their commerce), long found a ready market in Europe. The desire for them now increased tenfold. The foresight of Alexander was fully vindicated by the rapidity with which the Egyptian Alexandria began, under the first Ptolemy, to receive and pour forth its full tide of wealth; and Babylon also became a great emporium. His characteristic policy* in freeing the Euphrates and Tigris from the physical impediments to navigation placed by a weak restrictive government, shattered the fetters which had long bound the enterprising spirit of trade in these countries, and enabled it to find vent in the passage opened up with India, both by sea and land.

The cities or military stations placed near the Indus soon languished, for the Europeans left there by the king, on hearing of his death hastened to escape from what they had from the first considered no better than hopeless exile. But commerce had received a powerful stimulus, and cotton and silk manufactures, ivory, gems richly set, costly gums, pepper and cinnamon, dyes and drugs, were poured rapidly into Europe in return for the precious metals,† which entered India in coins of many forms (now vainly sought for by antiquarians), and were there melted down to be shaped into idols, or to deck unhallowed shrines, and be thus stored up to an incalculable extent, to gorge eventually the avarice of the ruthless Mussulmans of a later age.

The Greek to the Mohammedan Invasions.—The king of the Prasii (as the Greeks termed the *Prachi* or *East*) at the time of Alexander's campaign in the Punjaub, was the last Nanda, who, as has been shown, describing as of low birth. He was slain by his successor Chandra Gupta or Sandracottus about 310, B.C., who appears to have spent a short time when a youth in the both Greek and Hindoo writers agree in Macedonian camp, whence he fled to avoid the wrath of Alexander, which he had roused in some unexplained manner. Chandra Gupta was king when Seleucus, to whom in the division of power Syria and the Bactrian and Indian satrapries had fallen, proceeded to claim the sovereignty, though at first under the name of the governorship of these territories. He marched in person to reduce the local authorities to obedience, and flushed with victory proceeded at the head of a considerable force to India, B.C. 303. The brief and conflicting accounts of his progress which have descended to us, indicate that he advanced even to the Ganges, but was deterred from warlike proceedings, either by the necessity of turning back with his strength unimpaired to defend another portion of his dominions attacked by Antigonus, or else by the formidable array drawn out against him by Chandra Gupta, who had previously greatly extended and consolidated his kingdom. The result appears to have been that Seleucus made over to the Hindoo sovereign, not only all the country conquered by Alexander eastward of the Indus, but also that to the westward as far as the river *Arabius;* while Chandra Gupta on his part acknowledged this concession by a present of 500 war chariots. How far Porus and Taxiles, or their successors, were consulted in this proceeding, or how they acted, is not stated; but in their conduct immediately after the king's death, they showed themselves faithful and much attached to the Greeks. A family connection is alleged to have been formed between Seleucus and Chandra Gupta, by the marriage of a daughter of the former with the latter, (who being a Soodra might marry as he pleased;) and it is certain that friendly intercourse existed between them, an ambassador named

* Alexander's conquests were intended, as has been repeatedly stated, as a means of carrying out his vast commercial schemes. He hoped out of war to bring peace; and one of his favourite plans to promote this ultimate object was, the founding of several new cities in Asia and in Europe, the former to be peopled with Europeans, and the latter with Asiatics, so that "by intermarriages and exchange of good offices the inhabitants of those two great continents might be gradually moulded into a similarity of sentiments, and become attached to each other with mutual affection."—(Diod. Sic., lib. xviii., c. 4.)

† Pliny, writing in the first century of the Christian era, complains that Rome was exhausted by a

Megasthenes having been sent to Palibothra, the capital of the Prasii, where he resided many years. It is further stated that the Hindoo monarch had Greek mercenaries in his service, and placed Greek governors in some of his provinces; that during his reign the foreigners were much respected, but afterwards brought general odium upon their nation throughout Western India by their treacherous and cruel rapacity. Their language must have spread and taken root in the land—for according to Masson, one of our best authorities on this head, "there is sufficient testimony that the Greek language was studied and well known by the fashionable and higher classes during the first and second centuries of the Christian Era." The embassy of Dimachus to the son and successor of Chandra Gupta (called Allitrochidas by the Greek writers), is the last transaction recorded between Syrian and Indian monarchs, until the lapse of about 80 years, when Antiochus the Great, after the close of his war with the revolted provinces of Bactria and Parthia, entered India, and made peace with a king named Sophragasenus (supposed to be Asoca), after exacting from him elephants and money.

The descriptions given by Megasthenes,* who had the best means of judging correctly on the subjects of which he wrote, are calculated to convey a high opinion of the wealth and power of the kingdom generally, but especially of Palibothra.† Yet, according to this writer, India comprised no less than 118 independent states; but this however he only gives on hearsay, and, supposing the number to be unexaggerated, we cannot tell how small the territories may have been which this enumeration included.

The Soodra successors of Chandra Gupta certainly exceeded him in power—and in the hyperbolical language of the Puranas, are said to have brought the "whole earth under one umbrella."‡ Asoca, the greatest of that line, exercised command over the states to the north of the Nerbudda river; and the edicts§ graven on columns at remote points prove not merely the extent of his dominions but also the civilized character of his government, since they include orders for the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries throughout his empire, as well as for planting trees and digging wells along the public highways. And this too was to be done, not only in Asoca's own provinces, but also in others occupied by "the faithful," (meaning the Boodhists, of whom this king was the great patron), "even as far as Tambapanni; (Taprobane, or Ceylon,)" and "moreover within the dominions of Antiochus the Greek [Antiochia Yôna Raja] of which Antiochus's generals are the rulers." An edict found on a rock, and from its shattered state only partially legible, expresses exultation at the extension of the doctrines of Asoca (?) Pryadarsi (especially with regard to sparing the life of animals, which however is not a Boodhist tenet) in foreign countries; and contains a fragment translated thus:—"and the Greek king besides, by whom the chapta (?) kings Turamayo, Gongakena, and Maga."|| Turamayo was considered by the late Mr. James Prinsep to denote Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had a brother named Magas, married to a daughter of Antiochus I., which would establish that the Antiochus referred to in the edict previously quoted, was either the first or the second of that

drain equal to £400,000 per annum, required for the purchase of luxuries—the produce of India, Seres, and Arabia; and Robertson, writing in 1791, says—"India, from the age of Pliny to the present time, has been always considered and execrated as a gulf which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it, and from which it never returns."—(*Historical Disquisition*, p. 203.) Since the commencement of the present century, the golden current has changed its course, and flowed with increasing volume from Hindoostan to Britain, not, however, by the channel of commerce merely, but of compulsory tribute, to an extent and in a manner which will be subsequently shown.

* Megasthenes wrote many works, of which only scattered fragments have been preserved. His disposition to exaggerate, and undue love of the marvellous, were urged as reasons for this neglect; but it is to be doubted whether the critics were always competent judges of what they rejected. As it is, enough remains to testify, in connection with existing Hindoo records, ruins, and inscriptions, that the writer was a keen observer, and a valuable witness, although occasionally led into the narration of fables, or at least gross exaggerations.

† Palibothra was described by Megasthenes as being eight miles long, and one and-a-half broad, defended by a deep ditch, and a high rampart, with 570 towers and 64 gates. Its site is placed by Rennell at Patna, by D'Anville at Allahabad, and by Wilford at Raj-mehal.

‡ Wilson's *Hindoo Theatre*, vol. iii., p. 14.

§ Similar mandates are inscribed on a rock on Girnar, a mountain in Guzerat; and on a rock at Dhauli in Cuttack on the opposite side of India. They were deciphered by Mr. Prinsep, and are written in Pali, the dialect in which the sacred books of the Boodhists are composed.

|| At Kapur di Ghari, the entire edict exists in the Arian language, the word translated by Prinsep "Chapta" is there "chatare," *four*, Gongakena reads *Antakana* and Maga, *Maka.—Masson.*

name; that is, either the son or grandson of Seleucus. It is remarkable that Asoca, in his youth, was governor of Oojein or Malwa, which must therefore have been possessed by his father. The reigning family was succeeded by three other Soodra dynasties, the last of which, the Andras, acceded to power about the beginning of our era; and, according to two Puranas, terminated in Pulimat or Pulomarchish, A.D. 436. By a curious coincidence, the Chinese annals* translated by De Guignes, notice in A.D. 408, the arrival of ambassadors from the Indian prince, Yue-gnai, King of Kia-pi-li, evidently Capili (the birth-place of Boodha or, according to Colonel Sykes, the seventh Boodha, Sakya-muni), which the Chinese have put for all Magadha. Yue-gnai again bears some resemblance to Yaj-nasri, or Yajna, the king actually on the throne of the Andras at the period referred to. A confused enumeration of dynasties succeed, with little attempt at historical order, from which a foreign invasion, followed by a long period of disorder, has been inferred, though perhaps not on sufficient grounds. At length, after an interval of several centuries, Magadha is spoken of as subject to the Gupta kings of Canouj, and from that period is no more distinctly noticed; but its fame has been preserved, from its having been, as before mentioned, the birth-place of Boodha, and from its language (Magadhi, or Pali) being employed in the writings of that extensively diffused religion, as well as in those of the Jains. The claim of universal monarchy in India, is found advanced in records and inscriptions, not only by princes of the Magadha dynasty, but also by those of Cashmere, of Delhi, Canouj, Bengal, Malwa, Guzerat, and other places; but the evidence cited in favour of their respective claims, is pretty generally deemed insufficient, and is frequently contradictory. To attempt reducing the histories of these kingdoms and their pretensions into form, would be a long and tedious task; which, even if successfully accomplished, could have little interest for the general reader, for at best, it would be but like arranging the scattered fragments of a child's puzzle, of which the chief pieces are wanting. At a future but perhaps not distant day, the patient and able research already so successfully directed to the study of oriental literature, may enable us to decide upon many points now involved in numberless difficulties and to draw a correct picture of India, without the danger, at present inevitable, of giving undue prominence to events of minor interest, and omitting altogether many important features. Before passing entirely from the subject of the condition of India between the time of Alexander and the Mohammedan era, it is, however, necessary to add a few remarks on the chief kingdoms of Hindoostan and the Deccan, so as to afford the reader

* Chi-fa-Hian, a Chinese Boodhist priest, visited India at the beginning of the fifth century, on a pilgrimage to the chief seats of the religion of Boodha, where he spent six years. His travels have been translated from the Chinese by M. Remusat. The Boodhistical religion, according to his account, had then suffered a serious and irreparable decline at Mathura and in the eastern districts of Hindoostan; and the Brahminical faith was in the ascendant. Temples and towers of past ages still existed, but the population had disappeared, and the country was in many such places a wilderness. Rajagriha, the abode of Jarasandha. the first of the Magadha kings, and the ancient capital, then exhibited the ruins of a large city, of which traces were still visible to Dr. Buchanan, in 1807–1814. The palace of Asoca, or A-yu, at Patali-pootra, or Kusuma-pura, built of stone, was entire when seen by Fa-Hian, and presented such superior specimens of sculpture and engraving, that they were ascribed to superhuman architects—genii, who laboured for the patron of *Fo*. The city of Ni-li, built in the neighbourhood by Asoca, was embellished by a handsome column, surmounted by a lion. Other columns, with lion capitals, were seen in different places. Central India is spoken of as under the government of one king; the cities and towns large, the people rich, charitable, and just in their actions, but given to discussion. In the month of May (the birth-day of Sakya-muni) four-wheeled cars were drawn about the streets; they had each a building of five stages which looked like a tower, were ornamented with gold, silver, coloured glass, and embroidery, and hung with carpets and white felt, adorned with painted figures of the celestial divinities; on the summits were a figure of Boodha. This was a season of great festivity, the streets were filled with people who flocked in from the neighbouring country; there were theatrical representations, feats of the athletæ, concerts of music and nightly illuminations; hospitals were opened for the sick, cripples, and orphans, who were solaced and relieved by the representatives of the different chiefs. At Magadha the priest sat himself down in a monastery for three years to study the sacred language and copy the MSS. Bengal then carried on extensive maritime traffic with the south-west regions and other places. Fa Hian took a passage in a large trading ship to Ceylon, which he reached (during the north-west monsoon) in fourteen days; thence he sailed for Java in a Hindoo ship, with 200 people, provisioned for ninety days. Altogether the travels of this intelligent Chinese abound in curious information; they corroborate the accounts of cities, and of the manners and customs of their inhabitants, given by native writers, and prove the Hindoos were then merchants, and even navigators on a considerable scale.—(Abstracted from *notes on Ancient India*. By Colonel Sykes. London, 1841; p. 6 to 76.)

some slight clue to their relative importance, antiquity, and position.*

That of *Bengal* is mentioned in the Maha Bharat, and the Ayeen Akbery continues the succession through five dynasties up to the Mohammedan conquest. These lists are to some extent supported by the inscriptions found in various places, which among other matters refer to a series of princes with names ending in Pala, who reigned apparently from the ninth to the latter part of the eleventh century, and are asserted to have ruled all India from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, and from the Brahmapootra to and even beyond the Indus. They are also asserted to have subdued Tibet. The dynasty of Pala was succeeded by one whose names ended in Sena, and this last was subverted by the Mohammedans about A.D. 1203.

The kingdom of *Malwa* is far less ancient than those already mentioned. Its famous monarch, Vicramaditya, is the Haroun al Raschid of Hindoo tales, of which a great number have been collated by the indefatigable zeal of Colonel Wilford. He is said to have passed the early part of his life among holy men in austere seclusion, and even when arrived at regal power, to have eschewed all pomp, using utensils of earth rather than of gold, and sleeping on a mat instead of a bed. There is reason to believe that this hero of romance was really a powerful monarch and conqueror, who ruled a civilised and prosperous country, extended his sway over the Deccan and even over Cabool, and was a distinguished patron of literature. Oojein became populous on account of the great image of Maha-Cali, or Time, which he erected there; but he himself worshipped only one invisible God. He was slain, 56 B.C., in old age, in battle with Salivahana, a prince of the Deccan, who will be subsequently referred to; and his death formed the commencement of an era, which is still current among the countries northward of the Nerbudda. It is of Vicramaditya that the traditions of universal empire are most common in India. A long period of anarchy ensued in Malwa upon this abrupt conclusion of his able government. The next epoch is that of the renowned Rajah Bhoja; whose reign of forty years terminated about the end of the eleventh century. His grandson was taken prisoner, and his country conquered by the Rajah of Guzerat; but Malwa soon recovered its independence, which was finally destroyed by the Mohammedans, A.D. 1231.

In *Guzerat*, from its having been the residence of Crishna, and other circumstances, an early principality would appear to have existed; and the whole is spoken of as under one dominion, by a Greek writer of the second century.† Colonel Tod mentions another principality, founded at Ballabi, in the peninsula of Guzerat, in the middle of the second century, B.C., by an emigrant of the Solar race, which reigned in Oude. This dynasty was expelled in 524, by an army of barbarians, variously conjectured to have been Parthians, Persians of the Sassanian dynasty, and Indo-Bactrians. The second supposition is probably correct, as Sir John Malcolm asserts on the authority of various Persian writers, that Nousheerwan, who reigned at or about this period, carried his victorious arms into India; but that the tribute, which was the fruit of his conquest, was after his death no longer paid to his degenerate son and successor.‡ Another Rajpoot tribe, called the Chauras, succeeded to the rule of Guzerat, and finally established their capital in A.D. 746, at Anhalwara, now Pattan. Failing Chaura, in A.D. 931, through the death of the last rajah without male issue, the succession devolved on his son-in-law, a prince of the Rajpoot tribe of Salonka; whose family were chiefs of Callian, in the Deccan, above the Ghauts. The kingdom was absorbed by the Mussul-

* The authorities mainly relied on being the valuable summary contained in Elphinstone's *India*, vol. i., pp. 388 to 425; the *Ayeen Akbery*; Brigg's translation of Ferishta; Todd's *Rajast'han*; and Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*.

† Vincent's translation of the *Periplûs*, p. 111.

‡ Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i., p. 112.—"The countries beyond the Oxus, as far as Ferghana, all those to the Indus, *some provinces of India*, and the finest districts of Arabia, acknowledged the sway of the mighty monarch of Persia." Sir John adds that the emperors of China and India sent presents, the description of which reads more like a chapter from the *Arabian Nights* than the page of even a Persian historian. Among the gifts of the first potentate was the image of a panther, the body covered with pearls, and the eyes formed of rubies; a wonderful robe, the border of which was of celestial blue, while the centre was occupied by a representation of the king himself, clothed in his royal robes, and surrounded by his attendants; and lastly, enclosed in the same golden box as the robe was a female figure, the beauty of the face veiled by long tresses, and "overpowering as a flash of day during a dark night." The Indian offerings were a thousand pounds' weight of aloe-wood, a vase filled with pearls, and formed of one precious stone, on which was engraven the figures of a maiden seven hands in height, and of a lion; and a carpet made of a serpent's skin, delicately fine and exquisitely tinted.

man conquests of 1297. *Canouj*, in early times, was called Panchala, and seems to have been a long but narrow territory, extending on the east of Nepaul (which it included); and on the west, along the Chumbul and Bunnass as far as Ajmeer. Notwithstanding the notice it has attracted as one of the most ancient, wealthy, and magnificent places in India, its early history is very little known.* Its wars with the neighbouring state of Delhi contributed to accelerate the ruin of Hindoo independence; and it was conquered by the Mussulmans in 1193. *Cashmere* is asserted, by its historians, to have existed 2,600 years B.C. Its last monarch was subdued by Mahmood, A.D. 1015. Its annals, as before stated, have been written carefully and at length; and placed within reach of the British public by Professor Wilson.

*Delhi* is first named in the Maha Bharat; it was governed by a Rajpoot line, whose last prince was dethroned, A.D. 1050, by an ancestor of the Prithwi Rajah, conquered by the Mussulmans, A.D. 1192.

The earliest mention of *Benares* is found in the same poem; and its independence terminated contemporaneously with that of Delhi. *Mithili* existed in Rama's time, and was the capital of his father-in-law, Sita. It was famous for a school of law, and gave its name to one of the chief Indian languages. *Gour*, named in the Maha Bharat, seems to have lasted up to about A.D. 1231.

*Sinde*, referred to in the same record, was independent in the time of Alexander (325 B.C.); and was finally conquered by the Mohammedans. *Mewar*, *Jessulmer*, and *Jeipur*, founded respectively in A.D. 720, 731, and 967, still exist as distinct states. *Ajmeer* is traced back by Tod, for seven generations before A.D. 695; it fell at the same time as Delhi. The *Punjaub* can hardly be spoken of as a distinct kingdom, since it appears to have been generally broken up into various small states; but from a very remote time a great city is thought to have existed near Lahore,† though under a different name.

Our insight into the history of the *Deccan* commences, for the most part, at a much later date than that of Hindoostan. The five distinct languages—Tamul, Canarese, Telugu, Mahratta, and Urya, are considered to denote an equal number of early national divisions, the first-mentioned indicating the most ancient, viz., the country of Dravira, which occupied the extreme south of the peninsula; the earliest colonists from Hindoostan having traversed the bleak plateaux of the upper Deccan, and settled down on the fruitful plains of the Carnatic and Tanjore. The kingdom of *Pandya* was formed about the fifth century. In the time of the "Periplûs" it comprehended a part of the Malabar coast; but it was usually bounded by the Ghauts to the westward, and occupied only the territory now known as the districts of Madura and Tinivelly. The seat of government was at Madura, in Ptolemy's time, and remained there until about a century ago. The last prince was conquered by the nabob of Arcot, in 1736. The neighbouring kingdom of *Chola* was at one time of considerable extent, its princes having, it is supposed, about the middle of the eighth century, possessed large portions of Carnata and Telingana. Their sway was greatly diminished in the twelfth century, being reduced to the limits of the Dravira country. Chola lost its separate existence about the end of the seventeenth century. The capital was, for the most part, at Conjeveram, west of Madras. *Chera* comprehended Travancore, part of Malabar, and Coimbatore, and seems to have existed about the commencemencement of our era. It was subverted in the tenth century, and its lands portioned among the surrounding states.

*Kerala* included Malabar and Carnara. About the first or second century of the Christian era a colony of Brahmins from Hindoostan settled here, divided the country into sixty-four districts, and governed it by means of a general assembly of their cast; renting allotments to men of the inferior classes. The executive government was held by a Brahmin elected every three years, and assisted by a council of four of the same tribe; but in the course of time, a chief of the military class was appointed. The northern division appears to have been ruled by a dynasty of its own till the twelfth century, when it was overturned by the Belala rajahs; and subsequently became subject to the rajahs of Vijayanagar.

The *Concan*, in early times, was a wild forest tract (as great part of it still remains), thinly inhabited by Mahrattas.

*Carnata* seems to have been originally

* The Pala dynasty at Canouj are thought to have displaced as paramount rulers in India, the Gupta dynasty of Prayaga and Delhi. Prayaga or Allahabad, the ancient Gupta capital, contains a column with an inscription of Samadras Gupta's, which has been translated by Mr. Prinsep.

† When the Pala princes held Canouj, members of the family ruled at Lahore, and thence extended

divided between the Pandya and Chera princes and those of Carnara (the northern half of Kerala). It was afterwards partitioned among many petty princes, until the middle of the 11th century, when one considerable dynasty arose—the family of Belala—who were, or pretended to be, Rajpoots* of the Yadoo branch, and whose power at one time extended over the whole of Carnata, together with Malabar, the Tamul country, and part of Telingana. They were subverted by the Mussulmans about A.D. 1310. The eastern part of Telingana appears to have been, from the beginning of the ninth to nearly the end of the eleventh century, in the hands of an obscure dynasty known by the name of Yadava. A Rajpoot family of the Chalukya tribe reigned at Callian, on the borders of Carnata and Maharashta. They are traced by inscriptions, from the tenth to the end of the twelfth century; are supposed to have possessed the whole of Maharashta to the Nerbudda,† and even to have been superior lords of the west of Telingana.‡ The last king was deposed by his minister, who was in turn assassinated by some fanatics of the Lingayet sect, which was then rising into notice, and the kingdom fell into the hands of the Yadoos of Deogiri (Doulatabad). Another branch of the Chalukya tribe ruled over *Calinga*, the eastern portion of Telingana, which extends along the sea from Dravira to Orissa. The dynasty perhaps began about the tenth century, and certainly lasted through the whole of the twelfth and thirteenth; it was greatly reduced by the Ganapati kings of Andra, and finally subverted by the rajahs of Cuttack.

*Andra* is the name of all the inland part of the Telingana country, the capital being at Varangul, about eighty miles north-east of Hyderabad. Its kings, Vicrama and Salivahana, alleged to have been connected with the Andra race in Magadha, are among the earliest mentioned. After them, according to local records, the Chola rajahs succeeded; then a race called Yavans,§ who reigned from 515, A.D., till 953; next came the family of Ganapati, who attained great power about the end of the thirteenth century, and are even affirmed to have possessed the whole of the peninsula south of the Godavery. In 1332 the capital was taken by a Mohammedan army from Delhi, and the state merged at length in the Mussulman kingdom of Golconda.

The history of *Orissa*, like all others in the Deccan, begins with princes mentioned in the Maha Bharat, describes in a very confused manner the successive occupation of the country by Vicramaditya and Salivahana, and the repeated invasions of Yavans from Delhi, from a country called Babul (supposed to mean Persia), from Cashmere and from Sinde, between the sixth century before, and the fourth after, Christ. The last invasion was from the sea, and in it the Yavans were successful, and kept possession of Orissa for 146 years, being expelled, A.D. 473, by Yayati Kesari. This point is thought to be the first established, for the traditions regarding the Yavans cannot be satisfactorily explained. The natives suppose them to have been Mussulmans, but the first Arab invasion was not till the seventh century after Christ. Others apply the story to Seleucus, or to the Bactrian Greeks; while Masson suggests the possibility of the people of Yava or Java being meant. The Kesari family lasted till A. D. 1131, when their capital was taken by a prince of the house of Ganga Vansa; his heirs were supplanted by a Rajpoot dynasty, of the Sun or Surya race. The government having fallen into confusion about 1550, was seized on by a Telingu chief, and ultimately annexed to the Mogul empire by Akber, in 1578. The greatest internal prosperity and improvement seems to have been enjoyed towards the end of the twelfth century; but during several years before and after that date, the people of Orissa claim to have made extensive conquests, especially to the south. In the middle of the fifteenth century the government of Orissa sent armies as far as Conjeveram, near Madras; and about the same time their rajah advanced to the neighbourhood of Bidr to assist the Hindoo princes of those parts against the Mohammedans.

their sway to Cabool, where they remained up to the time of Sultan Mahmood, the then rajah being named Jaya Pala.—*Masson.*

* "Some of the Hindoos assert that the tribes of Brahmin and Kshetry [Cshatriya] existed from time immemorial, but that the Rajpoots are a modern tribe, only known since the beginning of the Kulyoog [Cali Yuga, A.M. 3215.] The rajahs, not satisfied with their married wives, had frequently children by their female slaves, who, although not legitimate successors to the throne, were styled Rajpoots, or the children of the rajahs."—(Briggs' *Translation of Ferishta.*—Introduction, p. lxiii.).

† *Vide* Mr. Walter Elliot's contributions to *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv., p. 1.

‡ Wilson, *Introd. to Mackenzie papers*, p. cxxix.

§ The country north of Peshawer was anciently called Yava, perhaps these Yavans came thence.

*Maharashta* or the *Mahratta country*, though situated on the frontier of the Deccan, and of great size, if we may judge from the wide extent over which the language bearing that name is spoken, is only vaguely noticed in early records. After the legends regarding Rama, whose retreat was near the source of the Godavery, the first fact mentioned is the existence of Tagara, which was frequented by Egyptian merchants 250 years B.C. It is alluded to in inscriptions, as a celebrated place in the twelfth century, and is still well known by name. It is mentioned by the author of the "Periplûs,"* but in such a manner as to certify little more respecting its site than that it lay about 100 miles to the eastward of Paitan, on the Godavery. Grant Duff supposes it to have been somewhat to the north-east of the modern town of Bheer.† It is said to have been a very great city, and one of the two principal marts of Dachanabades, a country so called from Dachan, which in the "Periplûs" is stated to be the native word for *south*. The other mart was named Plithana.‡ Tagara, wherever situated, became the capital of a line of kings of the Rajpoot family of Silar. The reign of their most famous monarch, Salivahana, gave rise to a new era, commencing A.D. 77. He is stated to have been the son of a potter, and to have headed an insurrection which overturned the existing government (whatever it might have been), and removed the capital to Prutesthan or Paitan, on the Godavery. From this period nothing is known of the history of Maharashta (except by the inscriptions of the petty princes of Callian and Pernala) till the beginning of the twelfth century: a family of Yadoos then became rajahs of Deogiri, and continued to reign until 1317, when the country, which had been previously invaded by the Mohammedans from Delhi, was finally subjugated. About this time the Mussulman writers begin to mention the Mahrattas by name; before they had been noticed only as inhabitants of the Deccan. Our information regarding their early attainments so utterly fails to elucidate the testimony which the famous cave temples of Ellora and elsewhere, bear to the capabilities and numbers of the people by whom such mighty works were planned and executed, that, notwithstanding the useful labours of their historian (Grant Duff), we may believe there is yet much to be learned respecting them, probably a very interesting portion of their existence as a nation. Recently they have played a prominent but desolating and destructive part, which has drawn from the pen of a modern writer a denunciation of "those southern Goths, the Mahrattas."—(Tod's *Rajast'han*. Introduction.)

Concerning the social condition of the inhabitants of Hindoostan and the Deccan during these dark middle ages, we have certainly not sufficient data on which to found any general conclusions, except those which may be deduced from the edicts of such exemplary monarchs as Asoca—unhappily rare in all countries—and other collateral evidence. Our present information divides itself into two classes; and comes either through the channel of poetry, that is, of history travestied into fable; or else through the medium of Brahmin or Boodhist priests: it must consequently be well searched and sifted before it can be relied on as unbiassed by political motive or sectarian prejudice. But search and sift as we may, little light is thrown on the condition of the people, nor probably ever will be, at least in the sense given to that phrase in the present era of European and American civilization. The states noticed in the foregoing sketch would each one of them afford matter for a volume, full of wars, usurpations, change of dynasty, and, above all, extension of dominion; all this resting on local records, and reading on smoothly enough; but much of it entirely incompatible with the equally cherished traditions of neighbouring states. The code of Menu is perhaps an exception to this censure, but the uncertainty attached to the epoch at which it was written, and the extent to which its

* The "Periplûs [description] of the Erythrean Sea," is the title of a Greek work, issued in 1533, from the printing-press of Froben, at Basle. It contains the best account extant of the commerce carried on from the Erythrean or Red Sea and the coast of Africa, to the East Indies, during the time that Egypt was a Roman province. Dr. Vincent, the learned Dean of Westminster, who, in 1800, wrote an elaborate treatise, in two vols., 4to., to elucidate a translation of the "Periplûs," says—"I have never been able to discover from what manuscript the work was first edited;" neither could he ascertain the name of the author, generally supposed to be Arrian the historian, but who, in his opinion, must have lived a century before. There is internal evidence, according to the Dean, that the writer was a Greek, a merchant of Alexandria, and that he actually made a voyage on board the fleet from Egypt as far as the Gulf of Cambay, if not to Ceylon.—(*See* Vincent, vol. ii.)

† *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 25.

‡ Elphinstone conjectures Plithana to be a mistake of the Greek copyist for Paithana or Paitan. The word occurs but once in the "Periplûs."

institutes were ever observed, greatly impairs its value. The first objection applies also to the Ramayana and Maha Bharat.

Thus much perhaps may be reasonably inferred, from the concurrent testimony of Hindoo and foreign records, of inscriptions, and much incidental evidence of various kinds—that, at a period long antecedent to the Christian era, and while the natives of Britain were nude, nomadic savages, the people of India had attained a high position in arts, science, literature, and commerce, and lived under the hereditary rule of their own kings or rajahs; the evils attendant on the otherwise irresponsible power of a patriarchal and despotic ruler being probably counterbalanced by the respective rights of the chiefs of the sacred, and of the warrior casts, but still more by the municipal institutions which seem to have been general throughout the country. In many smaller states the government appears to have been a sort of oligarchical republic. The manners and customs of the Hindoos, the influence of cast, and the changes gradually brought about by Mussulman and British conquerors, will, if space permit, be specially though briefly narrated in another section. Between the time of Menu and the Mohammedan epoch, the religious and social habits of the people had sadly deteriorated. Their belief in an omnipresent or "all-pervasive" God had gradually been warped by perverted but plausible reasoning, into a belief that because God was in everything, therefore anything might be worshipped, not simply as His representative, but actually as Himself. Beginning probably with those glorious natural objects of the Sabæan heresy, the sun, moon, and stars, they had at length become so degraded as to fall down before images of wood and stone, and had lost sight almost wholly of their original doctrine of an indivisible triad, by ignoring Brahma (the creating principle) and according to Vishnu (the preserving) or Saiva (the destroying),* a paramount place in the pantheon of hero-gods, sacred animals, and grotesque, or often (to European eyes) immodest figures, which gradually arose, and swallowed up in the darkness of heathenism the rays of light which possibly shone upon the earliest of the Hindoo race in the patriarchal age. Their *religious observances* involved a tedious and almost impracticable ritual, with abstinence from many things which in the christian dispensations are treated as harmless—but the character of Brahmin and also of Boodhist teaching, generally distinct, was alike in being, with some great and glaring exceptions, merciful and even comparatively moral.

*The laws* of the Hindoos, especially for civil judicature, have been eulogized by Sir W. Jones, Munro, and other authorities, though severely criticised by Mill, who on this subject was prejudiced, and in fact possessed but a small part of the information since revealed. The equal partitionment of property, and the consequent disability of willing away land or money, has been much canvassed as to its effect in preventing the accumulation or improvement of possessions. It undoubtedly stimulated the dedication of large sums to religious, charitable, or public purposes; to the building of temples, of 'choultries or houses of refreshment for travellers,' and to the formation of tanks and canals—most necessary works in a land where such means, under Providence, can alone prevent hundreds, nay thousands, not only of cattle, but of human beings, from perishing by the maddening pangs of thirst, or in the more prolonged agonies of hunger, when the parched earth, gaping in deep chasms, plainly bids man, if he would be sustained by her increase, use the energy and ability with which God has blessed him, to supply as best he can, the want of kindly dew and rain, to renew her strength and fertility.

The *position of women* was decidedly superior to that of the weaker sex in almost any other ancient nation, with regard to the hereditary laws of property: they were, if unmarried, to receive portions out of their brothers' allotments. Menu ordains that whoever accosts a woman shall do so by the title of "sister," and that way must be made for her, even as for the aged, for a priest, for a prince, or a bridegroom; and in his text on the laws of hospitality he enjoins that "pregnant women, brides and damsels, shall have food before all the other guests." The seclusion and ignorance to which females are now subjected had their origin in the like Mohammedan custom. Formerly they were taught to read and write, they were the ornament and delight of the social circle; and historic or traditionary annals abound in records of their virtuous and noble deeds. Suttee or widow-burning; infanticide; the carrying out of the sick, when deemed past recovery; suicide under the same or different

* These are mythologically represented as having wives, namely, Seraswati or Devi, Lakshmi or Bhavani, and Parvati or Durga, considered metaphysically as the active powers which develop the principle represented by each member of the triad.

circumstances, including immolation beneath the car of Juggernaut and self-inflicted tortures are almost entirely innovations which gradually crept in: Juggernaut especially—being of quite modern date.

The extent of scientific knowledge acquired by the Hindoos and the date of its attainment, is a source of endless discussion; yet the subject is too important to be wholly passed over, even in this intermediate stage of their history.

In *astronomy*, much merit is assigned them by Cassini, Bailly, and Playfair, who assert that a considerable degree of progress had been made 3,000 years before the Christian era, as evidenced by observations still extant. La Place, De Lambre, and others dispute the authenticity of these observations, but all agree in admitting a great antiquity. Mr. Bentley, who has examined the calculations very minutely, and is one of the most strenuous opponents of the claims of the Hindoos, pronounces their division of the Ecliptic into twenty-seven lunar mansions, to have been made B.C. 1442. Mr. Elphinstone is of opinion that the Indian observations could not have commenced at a later period than the fifteenth century, B.C., or one or two centuries before the first mention of astronomy in Greece. In the fifth century the Brahmins discussed the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, and they were more correct than Ptolemy in their notions regarding the precession of the Equinoxes.

In an Indian work (the *Surya Sidhanta*) to which the date of the fifth or sixth century is generally assigned, a system of *trigonometry* is laid down which involves theorems that were not known in Europe until the sixteenth century. *Geometry* was probably studied long previous to the date of the above book, as exemplified in the demonstrations of various properties of triangles, the proportion of the radius to the circumference of the circle, and other problems. The invention of *decimal notation* is ascribed to the Hindoos, who, even in *algebra*, so early as the sixth century,* under a celebrated teacher, (Brahma Gupta,) excelled all their cotemporaries, not merely in propounding problems, but in its application to astronomical investigations and geometrical demonstrations. Their *chronology* has long been a stumbling-block (see p. 15), but it is nevertheless considered by several critical inquirers to admit of satisfactory explanation by means of astronomical and arithmetical calculations. Megasthenes expressly declares that the Indians and the Jews were the only nations possessed of a rational chronology, and that they agreed. Mr. Masson remarks, on this statement,—"when I look at the enormous sums given of millions of years elapsed during the three first *yugas*, and ask how can they be reconciled with the dictum of Megasthenes, I call to mind a verse somewhere in Menu, which tells us that a year of a mortal is but a day with the gods, and conceit that these large numbers have been calculated on some such base as there suggested—just as in the Hebrew Prophets, Daniel, &c., periods are expressed by days, weeks, &c.—only in these, multiplication is needful, and with the Hindoos division." In the private letter from which I have ventured to quote the preceding passage, Mr. Masson adds, that by the use of the multiple 360 and the divisor nine (the sacred number of the Tartars and other nations), the Hindoo statement can be made to agree with that found in one (? the Samaritan† version) of the Scriptures within a single year.‡ And he considers that the system of Indian chronology was framed in some manner intelligible to the initiated,§ by whom the sacred writings were solely, or at least particularly, intended to

* "Mr. Colebrooke has fully established that algebra had attained the highest perfection it ever reached in India before it was known to the Arabians, and, indeed, before the first dawn of the culture of the sciences among that people."—(Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 250).

† The Samaritan is the most ancient of the oriental versions of the Scriptures, but its exact age is unascertained; it contains only the Pentateuch.

‡ The anonymous writer of a *Key to the Chronology of the Hindoos*, whose opinions are set forth in 2 vols. 8vo., printed at Cambridge in 1820; undertakes to convince his readers that "the Hindoo dates correspond with the Hebrew texts of our Scriptures, and that they date the *Lotos* or creation 5,817 years from the present time, which is only six years from the true period, according to the best calculations we have, and only two years according to the vulgar era of Christ, A.M. 4004." In an elaborate disquisition he contends that the commencement of the fourth historical age, *Cali yuga*, "is correctly placed at B.C. 3182;" the three previous ages "contain a period of 900 years only;" and by adding 900 years to the current year of the fourth, or *Cali* age, we get the true epoch of creation, according to all oriental chronology." The *year of the world* is computed by the Greek church at B.C. 5509; by the Abyssinian church, 5492; by the Jews, 3760. The Bible is not explicit on the subject.

§ It is stated in the "*Key*" that some European suggested to Sir W. Jones an explanation by cutting the ciphers off the numerals.

be read, the Brahmins in this respect differing essentially from the Boodhists.

In *geography* they had, as a nation, made little progress, and though unquestionably engaged in traffic more or less direct with the nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, probably entered, at the utmost, only as individuals on the carrying trade beyond their own coast, and gave little thought to the position or affairs of other countries; and this accords with the metaphysical, rather than practical, turn of their minds. There is, however, a passage in Menu which shows that marine insurance was practised his time; and various writings, poems, plays, and tales written during different periods from the first to the twelfth century, detail adventures at sea, in which Indian sailors and ships are immediately concerned. That the Hindoos established colonies in Java and other places there is reason to believe, though we cannot tell at what time, or under what circumstances. Bryant, who contends that Chaldea was the parent country of the Hindoos, asserts, in his *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, that these people were found in Colchis, in Mesopotamia, and even in Thrace. Recently they have been met with in Arabia, Armenia, and Astracan.

In *medicine* they had not merely studied the virtues of simples, but had also attained considerable skill in chemistry, and knew how to prepare (for the most part in modes peculiar to themselves) sulphuric, nitric, and muriatic acid; oxides of copper, iron, lead (of which they had both the red oxide and litharge) tin, and zinc; the sulphurets of copper, zinc, and iron, and carbonates of lead and iron. They employed minerals internally, giving both mercury, arsenic, and arsenious acid; cinnabar was used for fumigations, to produce safe and speedy salivation. They also practised inoculation for small-pox. Their *surgery* is still more remarkable, from their ignorance of *anatomy*—dissection or even the touch of dead bodies, being deemed the extreme of pollution—yet they cut for the stone, couched for cataract, and performed other delicate operations;* and their early works enumerate no less than 127 sorts of surgical instruments, which, however, were probably always rude.

Of the *languages* and *literature* of India, it would be impossible to convey any idea in few words, without appearing to assume a dogmatic attitude on the many difficult questions involved therein. The translations of Sir William Jones from the Sanscrit, of *Sacontala*, a pastoral drama of great antiquity, and other poems, together with the *Hindoo Theatre* of Professor Wilson, enable English readers to form their own opinions of the degree of dramatic excellence very early attained in India. Portions of the Ramayana, of the Maha Bharat, and the whole of the Sama Veda have also been translated; the fourth, or Antharva Veda, (whose authenticity is disputed), being still sedulously withheld by the Brahmins, and denounced as a "Black Book," teaching astrology and witchcraft. The six Angras or Shastras, are supposed to have been written by inspiration to elucidate the sublime mysteries contained in the Vedas. They treat of theology and ritual observances; of grammar, metre, astronomy, logic, law, the art of government, medicine, archery, the use of arms, music, dancing, and the drama. With the eighteen Puranas we are not immediately concerned, for two reasons. They must be subsequently referred to as explanatory of the present (would to God that we could say the past) idolatrous polytheism of the Hindoos; and moreover in the opinion of Professor Wilson, none of them assumed their existing state until the time of Sankara Acharya, the great Saiva reformer, who flourished about the eighth or ninth century, and consequently, subsequent to the period of which we are now treating: Wilson traces several of them to the twelfth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries of our era. The Puranas have been already frequently quoted, because they comprise the genealogies of various dynasties, especially of the solar and lunar races; which are valuable, although sometimes misleading, being evidently a compilation of fragments obtained from family records. Many historical documents probably yet remain uninjured, hidden away from the desolating torch of the soldiers of the Crescent, who generally did their utmost to destroy the writings of an idolatrous people, at least any that might appear connected with their creed, which all were more or less. Doubtless much valuable data has thus utterly perished; and the loss is now irreparable. The remark made by the people of Rajast'han to Colonel Tod, when he complained of the numerous deficiencies in their annals, was sufficient explanation and apology. "When our princes," said they, "were in exile, driven from hold to hold, and com-

* *Vide* Dr. Royle's Essay on the *Antiquity of the Indian Materia Medica.*

pelled to dwell in the clefts of the mountains, often doubtful whether they would not be obliged to abandon the very meal preparing for them—was that a time to think of historical records?"*

In the lighter department of literature they excel; and, indeed, in tales and fables appear to have set the example to the rest of mankind, since to them may be traced the subjects of the most popular Oriental and even European fictions.†

Their *music* is said to have been systematic and refined, but it has since greatly deteriorated: *painting* was probably always at a low ebb, unless beautifully illustrated manuscripts may form an exception—in which, however, the figures are the worst executed portion of the ornaments. Their ancient *sculpture* often presents spirited and sometimes exceedingly graceful groups; but is generally rendered unpleasing, not only by the grotesque and many-limbed forms of the gods and goddesses, but also by their ignorance of anatomy, and inattention, even as copyists, to the symmetrical arrangement of the limbs and muscles, and to the maintenance of proportion between different figures.

*Architecture* early became a favourite and practical study,‡ but varied greatly in different parts of India (*vide* section on topography). It is said that the arch was not understood before the Mussulman era, but this seems to be contradicted by the age of some specimens which still exist. Tanks or reservoirs for irrigation or for bathing were made on a scale of great extent and magnificence, and also wells of considerable depth and breadth, the more ancient of which were square and surrounded by galleries, with a broad flight of steps from top to bottom. Their triumphal columns and massive gateways and pagodas take rank among the finest specimens of the architecture of any nation.

Their *manufactures* and *commerce* have been noticed sufficiently for the present purpose: their mode of *agriculture* was so nearly what it is at present, that that subject, together with their rights in the land and the *revenue system* generally, may be best deferred for examination to a future chapter.

*Chariots* were drawn in war by horses, but on a march by oxen and sometimes by camels. Elephant chariots were also kept as a piece of extraordinary magnificence, used in their famous festivals, when well appointed troops marched in procession; and thrones, tables, goblets, lavers, set with precious stones, and robes of exquisite colours richly embroidered with gold, were borne along in state. Tame lions and panthers formed part of the show which birds, remarkable for gorgeous plumage or sweet song, were made to enliven; being conveyed on trees transported on large waggons. In short, a Hindoo fête in the ancient days, was a thing that even a Parisian of the time of the second Buonaparte might sigh for—always excepting fireworks, for it does not appear that they had any knowledge of gunpowder, although in war they are said to have used arrows tipped with some combustible or explosive compound.

The *police system* Megasthenes declared to be excellent; *royal roads* are spoken of by Strabo, in one place, and mile-stones in another.§ The *dress*, as described by Arrian,‖ was precisely the two wrappers of cotton cloth, still worn by the people of Bengal and by strict Brahmins everywhere.

It is asserted that no *Indian coinage* existed prior to the introduction of that of the Greeks or Bactrians. This, if proved, would be no criterion of barbarism: the Chinese, at the present day, have no gold or silver pieces—their only coin being a small alloyed copper "cash," of which about a thousand are equal to one Spanish dollar. All sales have for ages been regulated by bars or blocks of the precious metals, with a stamped attestation of their respective purity; and it is possible that in ancient times a similar course was pursued in India. There are however passages in a Sanscrit play and in the penal code of the Hindoos which refer, not only to the standard, but to the fabric and stamp of coin, and to the punishments due to the fabricators and falsifiers of the public monies. Small flat pieces of silver, square, round, or oblong, weighing from forty-eight to fifty grains, with a rude punch, symbolical of a sun, moon, or star, or a nondescript figure, of an unknown age, have been found in considerable quantities in various localities.

Hindoo gold and silver coins, tolerably well executed, have been discovered at Beghram, Cutch, Benares, and other places appertaining to the Balhara dynasty; which is thought to have ruled the country from Oojein to the Indus, 375 years posterior to the

* *Rajast'han*, vol. i. p. ix.

† *Vide Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 166, on the Indian origin of European fables.

‡ *Essay on Hindoo Architecture* by Râm Râz, published by the Oriental Translation Fund.

§ Strabo, lib. xv., pp. 474—494, ed. 1587.

‖ *Indica*, cap. xvi.

Vicramaditya era. Coins of the Chandra Gupta dynasty have been collected from the ruins of Behat near the Doab Canal, and at Canouj; others, of a Jain or Boodhistical type, have been procured at Rajast'han and at Hurdwar on the Ganges.

Recent investigations* have brought to light no inconsiderable quantity of Indo-Scythian and Sassanian coins, which gradually mixed with and at length merged into a distinct Hindoo type. This, with modifications, lasted to the time of the Mohammedan conquerors. A very curious English collection of Hindoo silver monies connects two dynasties; indeed, there are not many links wanting to form an entire series of Greek, Bactrian, Nysæan,† Sassanian, Indo-Scythian, and Hindoo‡ (Guzerat, Rajpoot, Canouj, or Rahtore, &c.) coins, from the time of Alexander to that of the Moslems in the eleventh century. The Roman coins discovered in India extend in antiquity through a period of more than 1,000 years, from the Augustan age down to the decline of the Lower empire; those generally found are of the smaller denominations, consisting of the common currency of the eastern parts of the empire: many of the copper coins are of Egyptian fabrication.

*Bactria, Aria, and Parthia.*—The two first-named countries, comprising the territory lying on either side of the Hindoo Koosh, between the Oxus and Indus Rivers, are on the high road of Asiatic conquest, and have been the battle-field of every tribe and nation that has risen to dominion in the East. Parthia has been always intimately connected with them, and the three have jointly and severally exercised an influence in India, the extent and nature of which is still but imperfectly understood.

Recent discoveries of coins (above referred to) have confirmed and augmented the information bequeathed by ancient authors, and thrown a new light on the connection which existed with the kingdom of Bactria—that is, of the country watered by the Oxus and its tributaries, and separated from Hindoostan by the range of mountains whence the Oxus and Indus derive their respective sources. It has been already stated, that after the first contest for the partition of the vast empire of Alexander, all his eastern conquests, including Hyrcania, Parthia, Bactria, Aria,§ &c., were appropriated by Seleucus. Bactria remained subject to his descendants, until civil wars and the impending revolt of the Parthians induced Diodotus, or Theodotus, the satrap or governor of the province, to assert his independence and become the first king, about 250, or, according to Bayer, 255, B.C. Parthia also successfully revolted from the sway of the Seleucidæ, under Arsaces,‖ who, according to Strabo, was by birth a Bactrian, but is called by other writers a Dahian, that is, a native of Sogdiana:¶ whoever he was, he appears to have used Greek only on his coins and in his public letters and correspondence.

Bactria itself, however, cannot be supposed to have been colonised by any great body of Greeks, but probably received many of the partially-disciplined recruits raised by Alexander during the later part of his progress. Even the Greeks, by intermarriage with Persian, and doubtless with Indian wives, would soon lose their distinctive character; and after the establishment of Parthian power, the immigration of adventurers from Greece, and, indeed, all communication with that country would cease. This accounts for the total silence of Greek authors respecting the termination of the Bactrian kingdom. Its limits, during the most flourishing period, included some parts of India. Strabo quotes an ancient author, who asserts that the Bactrians possessed

* See *Ariana Antiqua*, a descriptive account of the antiquities and coins of Afghanistan, with a memoir of the buildings, called topes, by C. Masson, Esq. Edited by Prof. Wilson, 4to, 1841. Also the expositions of J. Prinsep in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*; and H. T. Prinsep's *Hist. Results.*

† The features of the sovereigns of the various dynasties stamped on these coins are quite distinct, and they are generally well executed. The Nysæan have a fillet or diadem round the head; reverse, a horseman; the Indo-Scythian an erect figure of Hercules resting on his club: the Sassanian, a fire altar on the reverse. The legends are generally in Greek, or in Pehlevi, a language which was contemporary with the Parsi (of Persia), and the Zend (of Media), five or six hundred years, B.C. It was used in the region round Assyria, and probably in Assyria itself,—but together with the Zend has been a dead language for more than two thousand years.

‡ The ancient Hindoo coins have various devices—a horseman, a horse, an elephant, a lion, a bull, an antelope, a goat, the Sankh, or sacred shell, or the hieroglyphic called *Swastika.*

§ Aria is the territory of which Herat is the capital. Ariana (Eeran) is the general name for the country east of Persia and Media to the Indus.

‖ Sogdiana designates the mountains which feed the Jaxartes and divide that river from the Oxus.

¶ Arsaces was the title of Parthian princes. The Parthians were the Sacæ of Asia, and Saca-dwipa (the country of the Sacæ) lay about the fountains of of the Oxus.—Conder's *Modern Traveller.* (*India.*)

"the most conspicuous part of Ariana" (Khorasan), and conquered more nations in India than even Alexander. In this last achievement the principal actors were Menander, Appollodotus, and Demetrius, who are mentioned together by Strabo; but their date and the limits of their sway are not clearly stated. Demetrius is a puzzle, or rather the site of his kingdom, for he once had one, and was a conqueror besides. Two or three of his coins have been found in Cabool, not sufficient to establish the fact of his rule there, but rather the reverse; two or three others — of silver — have been brought from Bokhara. Appollodotus and Menander* certainly ruled over Cabool, their copper coins being found in such numbers, and so constantly, as to prove they were once a currency there; but then, as regards Appollodotus, Cabool is held to have been merely a province, his capital being established elsewhere, to be looked for, perhaps, where his copper money was circular instead of square, as at Cabool, and such circular coins are discovered more eastward in the Punjaub, and even at Muttra (the old Methora), on the Jumna. Masson strongly suspects the kingdom of Appollodotus and Menander to have been rather Indian than Bactrian; and Professor Lassen supposes three kingdoms to have existed besides that of Bactria, of which the eastern, under Menander and Appollodotus, comprehended the Punjaub and the valley of the Indus, with Cabool and Arachosia, or Candahar, added in times of prosperity. The western kingdom, he places conjecturally at Heerat and in Seestan, and the third would include the Paropamisan region, which, however, Prinsep inclines to attribute to Baetria.† Unfortunately, no information has been obtained to prove how far north or west of Cabool the currencies of the aforesaid kings spread, otherwise the limits of their rule might have been partially traced in those directions. The Greeks, under Menander, made extensive conquests, subduing the Seres and Shauni to the north and north-east of India; crossing the Hypanis (Hyphasis, or Beyah), and proceeding as far as the Isamus to the south-eastward; and on the south-westward reducing Pattalene, that is, the country about Tatta, forming the Delta of the Indus. All the intermediate territory appears, from the statement of Strabo, to have been vanquished; and we might form a tolerably satisfactory conclusion as to its extent, but for doubts suggested of the meaning of the word *Isamus*. This is by some considered to denote the Jumna River, by others the Himalaya Mountains (sometimes called Imaus), and, thirdly, with perhaps better reason, the Isamutti River, which falls into the Hooghly, a western branch of the Ganges.

*Bactria Proper*, as established by Diodotus, appears to have continued through his successors Diodotus II., Euthydemus, Eucratides, and his successor (supposed by De Guignes and Bayer to have been his son and murderer, Eucratides II., but by Masson, Heliocles), until about 125 years B.C., when, (according to Chinese records, quoted by De Guignes) a great movement which took place in Central or Eastern Tartary impelled across the Jaxartes (Sir) an irresistible torrent of Scythian hordes. This statement is corroborated by the testimony of Strabo, who gives the names of the four principal tribes by whom the overthrow of the Greek kingdom was effected. From these names they would appear to have been composed of a mixture of Getæ or Goths, Dahi or Dacians, Sakarauli or Sakas, and Tochari, perhaps, but not certainly, Turks. All seized portions of Baetria; and after some time the Getæ subdued the others, and advanced upon India. Crossing the Hindoo Koosh, they dispossessed the successor of Hermias, if not the old king himself; and their presence is very clearly indicated by those coins bearing the name of that king, with the prefix Su. Soon after the coinage was varied; busts probably intended to represent their own kings or chiefs were introduced, and Bactro-Pali legends on the reverse, much differing from the Greek ones encircling the busts—the latter, indeed, becoming unintelligible. The Getæ, moreover, we are assured, retained power in the countries bordering on the Indus for four centuries—liable, necessarily, to vicissitudes,

* Whether Appollodotus succeeded or preceded Menander is uncertain, but an opinion may be raised that although always mentioned first, he really followed Menander, because his circular coins so closely resemble in style and fabric those of Azes (in Bactro-Pali, Aya) that it is evident the one currency followed the other, in the Punjaub and to the east, but not in Cabool, where that of Hermias prevailed. For this remark, as well as other information interwoven in the text conveying a brief sketch of Bactrian affairs, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Charles Masson.

† Because of the bilingual as well as pure Greek coins of Heliocles and Antimachus, kings of Bactria. —*Historical Results deducible from recent discoveries in Afghanistan*, by H. Prinsep, Esq., p. 66.

but still maintaining themselves until finally overcome by the Huns. The Parthians benefited by the occasion of attacking Eucratides, and deprived him of two satrapies; but although certain coins bearing a national tinge, with an attempted imitation of the names and titles of Heliocles are found in Cabool, there is little other evidence of Parthian rule there—while in the Punjaub, immediately on the banks of the Indus, there is more. It is not improbable, that they contested the possession of Cabool with the Getæ, but were unsuccessful, and directed their attention rather to Sinde, and thence ascended the Indus; but it may be doubted if these Parthians were those established in Persia—although of the same or kindred race—they may have been Dahæ. Though weakened and disorganised, Bactria cannot have been entirely overwhelmed by Scythian or Parthian incursions, that is not in the time of Eucratides or Heliocles, since Horace, 120 years later, deemed it of sufficient importance to engage the attention of Augustus. Its final disruption by Parthian agency must have been of considerably later date.

The fortunes of *Parthia* likewise underwent considerable vicissitudes. Arsaces possessed only Parthia and Hyrcania, the nucleus of his sovereignty being the colonies planted by Alexander eighty years before. His immediate successors were brave and valiant, and their empire at one time extended from the Euphrates to the Jaxartes; but whether it included or received tribute from the ancient soil of the Hindoos is little better than matter of conjecture.* The sceptre of Persia continued to be wielded by this line until A.D. 235, when Ardeshur Babakun, or Artaxerxes, a distinguished officer of the Parthian army—having been slighted by the reigning monarch, Arsaces-Artabanus—revolted, and after three severe battles, conquered and slew Artabanus, and established his own dynasty, the Sassanian, being crowned at Balkh, where his last victory was gained. Thus closed the Greco-Parthian dominion in central Asia, after a continuance of very nearly 500 years; and the same date marks the end of the transition of Parthia back from Hellenism to an entirely Asiatic sovereignty and condition of society. The system of government had been always purely Asiatic; that is, by subordinate satraps or viceroys invested with full and absolute authority over the person and property of the people committed to their charge. Alexander had experienced the evils of thus forming an *Impirium in impirio* in every province, in the misconduct of several satraps during his absence in the Indian campaign; and, had he lived, would probably have introduced a sounder system; but his successors had neither the ability to plan, nor perhaps opportunity to execute, any such radical change in their respective governments. They lacked, moreover, the prestige of their great master's name and character, which had alone enabled him to check the ambition or rapacity of his vicegerents, by the exercise of an arbitrary power of removal. After his death, the method generally adopted of controlling, removing, or punishing a military satrap, was to turn against him the arms of a rival neighbour. The result was, of course, the origin of a number of irresponsible despots. Keeping this in mind, it is the less surprising that Parthian coins should be found, asserting independence and bearing arrogant titles, in Afghanistan, since these may indicate nothing but the temporary successes or pretensions of various petty satraps.† The most celebrated of the later Sassanian kings was Chosroes, who reigned from 531 to 571; his grandson was deposed in 628, and after a few years of tumult and distraction, Persia fell under the power of the Caliphs, by whom it has ever since been ruled.

* Mithridates II., who reigned in the early part of the century before the Christian era, and whose death was followed by an interregnum of civil war, or doubtful sovereignty, in Parthia, was the first of the Arsacidæ who adopted the title of "Great King of Kings," which is believed to be of Indian origin, and was probably assumed after the acquisition of countries bordering on India.—Prinsep's *Historical Results*, p. 67.

† *Vide* Prinsep's *Historical Results*, for much interesting discussion regarding Bactrian coins, especially the opinions of Wilson, Masson, and Lassen; also regarding the newly-deciphered language generally used in writing, when Greek became quite extinct, called Arian, Arianian, Bactrian, and Caboolian, according to the supposed locality of its native use. Mr. James Prinsep, (whose laborious investigations had before been mainly instrumental in restoring the language of the ancient Indian kings who made treaties with Antiochus and Seleucus,) while examining coins with bilingual inscriptions, used the names given in Greek on one side, to find out those of the unknown language on the other. He thus obtained a key to the alphabet, and deciphered words which proved to be Pracrit (the vernacular form of Sanscrit), written semitically from right to left. There are still, however, some inscriptions in the Arian characters upon rocks and on the relics of topes and tumuli, remaining to reward further research.

Mohammedan to British Epoch.—In the beginning of the seventh century, when the Christian church was torn by dissensions and perplexed by heresies, and when the greater part of the inhabitants of Asia and of Africa were sunk in barbarism, enfeebled by sensuality, or enslaved by idolatry, there arose on the shores of the Red Sea, a Power, at once religious and militant, which rapidly attained and has since continued to exercise an extraordinary influence on the condition of one-third of the human race.

Arabia is considered by oriental writers to have been originally colonised by the posterity of Shem and Ham, the former having followed pastoral, the latter agricultural pursuits; to these were subsequently added a mixed race—the descendants of Abraham, through Ishmael, the son of Hagar the bondwoman.* The posterity of Ham, through Cush and Nimrod, his son and grandson, brought with them from Mesopotamia one of the most ancient languages (supposed to be the Himyaritic, still spoken in parts of the country), and the creed of the Patriarchs, or at least a portion of it; that is, the existence of one God, the Creator and Governor of the world, and the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, of future rewards and punishments. A sense of sin and unworthiness probably induced "the adoration of heavenly spirits as mediators between man and one immutable Holy Being; and to these they raised temples and altars for sacrifices and supplications, to which were subsequently added fastings."† The sun and moon next became the objects of worship, at first probably as symbols; next followed the seven planets, the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the twenty-four constellations. Almost every tribe had its peculiar idol, dead men were worshipped, and also angels or genii; some even denied all kinds of revelation, having sunk into the lowest depths of idolatry; but the descendants of Shem passed from pure Theism into Sabæism, or a belief in the peopling of the heavenly bodies with superior intelligences, by whom the lives and actions of men were regulated. The immigration of a few Jewish and Christian tribes had introduced among the more thoughtful, purer notions both of faith and practice; but these had made little progress among the mass of the people, who, as regarded their political and social state, were still, as they had been for ages, to a great extent isolated by poverty and by geographical position, from the rest of the world. Their country, consisting of some mountain tracts and rich oases, separated or surrounded by a sandy desert, has been aptly compared to the coasts and islands of a sea.‡ The desert was thinly scattered with small camps of predatory horsemen, who pitched their tents wherever a well of water could be found; and aided by the much-enduring camel, overspread extensive regions, to the great peril and anxiety of peaceful travellers. The settled inhabitants, though more civilized, were scarcely less simple in their habits; the various tribes formed distinct communities, between whom there could be little communication except by rapid journeys on horseback or tedious marches, in the present caravanseray fashion. Each tribe acknowledged as its chief the representative of their common ancestor; but probably little check was ever imposed upon the liberty of individuals, save in rare cases, when the general interest imperatively demanded such interference. The physical features of the land and its scanty agricultural resources helped to foster the hardy and self-reliant character of its sons, who, unconnected by the strong ties of religious or commercial fellowship, and never compelled to unite against a foreign foe, found vent in the innumerable feuds which constantly spring up between independent tribes and families, for the warlike and roving instincts which seem so inseparably bound up with the wiry, lithesome, supple frame, and the fiery, yet imaginative and sensuous temperament, of the Arab.

Such a people, united for a common purpose under a common leader, might, it was evident, accomplish extraordinary results; and purpose and leader were presented to them in the person of a man, whose fame as a subjugator may be mentioned in the same page with that of Alexander the Great, and who, as a lawgiver, takes much higher rank—higher, that is, in the sense of having used and abused powers never entrusted to the Macedonian. Mohammed the False Prophet, was, beyond all doubt, intimately acquainted with both the Jewish and Chris-

* Ishmael is said to have married the daughter of Mozauz or Modhaugh, the sovereign of Hijaz.—(See tabular genealogies of these three tribes in Colonel Chesney's work on the Euphrates and Tigris, vol. i.) The sons of Ham, *Cush*, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and Canaan peopled parts of Western Asia, as well as Africa.

† *Ecchellensis*, *Chron. Orien.*, App., c. 6, p. 148.

‡ Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 488.

tian scriptures, he recognised the mighty truths they contained, and the sharp weapons those truths would afford, wielded against idolatry. Incited by strangely-blended motives of ambition and fanaticism, he boldly defied the curse pronounced on those most impious of all deceivers, who shall dare to add unto, or take away from, the revealed word of God. (*Revelation, ch.* xxii. *v.* 18, 19.)

It is necessary to know something of his private life, before we can understand the steps by which an unknown enthusiast sprang suddenly into importance; and, gathering together with marvellous skill and energy the scattered tribes, formed them into a nation, prohibited retaliation without the previous sanction of a trial and a sentence, and in short, induced them to abandon intestine strife and combine in a religious crusade. Mohammed was born A.D. 569, at Mecca, one of the oldest cities in the world, and belonged to the head family of the tribe of Koreish, who were the hereditary guardians of the great temple of Caaba, which is built round a well, supposed to be that miraculously pointed out to Hagar to save the life of Ishmael. Tradition declares the temple itself, or at least the first temple which existed on this site, to have been vouchsafed in answer to the prayer of Adam, who implored that he might be permitted to have a sanctuary like that in which he had worshipped in Eden. The prayer was granted, and in curtains of light a model of the paradisaical temple was let down, precisely beneath the spot where the original had stood. On this model Seth built a temple, which was swept away by the deluge, but rebuilt by Abraham and Isaac. The worship offered in the Caaba was at the beginning of the sixth century idolatrous, the chief objects being Abraham and Ishmael, to whose images, each holding a bunch of arrows, such as the Arabs use for divining, regular worship, was offered. Thus Abraham, the divinely-commissioned witness against idolatry, became in process of time the object of the very crime he had so zealously condemned. With him and his son there appear to have been in all 360 gods, the number having probably reference to the days of the Persian year.

The chief command of the Caaba and of the city were vested in the same person, and to this double office of priest and chief Mohammed was presumptive heir, when the death of his father Abdallah before his grandfather, cut him off from the succession, and threw him a destitute orphan on the care of his uncle, Abu Taleb, who taught him the business of a merchant, and carried him on long trading journeys into Syria, thus giving him early insight into foreign countries and creeds. When but fourteen, Mohammed entered into a rancorous war that had broken out among the tribes, and greatly distinguished himself for courage and ability. Till twenty-five he remained in the service of his uncle, and then married Kadijah, the richly-endowed widow of a merchant of Mecca. Thus raised to independence, he was enabled to pursue the objects most congenial to his own mind; but the nature of his occupations for many years is unknown. Some suppose him to have employed that long interval in the study of various manuscripts, although throughout his life he constantly affirmed himself unable to read or write* a single word. It is very possible that, by the aid of a retentive memory, he might have obtained orally a great part, or even the whole, of the information he possessed, especially with regard to the unity of God, by intercourse with a cousin of his wife's, named Warka ben Naufel, who was skilled in Jewish learning, and is said to have translated the Scriptures from Hebrew into Arabic. He withdrew himself at length from all society, and spent long periods in complete solitude in the cave of Hara, near his native city, giving free scope to meditations, which brought him to the verge if not actually into the abyss of insanity, and opened a door for fancied visions and every species of mental delusion. At length, when about forty years of age, he declared his alleged mission to his wife, and afterwards to a few of his family; and, some three or four years after, publicly announced himself as "the last and greatest of the prophets." He is represented as having been a man of middle size, singularly muscular, with a very large head, prominent forehead, eyebrows nearly meeting, but divided by a vein, which in times of excitement throbbed violently, black flashing eyes, aquiline nose, full and florid cheeks, large mouth, and small teeth of the most exquisite whiteness; glossy black hair fell over his shoulders, and a full beard flowed down upon his chest. His countenance is alleged to have been beautiful in the extreme, and to

* Perhaps the strongest presumption against the truth of this assertion, is the circumstance of his calling for a pen that he might write, while delirious, during his last illness. The request was refused.

have added not a little to the effect produced by his insinuating address and consummate eloquence upon the impressionable natures of his countrymen.* The creed he first taught was simply this:—"There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet;" and all who received and repeated this comprehensive formula were styled "true believers." The Koran he declared to be a perfect book, already written in heaven, but communicated to him in portions only, through the medium of the angel Gabriel. This provision enabled him to disseminate his doctrines gradually, to observe the manner in which they were received, and to modify and even change them at successive periods; but, at the same time, the very facility of obviating immediate difficulties, led to many discrepancies and contradictions in his pretended revelations. In spite, however, of much extravagance, of the wildest dreams related as if sober realities, and, worse than all, of the glaring impiety of pleading the Divine command as a reason for intolerance and immorality, many chapters of the Koran are still remarkable as compositions.† They stamp their author as far superior to any existing writer of his country, and even exhibit him in the light of a reformer—for his religion was founded on the sublime theology of the Old Testament, and his morality, faulty indeed in comparison with the Christian code, was yet far purer than that then general in Arabia, for it must be remembered that Mohammed represented himself as privileged to break through at pleasure the very rules he most strenuously enforced on others. The Koran abounds in admonitions to spiritual and moral excellence, enunciates the necessary laws and directions for the guidance of Mohammedans, and especially enjoins the worship and reverence of the only true God, and resignation to his will. In the course of its 114 chapters, Adam, Noah, Moses, Joseph, David, Solomon, and other patriarchs, prophets, and kings, are referred to by name, the facts being evidently derived from the Jewish Scriptures, the fictions in which they are enveloped, from tradition, or more frequently from the teeming brain of the impostor. It seems almost profanation to mention the sacred name of the Great Redeemer in connection with the lying tales of the False Prophet. Suffice it to say that His divine mission is recognised in the Koran, but His divinity denied.

For ten years after the first public announcement of his alleged calling, Mohammed continued to play the part of a zealous and enduring missionary, suffering himself "to be abused, to be spit upon, to have dust thrown upon him, and to be dragged out of the temple by his own turban fastened to his neck."‡ Persecution had its usual effect of drawing its object into notice; his doctrines gradually took root, until, upon the death of his uncle and protector, Abu Taleb, the rulers of Mecca determined on his destruction. He lost his faithful wife and earliest convert, Kadijah, about the same time, and a complete change came over him.

At Medina, 270 miles from Mecca, his doctrines had been favourably received, and a deputation from that city invited him to become its governor. He gladly fled thither, escaping, by stratagem, from a conspiracy formed in Mecca, leaving his young cousin Ali lying on his bed, covered with his well-known green robe. The Hejira or flight forms the era from which Mohammedans date; it occurred A.D. 622. On his arrival at Medina, whither all his converts followed him, he was immediately made governor. Many Jews and Christians then resided there, the latter he rather favoured, but the former as a nation incurred his bitter enmity, by indignantly rejecting his overtures to become proselytes, or to aid in making Jerusalem the head-quarters of the new creed. Once established at Medina he built a mosque, threw off his submissive attitude, and declared his intention of having recourse to arms in his own defence, and also for the conversion or extermination of infidels. He strengthened his cause by several marriages, and subsequently added to the number, as policy or inclination prompted, until he had fifteen, or as some say, twenty-one so-called legitimate wives—other men being allowed four at the utmost. The true secret of his success probably lay in the

* For a graphic and condensed account of the impostor and his early proceedings, see a published lecture on Mohammedanism, by the Rev. W. Arthur. Major Price's compendious *Mahommedan History* is an excellent book of reference, as well as of agreeable reading.

† "The style of the Koran," says its able translator, Mr. Sale, "is generally beautiful and fluent, especially where it imitates the prophetic manner and scripture phrases: it is concise and often obscure, adorned with bold figures after the Eastern taste, and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent."—(*Preliminary Discourse*, p. 44.)

‡ *Tarikhi Tabari;* quoted by Col. Kennedy, in the *Bombay Literary Transactions*, vol. iii.

force of his grand doctrine of the unity and omnipotence of God, as contrasted with idolatry. This he declared was to be insisted upon everywhere, at the cost of life itself, which it was meritorious to lavish freely, whether that of believers in spreading the right faith, or of infidels to lessen their number. The enthusiastic Arabs were easily induced to unite as fellow-workers in an enterprize they believed enjoined by the direct command of God, and eagerly dared the fiercest contest in the battle-field, intoxicated by the lying words which asserted that "the sword is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, or a night spent under arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven at the day of judgment; his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion and odoriferous as musk; the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubims."*

The first contest, which took place at Beder between 300 of the Mohammedans and 900 of the Koreish tribe, terminated in favour of the new sect, and laid the foundation of a great military empire, of such rapid growth, that when in the tenth year of the Hejira, and the sixty-third of his age, Mohammed lay writhing in the last struggles of the long agony of four years' duration, which followed the eating of the poisoned dish prepared by the persecuted Jews of Chaibar—not only was all Arabia united under his sway, but the king of Persia, the emperor of Rome, and the king of Ethiopia had been called upon to acknowledge his divine mission and receive the Koran: the dominions of the emperor (Heraclius) had indeed been actually invaded by a successful expedition into Syria. Yet this was but the nucleus of the singular power exercised by his successors, for instead of falling to pieces like a snow-ball in the contest for its possession, as might have been expected, since Mohammed, like Alexander, left no undoubted heir, the reins of government were placed by his followers in the hand of Abubekir, one of the earliest of the so-called "true believers," in spite of the opposition of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed, who had expected to be chosen caliph and imaum.† Abubekir, fearing the revival of the domestic feuds of tribes or clans, forthwith proclaimed anew throughout the Arabian peninsula the favourite and convenient doctrine of the False Prophet, that fighting for religion was the most acceptable service which man could render to his Maker, and declared his intention of sending an army for the complete subjugation of Syria. The life and rule of Abubekir terminated in two years. In accordance with his desire, Omar, a noble citizen of Mecca, acceded to the supreme authority, with the title of "commander of the faithful." Under his vigorous rule the Arabs invaded Persia and utterly destroyed the second or Parthian empire, gained complete possession of Syria, after defeating 40,000 Greeks in a severe contest on the *Yermuk*, a river running into the lake of Tiberias, and, as a crowning triumph, compelled the surrender of Jerusalem, for which, as the "city of the prophets," Mohammed had always professed high veneration.

Egypt was over-run by Khaled, a general whose victories had procured from Mohammed the title of "the sword of God," and Alexandria was speedily added to the brilliant roll of Mussulman conquests. The great abilities, united to extreme simplicity and purity of life, which distinguished Omar, doubtless contributed to the spread of the doctrines and temporal sway of the people he governed. At the expiration of ten years he was slain while praying in the mosque, by a Persian, whose rage was excited by being obliged to pay two pieces of silver daily, as a penalty for refusing to abjure his faith—the alternatives offered by the Mohammedans, being "the Koran, tribute, or the sword." The large majority of the conquered chose the first, especially in Persia, where a lifeless form of government and a fantastic and superstitious creed, needed but a slight shock to hasten the progress of decay, and crumble into dust, to be moulded anew and receive vital energy, in greater or less degree, according to the will and ability of the first dominant power which might be brought to bear upon it. The doctrine of the unity and omnipotence of God was received by the Persians as a mighty truth, divinely revealed to man, as it really was, notwithstanding the false and distorted medium through which it reached them, and it must have peculiarly commended itself to all who had seriously considered the

* The *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, contains a detailed account of the rise and progress of the Moslem empire, written with all the power and caustic irony peculiar to Gibbon.

† That is, civil and spiritual ruler, or high-pontiff.

subject of religion, by freeing them from the enthralment of a cowardly and degrading system, which taught men to seek the aid or deprecate the wrath of beings who added to superhuman influence the worst vices of fallen creatures.

Othman succeeded Omar, but quickly displeased his generals, and at the close of a turbulent reign of twelve years, was besieged in his own house, and after a long defence, murdered with the Koran on his knee. Ali was at length elected caliph, notwithstanding the rivalry of Mauwiyah, the lieutenant of Syria, but assassinated within five years in Persia, while entering a mosque for evening worship. His son and successor Hassan, was defeated by Mauwiyah and abdicated in his favour. The new caliph, the founder of the dynasty of the Ommiades, extended the dominion of the Arabs to the Atlantic, having subjugated all Roman or Northern Africa.

In A.D. 713, Spain was subdued, and the Mussulmans continued to advance until they had reached the heart of France, but were met on the Loire, in 732, between Poitiers and Tours, by Charles Martel, and utterly routed.

The last caliph of the dynasty of the Ommiades (Merwan) was slain in a sedition raised by the descendants of Abbas, Mohammed's uncle. The second prince of this dynasty built the city of Bagdad and removed the seat of government thither; the fifth was the famous Haroun al Raschid. Under the Abbassides learning flourished and the original simplicity of the court gave way to luxury and magnificence, but the coherent strength of the now vast empire was on the decline, and a gradual but sure progress of dismemberment commenced. In Spain, a branch of the Ommiades maintained an independent sway; Khorassan and Transoxiana became virtually independent, and in Egypt, descendants of Fatima, (daughter of Mohammed and wife to Ali,) established a distinct caliphate. The fortunes of these new powers will be noticed when connected with India, as also those of the Seljuk tribe, whose barbarities at Jerusalem (under the dreaded name of Saracens) provoked the nations of Christendom to attempt the rescue of the Holy Land; but the struggle carried on there for nearly three centuries, never immediately affected the centre of the Mohammedan empire, which continued at Bagdad for about 500 years. Mustassem was caliph when Hulaku, a descendant of the celebrated Jengis Khan, besieged and captured Bagdad. The cruel victor, after mocking his wretched prisoner with vain hopes until he had obtained his hidden treasures, exposed him for some days to the lingering torments of starvation, and then, under the pretence of unwillingness to shed his blood, caused him to be wrapped in coarse camlet, and rolled about on the ground until he expired. Thus perished the last of the Abbassides, A.D. 1258. In the city alone, 800,000 persons, or according to some authorities, a much greater number were slain, so that the Tigris was dyed with gore.

*Indo-Arabic Conquests.*—In A.D. 664, a large force marched from Meru to Cabool, and made converts of upwards of 12,000 persons. At the same time, Mohalib, (afterwards an eminent commander in Persia and Arabia,) proceeded thence with a detachment in the direction of India, penetrated to Moultan, and having plundered the country, triumphantly rejoined the army at Khorassan, bringing with him many captives, who were compelled to declare themselves converts to the Moslem* creed. No further attempt is recorded as having been made on the north of India during the continuance of the Arab rule, but the prince of Cabool appears to have been rendered tributary, if not subject to the caliphs, since his revolt is mentioned by Ferishta,† as the occasion of a new invasion of his territories eighteen years later. The Arabs at this period met with an unexpected check: they were drawn into a defile, defeated, and compelled to surrender, and to purchase their freedom by an ample ransom. One old contemporary of Mohammed is said to have disdained all compromise, and to have fallen by the swords of the infidels. This disgrace was immediately revenged by the Arab governor of Seestan,

* Islam, derived from an Arabic root, signifies "the true faith," Moslem or Mussulman a believer therein.

† Mohammed Kasim, surnamed Ferishta, resided at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II., at Beejapoor, about the close of the sixteenth century, and, sustained by royal patronage and assistance in collecting authorities, wrote a history of the rise of the Mohammedan power in India till the year 1612, which has been ably translated from the original Persian by Colonel Briggs. A considerable portion of it had been previously rendered into English by Colonel Dow, but the value of his work is lessened by mistranslations, and also by being largely interspersed with reflections and facts collated from other sources, which, though often interesting and important in themselves, are so closely interwoven with the text as to leave the reader in doubt regarding the portion which actually rests on the testimony of Ferishta.

and yet more completely by Abdurehman, governor of Khorassan, who in A.D. 699, led a powerful army in person against the city, and reduced the greater part of the country to subjection. A quarrel with Hejaj, the governor of Bassora, led Abdurehman into rebellion against the reigning caliph (Abdelmelek, one of the Ommiades), whereupon he formed an alliance with his former enemy, the prince of Cabool, in whose dominions he was compelled to take refuge, and at length, to avoid being given up to his enemies, committed suicide.*

The nation to which this prince of Cabool belonged is rendered doubtful by the position of his capital at a corner where the countries of the Paropamisan Indians, the Afghans, the Persians, and the Tartars are closely adjoining each other. Elphinstone supposes him to have been a Persian, and considers it very improbable that he could have been an Afghan, as Cabool is never known to have been possessed by a tribe of that nation.

At this period the northern portion of the tract included in the branches of the Hindoo Coosh, and now inhabited by the Eimaks and Hazarehs, was known by the name of the mountains of Ghor, and probably occupied by Afghans, as also the middle part, all of which seems to have been included in the mountains of Soliman.† The southern portion, known by the name of the mountains of Mekran, were inhabited by Belooehees as at present; and the other ridges connected with the same range as those of Ghor, but situated to the east of the range of Imaus and Soliman, were probably tenanted by Indians, descendants of the Paropamisadæ. Ferishta seems to have been led by their traditions to believe the Afghans‡ to have been converted to Mohammedanism in the life-time of its originator, and represents them as invading the territory of the Hindoos as early as A.H. 63, and as afterwards continually engaged in hostilities with the Rajah of Lahore, until, in conjunction with the Gukkurs (a people on the hills east of the Indus), they obtained from him a cession of territory, secretly engaging in return to protect him from the attacks of other Mussulmans. It was owing to this compact that the princes of the house of Samani never invaded the north of India, but confined their predatory incursions to Sinde. Ferishta further mentions that the Afghans gave an asylum to the remains of the Arabs who were driven out of Sinde in the second century of the Hejira.§

This account is on the whole sufficiently probable. The Afghans may have willingly received the Koran || long before their subjugation by Sultan Mahmood. On the subject of their early religion, Mohammedan historians afford no light, owing to their not distinguishing denominations of infidels. Arab descents on Sinde by sea are mentioned as early as the caliphate of Omar, but they were probably piratical expeditions, undertaken for the purpose of carrying off the women of the country, whose beauty seems to have been much esteemed in Arabia. Several detachments were also sent through the south of Mekran (the Gedrosia of Alexander), during the reigns of the early caliphs, but all failed owing to the impracticable character of this barren region.

At length, in the reign of the caliph Walid, an Arab ship laden with slave-girls and rarities from Sinde having been seized at Dival or Dewal, a sea-port connected with Sinde (supposed to be the site of the modern Kurrachee), the rajah, named Dahir by the Mussulmans, was called on for restitution. The capital of this prince was at Alor, near Bukkur, and he possessed Moultan and all Sinde, with, perhaps, the adjoining plain of the Indus, as far as the mountains at Calabagh. His territory was portioned out among his relations, probably

* *Kholasat al Akhbar*, and the *Tarikhi Tabari*, quoted by Price (vol. i., pp. 455—463).

† Elphinstone, vol. i., 496. I am informed by Mr. Masson, on the authority of Mirza Sami, the minister of Dost Mohammed, who corrected the mistake made by Sir A. Burnes on the subject in his presence, that the term Hindoo Coosh is especially given to the high peak of the range to which it belongs, immediately overhanging Ghosband, although it is applied, in ordinary parlance, to some extent of the range stretching east or north-east.

‡ Ferishta records, on the authority of the Mutlaool-Anwar, a work supposed to be no longer extant, but which he describes as written by a respectable author, that the Afghans are Copts of the race of the Pharaohs, many of whom, after the overthrow of the infidel monarch and his host in the Red Sea, became converts to the true faith; but others, stubborn and self-willed, continued obstinate, and, leaving their country, came to India and settled in the Soliman Mountains under the name of Afghans. (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 6.) The people themselves claim descent from Afghaun, grandson of Saul, king of Israel.

§ A quarter of the Balla Hissar, or citadel of Cabool, retains the name of Arabah, and its occupants are of Arabic descent.

|| The Tartar nations, China, the Malay country, and the Asiatic islands, afford evidence of the propagation of the religion of the Mussulmans, independent of their arms.

on the feudal tenure still common among the Rajpoots. Dahir refused compliance with the demand of Walid, on the ground that Dewal was not subject to his authority; the excuse was deemed unsatisfactory, and a body of 1,000 infantry and 300 horse were despatched to Sinde; but this inadequate force perished like its predecessors on the road. Hejaj, the before-mentioned governor of Bassora, prepared a regular army of 6,000 men at Shiraz, and entrusted the command to his son-in-law, Mohammed Casim, then only twenty years of age. By him the troops were safely conducted to the walls of Dewal, A.H. 92 (A.D. 711). Casim, being provided with catapultas and other engines, commenced operations by attacking a celebrated pagoda without the city, surrounded by a high enclosure of hewn stone, and occupied, in addition to the numerous Brahmin inhabitants, by a strong garrison of Rajpoots. The Arab leader having learned that the safety of the place was believed to be connected with that of the sacred standard displayed on the tower of the temple, directed his engines against this object, and having succeeded in bringing it to the ground, the dismay of the besieged soon terminated in surrender. The town was likewise taken, and a rich booty obtained. The Brahmins rejected the proposed test of conversion—circumcision: all above the age of seventeen were put to death, and the remainder, with the women, reduced to slavery. Brahmanabad, Neron Kow (now Hyderabad), Sehwan, and Salem* were in turn reduced, and Casim, strengthened by a reinforcement of 2,000 horse from Persia, continued to advance, notwithstanding the opposition of a powerful force under the rajah's eldest son, until he reached the neighbourhood of Alor or Abhor, where he was confronted by the rajah himself, at the head of 40,000 men. The disproportion of numbers rendered retreat or advance equally hazardous for the invader, who prudently ensconced his small force† in a strong position, and awaited the attack of the Hindoos, anxiously watching for any error or disaster which might create disorder among their unwieldy ranks. Such a circumstance occurred at an early period of the engagement. A naptha fire-ball struck the rajah's elephant, and the terrified animal becoming absolutely ungovernable, rushed from the field of battle and plunged into the adjacent river Indus. Dahir, although severely wounded by an arrow, mounted his war-horse and returned immediately to the scene of action, but the disappearance of the leader had produced its usual effect on an Asiatic army; the fortune of the day was already decided; and the brave rajah, after vainly attempting to rally his panic-stricken forces, plunged into the midst of the Arab cavalry, and, with a small band of trusty followers, fell covered with wounds. His son fled to Brahmanabad, but his widow collected the remains of the routed army and successfully defended the city, until famine within the walls proved a more powerful enemy than the sword without. Inflamed by her example, a body of Rajpoots resolved to devote themselves and their families to death, after the manner of their tribe. When all hope of deliverance had fled, they bathed, and with other ceremonies took leave of each other and the world; the women and children were then sacrificed on a funeral pile, and the men, headed by the widow of Dahir, flung open the gates of the fortress, and all perished in an attack on the Mohammedan camp. The city was then carried by storm, those who remained in arms were slaughtered, and their families reduced to bondage.

A last desperate stand was made at Ashcandra, after which Moultan seems to have fallen without resistance, and every part of the dominions of the ill-fated Dahir‡ was gradually subjected. Each city was called upon to embrace the religion of Mohammed or to pay tribute; in default of both, an assault was commenced, and unless saved by timely capitulation, the fighting men were put to death and their families sold for slaves. Four cities held out to the last extremity; and in two of them the number of soldiers who were refused quarter is esti-

* The site of Brahmanabad is supposed by Burnes to be marked by the ruins close to the modern town of Tatta (*Travels*, vol. iii., p. 31), but Captain M'Murdo (*R. A. S. Journal*, No. I., p. 28), thinks it must have been situated on the other side of the present course of the Indus, much farther to the north-east. Sehwan still retains its ancient name. The site of Salem is doubtful.

† It is stated in a work, abstracted from the family annals of Nawab Bahawal Khan, and translated and published by Shahamet Ali (a native gentleman in the service of the British government), under the title of the *History of Bahawalpur* (London, 1848), that a Brahmin of great ability forsook his master, the rajah, previous to the final conflict, and afforded great assistance to Casim; if so, he was probably accompanied by other deserters.

‡ In the history of Sinde, translated by the late Captain Postans, it is asserted that Dahir ruled Cabool, as well as Sinde, and coins have been found

mated at 6,000 each. The merchants, artizans, and such like were exempt from molestation, beyond what must have been inseparably connected with the storming of a town. When the payment of tribute was agreed to, the sovereign retained his territory, simply becoming amenable to the usual relations of a tributary prince, and the people retained all their former privileges, including the free exercise of their religion.

Casim himself, notwithstanding his extreme youth, seems to have united to military talents of the first order, discretion and ability to keep by conciliatory measures what he had gained by violence.* Several Hindoo princes were induced to join him during the war, and at its conclusion he re-appointed the Hindoo prime minister of Dahir to his previous office, on the express ground that he was best qualified to protect old rights, and maintain established institutions.

The conquest and occupation of Sinde being completed, the victor organised an army on a large scale.† By some writers he is alleged to have accomplished a triumphant march to Canouj on the Ganges, establishing a Mohammedan garrison in every large town on his route, when a sudden blow from a most unexpected source terminated at once his projects and his life. Among the females captured at Sinde were the two daughters of the ill-fated rajah, who, from their beauty and high rank, were deemed worthy to grace the seraglio of the Commander of the Faithful. There they remained until the year of the Hejira 96 (A.D. 714), when Walid became enamoured of the elder sister, who vehemently declared herself unworthy of his notice, having been dishonoured by Casim before being sent from her own country. The enraged caliph, in the first headlong impulse of passion, wrote with his own hand an order to Casim, that he should cause himself to be sewn up in a raw hide and thus embrace the fate which he deserved. The faithful subject literally obeyed this tyrannical mandate, and his body was sent to Damascus. The caliph showed it to the princess, as evidence of the fate which attended those who dared insult the "deputy of the prophet," upon which she exultingly declared that his ill-fated servant was wholly innocent of the crime attributed to him, and had fallen a victim to her successful stratagem, planned to revenge the death of her father, mother, brother, and countrymen. This strange and romantic incident is recorded with little variation by Mohammedan historians, and it is perfectly consistent with the determined character of the Hindoo women, where the objects of their affections are concerned, and also with the pure and unhesitating self-devotion repeatedly evinced by the servants of the caliphs.‡

The conquests of Casim were made over to his successor Temim, whose family possessed them for about thirty-six years, that is, until the downfall of the house of Ommia, A.D. 750, when the Mussulmans were expelled by the Rajpoot tribe of Sumera, and their territories restored to the Hindoos, who retained possession for nearly 500 years. Part of the expelled Arabs found refuge, (as before stated) among the Afghans.

Such is the account given by Elphinstone, on the authority of Ferishta and the Ayeen Akbery—but in the *History of Bahawalpur*, since published, it is asserted that on the expulsion of the Ommia dynasty and the accession of Abul Abbas, governors were sent out by him to Sinde and the Punjaub. But little resistance was made, and the Abbas house continued in the enjoyment of their Indian acquisitions without molestation, until the caliphate of Kader-Bellah, that is, for a period of 286 lunar years, at the expiration of which the formidable enemy of Hindoo independence, Mahmood of Ghuznee, appeared on the stage.

These statements are quite contradictory; but whatever degree of influence or authority the Arabs may have retained after the check given by the death of their leader, Casim, it is certain that neither their power nor their creed spread, but rather diminished from that moment. The passive courage of the Hindoos generally, as well as the more active bravery of the Rajpoots, associated especially with a devoted attachment to a religion closely interwoven with their laws and customs—opposed great obstacles to invaders, even more desirous of converting than of conquering them. Besides this, the great change which took place in the spirit of the Mohammedan rulers, rendered their antagonism far less dangerous. The rude soldiers of Arabia, who had raised the

with Nagari legends, which Mr. Masson reads as referring to Sri Dahir, but Professor Wilson, to Sri Mahe.

* A Persian MS., the *Tarikhi Hind o Sind*, preserved in the India House, is the source whence most accounts of Casim's military transactions are derived.

† About 50,000 Mohammedans are said to have collected around his standard on this occasion.

‡ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 410.

wild war-cry of Islam, passed away; succeeding generations filled their place, reared less hardily, while their chiefs in an absorbing desire for luxury and magnificence at home, cared little for the dear-bought triumphs of victory and the glory of their standard abroad. Omar set out to join his army at Jerusalem, (in compliance with the stipulation of the Christians that he should personally receive the surrender of the holy place), with his arms and provisions on the same camel with himself; and Othman extinguished his lamp, when he had finished the necessary labours of the day, that the public oil might not be expended on his enjoyments. Al Mahdi, within a century from the last-named ruler, loaded 500 camels with ice and snow; and the profusion of one day of the Abbassides would have defrayed all the expenses of the four first caliphs. Thus it was left to other Mussulman nations, and to dynasties formed during the gradual dismemberment of the great Arab empire, to establish permanent dominion in India.

*House of Ghuznee.**— To understand the origin of this powerful family, it is necessary to retrace our steps, and briefly notice the country from whence they came.

After the conquest of Persia, the Oxus became the northern Arab frontier: on the opposite side lay a tract of country (bounded on the north by the Jaxartes, on the west by the Caspian Sea, and on the east by Mount Imaus,) to which they gave the name of Mawer ul Nahr, literally *Beyond the River*, but commonly translated Transoxania. It comprised much desert ground, intermingled with tracts of remarkable fertility, and was occupied partly by settled inhabitants, who were chiefly Persians, and partly by nomadic and pastoral tribes, comprehended under the vague and general name of Tartars.† To which of the three great nations, commonly included in European writings under this head, the people of Transoxania belonged at this period, whether Turks, Moguls, or Manchoos, is still undetermined; but the first-named people are generally supposed to have formed the bulk of the wandering and also a section of the permanent population. It was more than half a century after the subjugation of Persia and five years before the occupation of Sinde, that the Arabs crossed the Oxus under Catiba, governor of Khorassan, and after eight years spent in a contest, with varying success, Transoxiana was subjected to the sway of the caliphs, A.D. 713. In 806, a revolt occurred, which the son and successor of Haroun al Raschid, Mamoon, was enabled to quell, and afterwards by residing in Khorassan, to retain authority over that province. But on the removal of the court to Bagdad, Taher, who had been the principal instrument of Mamoon's elevation to the caliphate, to the detriment of his brother Ameen, established independent authority in Khorassan and Transoxiana, which were never again united to the rapidly decaying empire.

The family of Taher were deposed after about fifty years' rule, by the Sofarides, whose founder Yacub ben Leith, a brazier of Seestan, commenced by raising a revolt in his native province, afterwards overran Persia,‡ and died while marching to attack the caliph in Bagdad. At the expiration of forty years, the Samanis, a family of distinction, whose members had held governments under Mamoon while he resided in Khorassan, and afterwards under the Taherites, superseded the Sofarides and took possession of their territory, nominally in behalf of the caliph, but really without any reference to his authority. It was in the reign of Abdelmelek, the fifth prince of this dynasty, that Aluptugeen, the founder of the kingdom of Ghuznee, rose into importance. He was of Turkish descent, and had been a slave, but his royal master recognising his ability, had appointed him to various offices of trust, and at length to the government of Khorassan. On the death of his patron, a deputation was sent to consult Aluptugeen respecting the choice of a successor from the royal family, and having given his suffrage against Munsoor the presumptive heir, on account of his extreme youth, he incurred the ill-will of this prince, (who had meantime been raised to the throne,) was deprived of his office, and but for the

* Ghuznee, otherwise spelt *Ghizni* and *Ghazni*.

† Tod, referring to De Guignes, says—the Heong-nou and the Ou-houn, the Turks and Moguls, were called "Tatar," from Tatan, the name of the country from the banks of the Irtish, along the mountains of Altai, to the shores of the Yellow Sea. De Guignes invariably maintains Heong-nou to be but another name for the Turks, among whom he places Attila and the majority of his army, whose hideous physiognomy and savage manners lent a fearful prestige to their desolating marches. Another division of the same branch of the Heong-nou had previously settled among the Persians in Transoxiana, and acquired the name of the White Huns, from their changed complexion.—(*Histoire generale des Huns.*)

‡ He likewise subjugated Cabool.—(*Mr. Thomas.*)

fidelity of a trusty band of adherents, aided by his own military skill, would have lost liberty, if not life. At Ghuznee, in the heart of the Soliman mountains, the fugitive found safety, accompanied by 3,000 disciplined slaves (*Mameluks*). Here he was probably joined by soldiers who had served under him, as well as by the hill Afghans, who, even though they might not acknowledge his authority, would be readily induced by wages to enter his service. In his flight Aluptugeen was attended by a faithful slave named Subuktugeen, brought by a merchant from Turkistan to Bokhara.* Following the example of his early benefactor, he had fostered the abilities of the youth until, on the establishment of a kingdom in Ghuznee, he rewarded the service of his adherent, both as a counsellor and general, by the titles of Ameer-ool-Omra (chief of the nobles) and Vakeel-i-Mootluk (representative). He is even said to have named him as his successor, but authorities differ on this point, some stating that Subuktugeen acceded immediately to the throne on the demise of Aluptugeen, A.D. 975; others, that he was chosen, on the death of that monarch's son and successor, two years later, by general consent of the chiefs, and then married the daughter of his patron. Having been recognised by the caliph Mansoor as governor of Ghuznee, he had, consequently, nothing to dread from that quarter, but was speedily called upon to make preparations against Jeipal (*Jaya Pala*), rajah of Lahore, who, alarmed by the growing power of a Mohammedan ruler so near his frontier, and already harassed by frequent incursions, determined in turn to become the assailant. At the head of a large army he crossed the Indus, marched to Laghman at the mouth of the valley which extends from Peshawer to Cabool, and was there met by Subuktugeen. Some skirmishes ensued, but a general engagement was prevented by a terrible tempest of thunder, wind, and hail, in which some thousands of both armies were said to have perished. This disaster was attributed to supernatural causes;† and the Hindoos, less accustomed than their hardy foes to the extreme vicissitudes of climate, and probably more superstitious, proposed terms of peace, to which Subuktugeen, notwithstanding the opposition of his warlike son Mahmood, then a mere boy, at length consented, on representation being made to him of the determined courage of the Hindoos, especially the Rajpoots, when driven to the last extremity. Jeipal surrendered fifty elephants, and engaged to pay a large sum of money, but on regaining the shelter of his own dominions, fear gave way to resentment, and, forfeiting his pledge, he imprisoned the messengers sent to demand its redemption. Hostilities re-commenced; the rajahs of Delhi, Ajmeer, Calinjar, and Canouj,‡ made common cause with their countrymen; and when the rival forces again met in Laghman, the Ghuznee sovereign, having ascended a height to ascertain the disposition of the enemy, beheld the whole plain covered with an almost countless host, comprising 100,000 horse and a prodigious number of foot soldiers. Undaunted by the prospect, and considering himself "as a wolf about to attack a flock of sheep," Subuktugeen divided his troops into squadrons of 500 men each, and directed them to attack successively one particular point of the dense line of the enemy, which would thus be continually compelled to encounter fresh troops. The manœuvre succeeded in occasioning some disorder, which was the signal for a general assault; the Hindoos gave way, and were driven with dreadful slaughter beyond the Indus, up to which point Subuktugeen at once took possession, levied heavy contributions in addition to the plunder found in the camp, and left an officer, supported by 10,000 horse, as governor of Peshawer. The Afghans and Khiljis (a distinct Tartar tribe) tendered allegiance, and furnished useful recruits. He then employed himself in consolidating his own dominions, which now extended on the west beyond Candahar, until an appeal for help from his nominal sovereign Noah (the seventh of the Samanis) against the inroads of the Hoeike Tartars, who then possessed all Tartary as far east as China, induced him again to have recourse to arms.

* He is alleged to have been lineally descended from Yezdijerd, the last of the Persian monarchs, who when flying from his enemies during the caliphate of Othman, was murdered while sleeping at a water-mill near the town of Meru. His family being left in Turkistan formed connections among the people, and his descendants became Turks.

† Prince Mahmood learning that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring, into which, if a mixture of ordure were thrown, a fearful storm would arise, caused this to be done and the predicted result immediately followed.—(*Ferishta.*) The fact of there being near Laghman, a spot subject to tempests of extraordinary severity, renders this tale interesting.

‡ These princes were all of the Pala family, and consequently related to the rajah of Lahore.

So efficient was the assistance rendered, that Noah, reinstated in his authority, recognised the right of Subuktugeen over all his acquisitions, and conferred the government of Khorassan on Mahmood, with the title of Syf-ood-Dowla (Sword of the State). This arrangement was almost immediately disturbed by the death of the two chief parties, and the changes and dissensions which arose in their dominions.

Mahmood, being absent at the time of his father's demise, was supplanted in his claim to the succession by his brother Ismael, whom, after defeating in a pitched battle, he captured and imprisoned for the rest of his life, mitigating however the severity of the sentence by every indulgence consistent with such a situation. During the seven months spent in establishing himself in Ghuznee, events occurred in Bokhara very detrimental to his interests. The new king, Mansoor II., fell into the power of the old enemies of his family, and by the influence of Elik Khan the Tartar sovereign, was compelled to receive Faik, one of his most turbulent and rebellious nobles, as his prime minister or rather master. The application of Mahmood to be continued in the government of Khorassan was abruptly rejected, and soon afterwards some court intrigues led to the unhappy Mansoor's being dethroned and blinded, whereupon Abdulmelek was elected his successor as the instrument of Faik, A.D. 999. On this, Mahmood ordered the name of the Samanis to be omitted in the public prayers; took possession of Khorassan in his own behalf; and having received an investiture from the reigning caliph (the dispenser of powers which he himself no longer enjoyed) proclaimed the independence of his sway. He is henceforth commonly termed Sultan, an old Arabic word signifying king, but this title is not found upon his coins.* He next made peace with, and married the daughter of Elik Khan, who had secured his share in the spoil of a falling dynasty by seizing on Transoxiana, and had thus put an end to the dominion of the Samanis after it had lasted 120 years. Mahmood was now little more than thirty years of age. The vigour and ambition of his mind were in accordance with his athletic and well-proportioned frame, but, greedy of personal distinction of every kind, he considered the *mens sana in corpore sano* insufficient compensation for an ordinary stature, and features disfigured with the small pox in a manner, which at least in his youth, he bitterly regretted, as calculated to mar the effect of the splendid pageants in which he delighted to form the chief object. For Mahmood, famous warrior as he afterwards and had indeed already proved himself, could not as a legislator bear comparison with his vaunted teacher Mohammed, and was very far from uniting the comprehensive ability of the statesman to the sword of the conqueror, like his mighty predecessor in India, Alexander; who, heedless of the externals of royalty, lavished gold and jewels upon his followers until his own coffers were empty,† and—superior to the vanity which led his successors to stamp their resemblance on coins and images, cared so little for this species of notoriety, that of his kingly form no popular notion remains, save that connected with the keen intelligence of the eye, and the peculiar carriage of the head, dwelt on by cotemporaries as his peculiar characteristics.

The vice of covetousness, in the indulgence of which Mahmood's intense selfishness found constant gratification, gradually swallowed up the higher qualities of his intellect, as well as the better feelings of his heart. It had probably been early stimulated by the rich booty captured during his father's war with Jeipal, and by reports of the immense stores of wealth heaped around idolatrous shrines, which it was the duty of every "true believer" to pillage and destroy. The unsettled state of the surrounding nations offered a wide scope for his ambition, but Indian conquest appears to have been his paramount desire. Having therefore, as before stated, entered into a friendly alliance with Elik Khan and made arrangements for the government of his own dominions, he proceeded with 10,000 chosen horse to invade India, A.D. 1001. Near Peshawer he was met by his father's old antagonist, the rajah of Lahore, whom, after totally defeating, he made prisoner. From thence the conqueror pursued his victorious march beyond the Sutlej, to the fort of Ba-

* *Sultan*, first stamped by the Seljuk, Toghral Beg, was assumed in Ghuznee some fifteen years later by Ibrahim, A.D. 1060. (Thomas, on *Ghazni Coins.*)

† Alexander was reproached by his mother for placing his friends on a level with princes, by his unbounded generosity. Mahmood when dying ordered his treasures to be spread out before him, and shed bitter tears at the thought of parting with them, but distributed no portion among the faithful adherents who had assisted him in their acquisition.

tinda,* which he stormed, and then returned to Ghuznee with the rich spoils of the camp and country, including sixteen necklaces, one of which, belonging to Jeipal, was valued at 180,000 dihnars,† or £81,000.

In the ensuing spring the Hindoo prisoners were released on payment of a heavy ransom, but the Afghan chiefs who had joined them were put to death. Jeipal himself returned to his kingdom, and having made over his authority to his son Anung Pal, bravely met the fate a mistaken creed assigned as a duty to a sovereign twice conquered by a foreign foe; and mounting a pyre which he had caused to be prepared, set it on fire and perished in the flames. Anung Pal *(Ananda Pala)* appears to have at first endeavoured to fulfil his father's engagement, but the rajah of Bhatia,‡ a dependency of Lahore, on the eastern side of Moultan, refused to furnish his quota of the stipulated tribute, upon which the sultan proceeded in person to enforce it (A.D. 1004), and drove the offending rajah, first from a well-defended intrenchment, and then from a strong fortress, until the fugitive, in despair, finding himself pursued even among the thickets of the Indus, where he had hoped for refuge, and being at the point of capture, turned his sword against his own breast: the majority of his remaining adherents perished in vainly endeavouring to avenge his death.

After annexing Bhatia and its dependencies the conqueror departed, bearing away as usual much booty of various kinds, including 280 elephants and many captives.

A third expedition into India was soon undertaken against the Afghan ruler of Moultan, Abul Futteh Lodi, the grandson of the chief who had joined Subuktugeen after his first victory over the Hindoos. Abul, although educated as a Mussulman, had "abandoned the tenets of the faithful,"§ and what Mahmood considered of more importance, thrown off his political allegiance, and entered into a close alliance with Anung Pal, who, on learning the approach of their joint foe, advanced to intercept him, but was defeated near Peshawer, pursued to Sodra (near Vizirabad) on the Chenab, and compelled to take refuge in Cashmere. Moultan was then besieged, but at the end of seven days a compromise was effected, the revolting chief promising implicit obedience for the future and the payment of an annual tribute of 20,000 golden dirhems;‖ terms which Mahmood was only too glad to grant, having received intelligence of a formidable invasion of his dominions by the armies of Elik Khan. The ties of relationship had not sufficed to prevent the encroaching Tartar from endeavouring to take advantage of the unprotected state in which his son-in-law had left his home possessions, while intent on aggressive incursions abroad. Hoping to acquire Khorassan without difficulty, he despatched one force to Herat and another to Balkh to take possession. But he had formed too low an estimate of the energy of the opponent he had wantonly provoked. Committing the charge of his acquisitions on the Indus to Sewuk Pal, a Hindoo who had embraced Mohammedanism, Mahmood immediately proceeded by long and rapid marches to Ghuznee, and thence to

* Situated in an almost inaccessible tract inhabited by the Bhattis or Shepherds. Though surrounded by a sort of desert, the rajah resided here, alternately with his capital Lahore, probably as a measure of security. Bird's *History of Gujarat*, from the Persian of Ali Mohammed Khan.

† Valuing the dihnar at nine shillings.

‡ Site disputed, generally considered to be the present Bhulneer.

§ Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 40. This expression probably alludes to a supposed falling into heterodoxy rather than paganism. Sects and dissensions had early arisen among the Mohammedans, and increased until they amounted to seventy-three, the number said to have been foretold by Mohammed. These may be classed under two heads. The believers, generally deemed orthodox, are included under the term *Sonnites* (or traditionists), because they acknowledge the authority of the Sonna, a collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their founder, which is a sort of supplement to the Koran, answering in name and design to the Mishna of the Jews. The Sonnites regard the Koran as uncreated and eternal, in opposition to the Motazalites (or separatists) and others, who maintain such an assertion to be rank infidelity; and some caliphs of the Abbas family (Motassem and Wathek) endeavoured to suppress it by punishing its advocates with whipping, imprisonment, and even death. An account of the numerous false prophets who sprang up, in imitation of the arch-deceiver himself, is ably given in the introduction to Sale's Koran; among them figures Mokanna, the veiled prophet, the hero of Moore's most popular production. The *Sheiahs*, a term signifying sectaries or adherents in general, is peculiarly applied to the followers of Ali, who hold him to have been the rightful Caliph and Imaum, or high pontiff, (by virtue of his birth, of his marriage with Fatima, and of his having been the first independent person who recognised the mission of Mohammed,) and consider the supreme authority both temporal and spiritual inalienably vested in his descendants. The Persians are mostly Sheiahs; the Turks generally come under the head of Sonnites, and these, like many less conspicuous sects, are in direct opposition to each other.

‖ The value of the silver dirhem is about fivepence; that of the golden one, Colonel Briggs states, is not estimated in any work he has examined.

Balkh, whence the intruders fled, as did the troops at Herat, before the force detached for their expulsion.

Elik Khan, alarmed at the turn of affairs, applied for assistance to Kadr Khan of Khoten, who marched to join him with 50,000 men. Thus strengthened he crossed the Oxus and was met near Balkh by Mahmood, who had employed even more than wonted skill in the arrangement of his resources. Not the least of these was a body of 500 elephants, captured at various times from the Hindoos, the mere sight of which would, he rightly conjectured, check the fury of the Tartar charge, and probably succeed in breaking their line: but being well aware that failing in this, these timid and unwieldy, though sagacious and gentle creatures, would, as he had often witnessed, becoming alarmed and injured, rush back furiously on their masters, he stationed them at intervals among the troops, leaving free way for their retreat in the event of a repulse. This forethought, however, proved needless. Both armies advanced with impetuosity to the charge, and Elik Khan, attended by his guards, attacked the centre of the army of Mahmood, who, perceiving his intention, leaped from his horse, and after (as was his wont, on the eve of any great struggle) prostrating himself on the ground and invoking the aid of the Almighty,—mounted an elephant and advanced to meet his assailant. The well-trained animal seizing the standard-bearer of the enemy in his trunk, tossed him aloft, to the dismay of his companions. The Ghuznevides urged on the other elephants and pressed forward themselves to support their leader; the Tartars were driven off the field with prodigious slaughter, and Elik Khan escaped across the Oxus with a few attendants, having received a severe lesson not again to meddle with the dominions of his warlike relative. But for the inclemency of the season, it being the winter of 1006, he might have fared still worse; for Mahmood, after two days' pursuit, was not without great reluctance compelled to return to his capital by the intense cold, from which some hundreds of his men and horses perished.*

Meanwhile Sewuk Pal, the renegade Hindoo governor, had relapsed into idolatry and expelled all the officers appointed by Mahmood, who, marching to India, detached a body of cavalry in advance, by whom the offender was surprised and captured. His sentence was a heavy fine and imprisonment for life.†

In the spring of 1008, the Sultan assembled a large army and set out on his fourth Indian expedition, on the plea of revenging the opposition he had received during the hostilities in Moultan from Anung Pal, who, on becoming aware of his danger, sent ambassadors to the Hindoo princes on all sides, urging them to unite for the protection of their religion and independence. The appeal was successful; the rajahs of Oojein, Gwalior, Calinjar, Canouj, Delhi, and Ajmeer entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced into the Punjaub with an army, whose magnitude so astonished Mahmood, that instead of displaying his usual alacrity to meet danger, he halted in the presence of the enemy, took up a position near Peshawer, and remained forty days in a defensive attitude. It must have seemed to him as if the whole male population of Hindoostan had come, *en masse*, to obstruct his progress, and to die, if necessary, in the attempt. Their numbers and enthusiasm daily increased, contributions constantly arrived from the women of distant parts, who sold their jewels and melted down their ornaments to provide ample resources for the defence of their country, and the Gukkurs and other warlike troops rallying round the

* On the third night of the pursuit a violent storm of wind and snow occurred. The army remained unsheltered, but the royal tents had with much difficulty been pitched and heated by stoves, so that many of the courtiers began to throw off their upper garments. One of them came in shivering with cold, which Mahmood perceiving, addressed him with—"Go, Dilchuk, and tell Winter that he may burst his cheeks with blustering—here we defy his power." Dilchuk went out, and returning, declared that he had delivered his message, and the surly season replied, that though he might fail to touch royalty or its immediate retainers, yet he would so evince his power over the army that in the morning the sultan might be compelled to saddle his own horse. With all his faults, Mahmood seems to have been neither irascible nor tyrannical in his bearing towards those about him. The reproof thus wittily conveyed is said to have induced him to renounce the idea of further advance, but the distressing scenes of death and suffering manifested by the dawn of the following day must have sufficed to afford reason for retreat.—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 44.)

† In the text I have followed the example of Elphinstone in adopting the statement of Ferishta; but Mr. Bird asserts, on the authority of older Persian writers, that there was no such person as Sewuk Pal, and that the mistake arose from placing the expedition to Moultan before, instead of after, the war with Elik Khan.—(*History of Gujarat*, p. 23.)

popular standard, encompassed the Mohammedans, who were compelled to intrench their camp. Mahmood perceiving the increasing danger, strove to profit by the strength of his defences, and sent out a body of 6,000 archers to provoke an attack. The success of this stratagem had well nigh proved fatal to the schemer, for the hardy Gukkurs having repulsed the archers, pursued them so closely, that in spite of the sultan's personal efforts, a numerous body of these mountaineers, bare-headed and bare-footed, variously and strangely armed, passed the entrenchments on both flanks, and throwing themselves among the cavalry with irresistible fury, proceeded to cut down and maim both horse and rider, until in a very short space of time between 3,000 and 4,000 Mohammedans were slain. The assailants however, after the first onset, were checked and cut off as they advanced, till, on a sudden the elephant on which the Hindoo leader rode becoming unruly* turned and fled, and his followers thinking themselves deserted, gave way, and were easily routed. Mahmood immediately despatched 10,000 men in pursuit of the retreating army, of whom nearly twice as many were slain before they could reach a place of safety. Then, without allowing the scattered hosts time to reassemble, he followed them into the Punjaub, and on their effectual dispersion, found himself at liberty to give free scope to his plundering propensities in the rifling of the fort of Bheem (now Nagarcot), a fortified temple on a steep mountain connected with the lower range of the Himalaya. This edifice was considered to derive peculiar sanctity from a burning fountain or natural flame, which issued from the ground within its precincts, and was enriched by princely offerings, besides being the depository of the wealth of the neighbourhood; so that, according to Ferishta, such an amount of treasure was never collected by any prince on earth. It would seem incredible that a place of the first importance should be left unguarded, but its garrison having been drawn off during the late effort to free Hindoostan from her persecutor, the rapidity of his movements had cut off any chance of reinforcement; and when, after having laid waste the surrounding country with fire and sword, he approached the walls, no opposition was attempted by the defenceless priests, who gladly capitulated on the condition of their lives being spared. Entering the temple with the chief officers of his court and household, Mahmood gazed in delighted amazement at the vast stores garnered up therein. Gold and silver, wrought and unwrought, in dihnars, plate and ingots; pearls, corals, diamonds, rubies and various other jewels,† accumulated since the time of Rajah Bheema, in the heroic ages, became the prize of the royal marauder, who returned with his booty to Ghuznee, and in a triumphal festival held during three days on a spacious plain, displayed on golden thrones and tables manufactured from his Indian spoils, the richest and rarest of his acquisitions. Sumptuous banquets were provided for the spectators, alms liberally distributed among the poor, and magnificent presents bestowed on persons of distinction; all this display being at once very gratifying to the sultan's love of magnificence, and well calculated to contribute to his popularity, and the maintenance of internal tranquillity during his frequent absence.

In A.D. 1010, Mahmood proceeded against the strong country of Ghor, in the mountains east of Herat. The inhabitants were Afghans, and had been converted and subdued by the caliphs in the commencement of the second century of the Hejira. Their chief, Mohammed Soor, strongly posted, and at the head of 10,000 men, repelled the attacks of his assailant from early morning till noon, but was eventually tempted from his secure position, by the pretended disorderly retreat of the Ghuznevides, in pursuit of whom the Ghorians sallied forth, but were speedily made aware of the trap into which they had fallen, by the sudden halt

* In various copies of *Ferishta*, the cause of the elephant's alarm is ascribed to guns and muskets. As no Persian or Arabic history speaks of gunpowder before the time assigned to its European invention, A.D. 1317, Briggs, by a slight change of the diacritical points in the manuscripts, renders it—"naptha balls and arrows." Elphinstone deems the expression an anachronism of the author; but as there is every reason to believe that this explosive material was then used in China, it seems just possible that it might have been obtained from thence.

† There are said to have been 700,000 golden dihnars, 700 mauns of gold and silver plate, 200 mauns of pure gold in ingots, 2,000 mauns of unwrought silver, and 20 mauns of jewels. There are several kinds of maun; the smallest, that of Arabia, is two pounds; the most common, that of Tabriz, eleven pounds; and that of India, eighty pounds. Taking the smallest weight, we have 1,400 lb. of gold and silver plate, 400 lb. of golden ingots, 4,000 lb. of silver bullion, and 40 lb. weight of jewels.—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 48.)

and fierce onset of the foe, by whom they were compeetely defeated. Their chief being taken prisoner, swallowed some poison, which he always kept about him in a ring, and died in a few hours. His country was annexed to the dominions of Ghuznee, but it is worthy of note that by his descendants the conquering dynasty was at length utterly overthrown.

Two years afterwards, the mountainous country of Jurjistan,* adjoining Ghor, was reduced, and another attack made upon Moultan, which had revolted. In the words of Ferishta, who, as a Mussulman historian, chooses very gentle phrases in which to express the sanguinary deeds of fellow-believers, "a number of the infidel inhabitants were cut off," and Abul Futteh Lodi brought to Ghuznee as a captive, and doomed to languish in the gloomy fort of Ghooruk for life. In the following year, 1011, Mahmood undertook an expedition of unusual length to Tanesur (thirty miles west of Delhi). He was met by the urgent entreaties of the Hindoos that he would spare the temple, which they held in great veneration, and accept a ransom, but he replied, "the Koran declared that the extent to which the followers of the prophet exerted themselves for the subversion of idolatry would be the measure of their reward in heaven,—it therefore behoved him, by Divine assistance, to root out the worship of idols from the face of all India." Proceeding forthwith to Tanesur, before its defenders had time to assemble, he plundered the temple, destroyed the idols, sacked the town, and carried away 200,000 captives and much treasure, so that throughout the camp "no soldier was without wealth or many slaves."†

Two predatory incursions into Cashmere were next attempted, the second of which proved disastrous from the difficulties of a march commenced when the season was too far advanced.‡ A brief interval of repose for India followed, during which Mahmood took advantage of the disturbed state of the affairs of Elik Khan's successor in Tartary to acquire possession of Transoxiana, and extend his dominion to the Caspian Sea. From this period his Indian exploits were on a grander scale, and he seems to have united a much stronger desire for the permanent possession of conquered territories, to his zeal for the destruction of idols, and the appropriation of their spoils. Assembling an army of 100,000 horse and 20,000 foot, drawn more especially from his newly-acquired dominions, he made judicious arrangements for the home government during his absence, placed his two sons in important governments aided by trusty counsellors, and then commenced carrying out the plans which, after much careful investigation, he had devised for the prosecution of a three months' march to the Ganges, across seven great rivers, in an unexplored country. Leaving Peshawer in the spring of 1017, he passed near the confines of Cashmere, and being joined by the prince whom he had established there, proceeded on his way, keeping close to the mountains until he had crossed the Jumna. Then turning south, and driving all opposition before them, the Mussulmans presented themselves unexpectedly before the walls of Canouj; a city, says Ferishta, "which raised its head to the skies, and, in strength and beauty, might boast of being unrivalled." The rajah, taken by surprise, made no attempt at defence, but came out with his family and surrendered himself to Mahmood, who, on this occasion, (either from a motive of policy, or possibly actuated by one of the kindly impulses in which his nature, though warped by bigotry and avarice, was by no means deficient,) showed unusual clemency, and after three days' tarry, left the stately city uninjured.

Other places and their rulers were less fortunate—many were bravely defended. At Mahawan, near Muttra, terms had been entered into, when an accidental quarrel among the troops led to the massacre of the Hindoos, whose leader, conceiving himself betrayed, destroyed his wife and family, and then committed suicide. Muttra§ itself, the famous seat of the Hindoo religion, was completely devastated by the excesses of the troops during a twenty days' halt, the horrors of a conflagration being added to the ordinary sufferings of the people of a sacked city. Idols of gold and silver, with eyes of rubies, and adorned with sapphires and precious stones, were demolished, melted down, and packed on camels; destined perhaps to

* Mistaken by D'Herbelot and others for Georgia.

† Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 53.

‡ Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 10, 11.

§ Mahmood writing to Ghuznee declared that Muttra contained a thousand edifices "as firm as the faith of the faithful," mostly of marble, besides innumerable temples, and considered that many millions of dihnars must have been expended on the city, the fellow to which could not be constructed under two centuries.—(*Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 58.)

excite scarcely less censurable feelings in the breasts of their new possessors, than formerly as the unhallowed mediums, or too often the actual objects, of Hindoo worship. The temples were however left standing, either on account of the excessive, and, in one sense at least, unprofitable labour necessary to their destruction, or else for the sake of their extraordinary beauty. The fort of Munj was taken after a siege of twenty-five days, its Rajpoot defenders at length ending the long struggle by rushing through the breaches on the enemy, springing from the works, or meeting death in the flames of their own houses, with their wives and children; so that not one remained to be enslaved.

Various other towns were reduced and much country laid waste, before the victorious army leaving the beautiful plains of ill-fated, because idolatrous, Hindoostan steeped in blood and tears, returned to their homes in triumph, carrying with them many prisoners.* New tastes had been acquired together with the means for their gratification, and incited by the recollection of the stately structures they had ruthlessly despoiled, the rough soldiers so lately accustomed to make the saddle their seat by day, their pillow by night, now, following the example of their king, employed the wealth, labour, and talents of their wretched captives, in rearing palaces for their private abodes as well as public buildings for the adornment of the capital, which soon became ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, aqueducts, and reservoirs beyond any city then existing. Mahmood himself erected a magnificent mosque of marble and granite, called "the Celestial Bride," which was in that age the wonder of the East; and founded a university, supplied with an extensive and valuable library, and a museum of natural curiosities. To the maintenance of this establishment he appropriated a large sum of money, and formed a permanent fund for the support of the students and the salaries of qualified instructors. He also set aside a sum nearly equal to £10,000 a-year, for pensions to learned men—and through this munificence his court became as celebrated through Asia for its brilliant literary circle, as was afterwards that of the Medici in Europe. The liberality thus evinced contrasted strongly with his usual parsimony, and it was well directed, for it did much to secure for him the present and posthumous fame which he ardently desired. Large rewards were offered for the production of an historical poem which should embody the achievements of ancient Persian† heroes; and the author who commenced the work (Dakiki) having been assassinated when he had finished about a thousand couplets, the continuation was entrusted to the celebrated Ferdousi, who performed his task with such ability that, although so obsolete as to require a glossary, it is still the most popular of all books among his countrymen.‡ The sultan was delighted with the poem; but when, after thirty years' labour, it was at length concluded, his characteristic failing prevailed over justice, and the proffered reward was so disproportioned to the expectations held out, that the disappointed Ferdousi indignantly rejected it, and withdrew to his native city of Tus, whence he launched a bitter satire at Mahmood, who on mature reflection evinced no ordinary amount of magnanimity by passing over the satire (which is still extant), and remitting for the epic, what even its author must have considered, a princely remuneration. But it came too late; the treasure entered one door of Ferdousi's house as his bier was borne out of another. His daughter proudly rejected the untimely gift, but was eventually prevailed upon by Mahmood to accept it, as a means of procuring an abundant supply of water for the city where her father had been born, and to which he had been always much attached.

In 1022, the sultan was roused from the unusual quiet in which he had remained for five years, by advices from India that a confederacy had been formed against the rajah of Canouj by the neighbouring princes to avenge his alliance with the enemy of his country. Mahmood immediately marched to his relief, but on arriving found that the unfortunate prince had been defeated and slain by the rajah of Calinjar, against whom the Mohammedan arms were directed, but without any remarkable result.§ This campaign is however memorable as marking the establishment of the first permanent garri-

* Ferishta's confused account of their route is discussed in Bird's *History of Gujarat*, p. 31.

† The ruling dynasty was Turkish, but Mahmood was the illegitimate son of a Persian mother, and in language and manners identified with that nation.

‡ The *Shah Namah* or *Book of Kings*.

§ In the kingdom of Ghuznee at this time, many soldiers and magistrates were Arabs by descent, but a great portion of the court and army were Turks, and the rest, with almost all the people, were Persians.

son on the east of the Indus; for the new rajah of Lahore (Anung Pal's successor) having ventured to oppose the invader, was driven from his country, which was despoiled and annexed to Ghuznee. In 1024, Mahmood performed, if not the greatest, at least the most famous of his Indian exploits. At the head of an immense army, swollen by a crowd of volunteers from beyond the Oxus, and attended by 20,000 camels bearing supplies, he set off, nerved to encounter a long march, partly through hostile territories and partly through a desert 350 miles broad, of loose sand or hard clay, almost entirely without water or forage. Having overcome these obstacles he suddenly appeared before Ajmeer to the consternation of the rajah and inhabitants, who fled, leaving the Mussulmans to ravage the country and pursue their desolating course, to Anhalwara, the capital of Guzerat, whose rajah, also taken by surprise, was constrained to abandon it precipitately, and leave the way clear for the invaders to the great object of their hopes, the famous temple of Somnauth, the richest and most frequented place of worship in the country.* It stood at the southern extremity of Guzerat, on a peninsula connected with the main land by a fortified isthmus, the battlements of which were guarded at every point by armed men; who, on witnessing the approach of the Moslems, loudly asserted, in the name of their object of worship, that this great force had been drawn together only to be utterly destroyed as a retribution for the desecrated shrines of India.

Nothing deterred, Mahmood brought forward his archers, who commenced mounting the walls with their accustomed war-cry, "Alla hû Akbur!" (God is supreme!), but the Rajpoots having prostrated themselves before the idol, hurried to the defence and drove back the enemy with heavy loss. The next day brought a more signal repulse, and on the third the neighbouring princes presented themselves in order of battle. In the furious conflict which ensued victory was doubtful, when the arrival of the rajah of Anhalwara with a strong reinforcement brought the invaders to the verge of defeat. Mahmood, leaping from his horse, prostrated himself, invoking Divine aid; then, remounting and taking a Circassian general by the hand, he advanced against the foe, loudly cheering the troops who had so often fought and conquered with him, and who now, excited to renewed exertion, rushed forward with unlooked-for impetuosity, broke through the opposing line, and in a single charge laid 5,000 Hindoos dead or dying at their feet. The rout became general; the garrison of Somnauth beheld it with dismay, and renouncing all hopes of further defence broke up, and, to the number of 4,000, made their way to their boats, some of which were intercepted and sunk by the enemy.

Mahmood then entered the temple, accompanied by his sons and chief nobles, and gazed with astonishment on the stately edifice. The spacious roof was supported by fifty-six pillars, curiously carved and set with precious stones, and illuminated (the light of heaven being excluded) by a lamp suspended by a golden chain, whose flame, reflected from the numerous gems, shed bright gleams around. The idol itself stood in the centre, and was of stone, five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground. According to Ferishta, it is a well authenticated fact that Mahmood was entreated by a crowd of Brahmins to accept a costly ransom and spare the object of their veneration, but after some hesitation, he exclaimed that were he to consent, his name would go down to posterity as an idol-seller instead of destroyer, he therefore struck the face of the image with his mace, and his example being followed by his companions, the figure, which was hollow, burst open and exposed to view a store of diamonds and other jewels, far surpassing in value the sum offered for its preservation.† Altogether, the treasure taken is said to have exceeded that acquired on any former occasion. Mahmood next captured Gundaba, a fort supposed to be protected by the sea, by entering the water at the head of his troops during a low tide. He appears to have passed

* For its maintenance, the revenues of 2,000 villages had been granted by different princes; 2,000 priests, 500 dancing-women, and 300 musicians officiated in its ceremonies, at which 200,000 to 300,000 votaries used to attend during the eclipses. The chain supporting a bell which the worshippers struck during prayer weighed 200 mauns of gold, and the idol itself was daily washed with water brought from the Ganges, a distance of 1,000 miles.

† Besides this idol, we are told there were some thousands of smaller ones, wrought in gold and silver, and of various shapes and dimensions; but no description is given of the especial object of worship, a simple cylinder of stone, the well-known emblem of Saiva or Siva, from whose designation Sama Nâtha, *Lord of the Moon*, the temple derives its name. The famous sandal-wood gates carried by Mahmood to Ghuznee will be subsequently alluded to.

the rainy season at Anhalwara, with whose mild climate, beauty, and fertility he was so much delighted, as to entertain thoughts of transferring the seat of government thither, at least for some years, and making it a point of departure for further conquests. Among his projects, was that of the formation of a fleet for maritime invasions; the pearls of Ceylon and the gold mines of the Malayan peninsula offering cogent reasons for the subjugation of these countries.

These schemes his counsellors earnestly and successfully opposed, and as the rajah of Anhalwara still kept aloof and refused submission, Mahmood selected a new ruler, a man of royal descent, who, though living the life of an anchorite, was not proof against the attractions of a throne, though clogged with the humiliating conditions of subjection and tribute to a foreign foe.* The homeward route of the Mussulmans was fraught with toil and suffering—the way by which they had come was occupied by a strong force under the rajah of Ajmeer and the rightful, though fugitive prince of Anhalwara. Mahmood, with an army already wasted by the casualities of war and climate, did not care to risk a conflict, the effect of which, even though successful, would still further thin the ranks and diminish the energy of those who had afterwards a long and weary march to encounter, besides risking the rich booty with which they were encumbered. He therefore avoided further hostilities, by returning a different road, through the sands to the east of Sinde. The hot season was advanced when the troops started, and their sufferings for want of water and forage increased, until they reached a climax in three days of intense agony, during which they wandered through the worst part of the desert, wilfully misled, it is said, by their guides, who after severe torture, were brought to confess themselves disguised priests of Somnauth. Many of the soldiers perished miserably, some died raving mad, and when at length they came upon a pool of water, it was received with inexpressible transport as a miraculous interposition of Providence in their favour.

Eventually they reached Moultan, and from thence proceeded to Ghuznee,† but before the expiration of the year, their restless leader was once more in arms to avenge the molestation offered by a body of Juts,‡ in the Jund mountains, to his forces during their march to Somnauth. Foreseeing the expedient to which the Juts would have recourse, he was provided with an extensive flotilla; and when they took refuge in the islands of the Indus, hoping to elude pursuit by repeatedly shifting their position, he pursued them so pertinaciously that though not without a desperate defence, the men were mostly destroyed and the women and children enslaved.

Thus terminated Mahmood's thirteenth and last expedition to India. Hostilities were then directed against the Turki tribe of Seljuk,§ whose growing power he had incautiously favoured, until they became too unruly to be restrained by his local representatives; nor were they without difficulty compelled to respect his immediate authority. The next act was the seizure of Persian Irak (extending from the frontier of Khorassan, westward to the mountains of Koordistan, beyond Hamadan). This he

* The conclusion of the new rajah's history affords a remarkable instance of retributive justice, even allowing for oriental embellishment. Fearing the rivalry of a relation, he prayed Mahmood to deliver him into his custody, promising to spare his life, and kept his pledge by causing a cell to be dug under his own throne, in which his victim was to linger out the remainder of his existence. A sudden revolution occurred, which is said to have been occasioned by a vulture having flown upon the rajah while lying asleep under a tree with his face covered with a red handkerchief, and totally blinded him by fixing its talons into his eyes; thus rendering him, by the laws of his country, incapable of reigning. The position of the parties was immediately reversed, the cruel schemer being forthwith removed to the dungeon which he had himself prepared; thus, says Ferishta, fulfilling the Scripture, in which it is written—"He who digs a pit for his brother, shall himself fall therein."—(Briggs, vol. i., p. 80.)

† It is surprising that the passage along the Indus should not have been chosen by Mahmood, who must have been acquainted with it, both from the account of Mohammed Casim's proceedings and from the neighbourhood of the Afghans. Elphinstone, in commenting upon this circumstance, suggests the existence of physical obstacles now removed, adding, that the *Runn of Cutch*, now a hard desert in the dry season, and a salt marsh in the rains, was, doubtless, formerly a part of the sea; and remarks, that the changes which have taken place under our own eyes prepare us to believe that still greater may have occurred in the 800 years that have elapsed since the fall of Somnauth. (Vol. i., p. 558.)

‡ Probably a Tartar horde of the Getæ stock, widely disseminated over India, and, according to Tod, called by their ancient name of *Jits* in the Punjaub, *Jats* on the Jumna and Ganges, and *Juts* on the Indus and in Saurashtra.

§ The tribe is supposed to have originated in a chief who held a high station under one of the great Tartar princes, but having incurred the displeasure of his sovereign was driven into exile, and his sons and adherents became subject to Mahmood in Transoxiana, frequently however, carrying on wars and incursions on their own account.

accomplished by taking advantage of the disturbances which occurred in the reign of one of the representatives of a branch of the family of Buya, called also the Deilemites; the person of the prince being treacherously seized in the Moslem camp. The resistance of the people of Ispahan and Cazvin was cruelly revenged by the massacre of several thousands in each city.

The ordinary excuse of zeal for the glory of Islam—that is to say, the bigotry which has sometimes really prompted cruel aggressions, but has far more frequently been assumed as a mask to cover ambition or rapacity, cannot in this case be urged in palliation of these grasping and sanguinary transactions, probably the worst, as they were the last, of the life of Mahmood. Returning triumphant to Ghuznee, he was attacked by a disease which soon completely prostrated his extraordinary physical and mental energies, and of which he died, after a reign of thirty-three years. During paroxysms of excruciating agony, he might well have envied even the wretched slaves whom his marauding incursions had made so cheap that purchasers could not be found for them at ten dirhems (about 4*s.* 7*d.*) a head. At such moments his hundred measures of jewels * could afford but poor consolation; even the delusive doctrine of the Koran condemned alike the means by which they had been acquired, and the master-passion whose strength was never manifested more forcibly than in the closing scenes of his eventful career. When taking a sorrowful leave of his great possessions, the dying Sultan perhaps thought bitterly of a sentiment some of the numerous poets of his court might have rhymed, though scarcely so sweetly as our own Southey:

"In heaven ambition cannot dwell,
Nor avarice in the vaults of hell —"

He had ample reason to regret leaving a world in which he had—with reverence for the sacred text be it spoken, "laid up much treasure for many years;" nor is it probable that he could look for reward or even pardon in another, on the ground of faithful service to the cause of Islam.

Notwithstanding his character for bigotry, and frequent and public invocations of Divine assistance, a careful review of Mahmood's actions renders it more than doubtful whether all these were not hollow pretences to raise the enthusiasm of his more truthful followers who, it must be borne in mind, had been accustomed from the earliest times to prayer before battle, and thanksgivings in the hour of victory. If he were really a sceptic† regarding the creed which he made the pretext for destroying or enslaving unoffending multitudes, his condition was wretched indeed; but if he did actually believe it an imperative duty to increase the numbers of "the faithful," at all costs, then at least his conduct, with the exception of some few memorable instances, was very unaccountable; for, besides his apathy in not endeavouring to establish Moslem colonies in India, schools, or other means of instruction, it appears that he never hesitated to exercise perfect tolerance whenever it suited his views. The rajah of Canouj, for instance (his only ally), was an unconverted Hindoo; he appointed a strict devotee to the throne of Guzerat; employed a large body of native cavalry, without regard to their religion, and contrary to orthodox Mohammedanism — circumstances which would testify liberality of feeling, but for their manifest inconsistency with other parts of his conduct, for which excessive zeal is urged in apology.

The house of Ghuznee reached its culminating point in the person of Mahmood's turbulent son, Masaud, who, having deposed and blinded his brother Mohammed, after five months' rule, mounted the throne, and completed the remaining conquest of Persia, except the province of Fars. He made three expeditions into India, during which he captured Sersooty on the Sutlej, quelled a rebellion at Lahore, and stationed a garrison in Sonpat, near Delhi. In the meanwhile the Seljuks completely defeated his general, and compelled Masaud, on his return, to march against them in person. After two years of indecisive operations a battle took place near Meru, in which the Ghuznevides were totally routed. The sultan returned to Ghuznee, but finding it hopeless to restore order there, determined to withdraw to India. All respect for his authority was however destroyed, and soon after crossing the Indus, the remnant of his forces mutinied against him, and placed the injured Mohammed on the throne, A.D. 1040. This prince being rendered incapable by blindness of conducting the government, transferred the administration to his

* Hearing of the wealth of the Samani princes, who had accumulated jewels enough to fill seven measures, he exclaimed exultingly, that he possessed sufficient to fill an hundred.

† On this point, see Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 569.

son Ahmed, one of whose first acts was to put his uncle the deposed king to death. But the sins of this family, committed on the plea of just retaliation, did not end here. Modood, the son of Masaud, on hearing of his father's murder, quitted Balkh, where he had been engaged in watching the proceedings of the Seljuks, and with a small body of troops made his way from Ghuznee to Lahore. At Futtehabad, in the valley of Laghman, he was met by Mohammed with Ahmed and other relatives, who after a fierce contest were defeated, taken prisoners, and all put to death by the conqueror, with the exception of Prince Abdool, a son of Mohammed's, who was spared for the sake of kindness shown to Masaud during his captivity. Modood had not yet removed all domestic foes—the opposition of his own brother, Madood, was still to be overcome, and it threatened to be troublesome, this prince having obtained possession of Lahore and its dependencies. The armies of the rival brothers were marshalled for action when the dispute for superiority was suddenly terminated by the death of Madood and his vizier (prime minister) apparently by poison. The forces then coalesced under Modood, who contrived not only to occupy Ghuznee, but to recover Transoxiana, which he was perhaps enabled to do the more readily from having espoused the daughter of a Seljuk chief. But while thus successful in the west, the rajah of Delhi recovered the territory seized by Masaud beyond the Sutlej; and elated by this first success, pushed his forces to the very gates of Nagarcot. Volunteers crowded into the Punjaub, and entered with such ardour into the enterprise that the temple-fortress, despite its strong position and garrison, became again their own. The Moslems driven thence took refuge in Lahore, and after a seven months' siege, during which no succour arrived from Ghuznee, were well nigh reduced to despair, when swearing to stand by each other to the last they rushed out upon the enemy, and by one determined effort induced the Hindoos to disperse, and raise the siege. Modood died A.D. 1049, one of his last acts of treachery being to render Ghor tributary and in some sort dependent on himself, by perfidiously murdering the prince whom he had promised to assist in recovering possession of the throne. The speedy decline of the house of Ghuznee from this period would be of little interest but for its important bearing on the fortunes of Hindoostan, nor does it seem necessary to follow in detail the tedious and distasteful accounts of conspiracies and assassinations which too generally form the staple of oriental historians, the progress and condition of the people being rarely even alluded to. Suffice it to say, that the second successor of Modood succeeded in recovering Nagarcot from the Hindoos, but being compelled to oppose the sedition of a chief named Toghral in Seestan, marched to attack the rebels, leaving the bulk of his army in India. His force proved unequal to the task, and he was compelled to shut himself up in Ghuznee, where he was seized and put to death with nine princes of the blood-royal. Toghral seized upon the vacant throne, but was assassinated within forty days; and the army, having by this time returned from India, resolved upon continuing the crown in the family of the founder of the kingdom. Three princes of his lineage were discovered imprisoned in a distant fort, and their claims being nearly equal were decided by lot. The chance fell on Farokhzad, whose brother and successor Ibrahim, celebrated for sanctity, captured several cities on the Sutlej. In the following reign (that of Masaud II.) the royal residence began to be transferred to Lahore (about A.D. 1100.)

Behram, a prince of great literary renown, acceded to the throne in 1118, but after thirty years of peace and prosperity, committed an act of cruel injustice, which led to his own ruin and the extinction of his dynasty. Having had a difference with his son-in-law, the prince of Ghor, he caused him to be put to death; and after a long contest with the brother of his victim, succeeded in defeating and slaying him also, under circumstances of aggravated barbarity. Ala-oo-deen Soor, indignant at the fate of his murdered brothers, entered the territories of their destroyer at the head of a small but determined force, compelled him to fly for his life, and seizing on Ghuznee, devoted the magnificent city, and its miserable inhabitants, for three (or some say nine days) to the desolating effects of flame, slaughter, and pillage. The superb monuments of its kings were utterly demolished, except those of Mahmood, Masaud, and Ibrahim. Behram strove to take refuge in India, but died on his way, worn out by fatigue and disappointment. His son Khosru continued the retreat to Lahore, and there established himself, A.D. 1152. The next king, Khosru Malik, the last of the race of Subuktugeen

reigned in tranquillity for twenty-seven years, and was then defeated and taken prisoner, with his family, and eventually slain by the Ghor princes, from whom his house thus received the final blow, in return for a long series of injuries and aggressions.

*House of Ghor.* — Shahab-oo-deen, the conqueror of Malik, on taking possession of Lahore, was supported by an army drawn from all the warlike provinces between the Indus and Oxus, and accustomed to contend with the Seljuks and the northern hordes of Tartary. Being at liberty to direct his exclusive attention to India, he probably expected to subjugate extensive territories with ease and rapidity, owing to the peaceful character of the people, the more so as their chief rulers were at variance with one another. Of the existing kingdoms the greatest were those of Delhi, held by the clan of Tomara; Ajmeer, by that of Chouhan; Canouj by the Rahtores, and Guzerat by the Baghilas, who had supplanted the Chalukas. The Tomara chief dying without male issue, adopted his grandson Prithwi rajah of Ajmeer, who thus acceded to the double authority, greatly to the mortification of the rajah of Canouj, another grandson of the deceased ruler's.

These internal differences did not however prevent very determined resistance being offered to a foreign foe, though it probably marred the effect which might have resulted from a more united plan of defence. None of the Hindoo principalities fell without a severe struggle, and some were never entirely subdued, owing chiefly to the essentially warlike habits, and peculiar social position of the Rajpoots, whose almost feudal system of government, led them to contest the ground, not so much in a single great action, as inch by inch, each man fighting for his own chief, and his own hearth and home. The origin of this still powerful and interesting class has been alluded to (see p. 42), and will be more particularly mentioned in commenting on the characteristics of the Hindoo population. Here it may be observed, that had their practical ability and energy in time of peace kept pace with their chivalrous enthusiasm and unswerving resolution under the stimulus of war, India might have spurned the hateful yoke of the Moslems. But the constant use of pernicious drugs, seconding only too effectually the enervating tendencies of an eastern clime, brought indolence and sensuality in their train, and while rendering their victims daily more infatuated with the varied forms of idolatry, which rapidly multiplied, to the extinction of more spiritual aspirations—induced also inertion and listlessness with regard to material dangers, until the hour for preparation was passed, and no alternatives remained save death, slavery, or apostacy. Then indeed they kept the foe at bay with the courage of the lion, and braved their fate with more than Spartan fortitude. Thus Shahab-oo-deen and his successors found their task long and tedious, and repeatedly contested the possession of the same ground. The first attack was directed against Prithwi rajah, and took place at Tirouri, between Tanesur and Kurnaul, on the great plain where most of the conflicts for paramount power in India, have been decided. The Hindoos succeeded in outflanking and completely routing the Mussulmans, who charged after their usual method with successive bodies of cavalry. Shahab himself was dangerously wounded, and after a pursuit of forty miles escaped with difficulty to Lahore, where, having collected the wreck of his army, he crossed the Indus, and after visiting his brother at Ghor, settled at Ghuznee.

Two years later (1193) having recruited a fresh force he again encountered Prithwi rajah, whom he overcame by the dangerous stratagem, so frequently recorded in Mohammedan annals, of a pretended flight. The immense Hindoo army followed in headlong pursuit, when a body of Afghan horse 12,000 strong, suddenly wheeled round and charged upon them with terrible effect; the viceroy of Delhi and many chiefs were slain on the field, and the brave rajah himself being captured, was put to death in cold blood by his merciless opponent, who soon afterwards, having taken Ajmeer, massacred some thousands of its inhabitants, reserving the rest for slavery. In 1194, Jaya Chandra, the rajah of Canouj, was defeated and slain on the Jumna;* Canouj and Benares were taken by Shahab, whose power was thus extended into Behar. In the following year Gwalior, in Bundelcund, and several other strong positions there, as also in Rohilcund, were successively seized, and the invader pursued his conquering career until the death of his brother placed him on the throne of Ghor, A.D. 1202. His four years'

* The body was recognised by the false teeth, or according to other writers, by the golden studs required to fix the natural ones into their sockets, on account of extreme age.

reign was full of vicissitudes. A report of his death during a war with the king of Kharizm,* occasioned the defection of several of his western tributaries, and the wild tribe of the Gukkurs issued from their mountains in the north of the Punjaub, took Lahore, and devastated the whole province. Kootb-oo-deen, originally a Turki slave, but raised by Shahab to the government of his Indian possessions, remained faithful to his patron, aided him in recovering the Punjaub, and induced the Gukkurs to embrace Islamism. Shahab was, however, slain in his camp on the Indus by a band of these mountaineers, who, stimulated by the desire of revenge, having lost relations in the late war, swam across the river at midnight, and entered the royal camp unopposed.† He left no son; and, although his nephew Mahmood was proclaimed throughout the whole of his uncle's dominions, yet these broke up without a struggle into separate states. The deceased monarch had carefully trained several Turki slaves, of whom three were in possession of extensive governments at the time of his death. The most noted, Kootb-oo-deen, was invested by Mahmood with the insignia of royalty, A.D. 1206, and thus commenced the line, named from the seat of government, the *Slave-kings of Delhi*. The whole of Hindoostan Proper (of course excluding the Deccan), except Malwa and some contiguous districts, had now been subjugated in a greater or less degree; Sinde and Bengal were in rapid course of reduction, but in Guzerat little dominion had been acquired beyond that connected with the possession of the capital, which was for a short time retained. Thus an Indian empire was established, of which the Indus formed the western boundary, though before this epoch there seems reason to believe that "India," in the common acceptation of the term, had a far wider extent.

Altamsh acceded in 1211; he was of a noble family, but had been sold as a slave by his envious brothers. During his reign the whole face of Asia was changed by a terrible scourge. Jengis Khan, originally a petty chief among the Moguls, having subdued the three nations of Tartary and swelled his bands with their united hordes, swept like a desolating torrent over the Mohammedan kingdoms. Altamsh, by politic conduct, succeeded in shielding most of his territories from the fury of Jengis and his myriads; but Sinde and Moultan, under the dominion of a refractory Moslem governor, did not escape so easily. In the former place, 10,000 prisoners were massacred on account of a scarcity of provisions in the Mogul camp.

Altamsh employed the last six years of his life in completing the conquest of Hindoostan Proper, that is, in bringing the principalities into partial dependence, in which state they continued during the whole period of Tartar and subsequently of Mogul supremacy, the degree of subjection varying greatly with the character of the reigning prince, and being occasionally interrupted by isolated attempts at freedom on the part of native rulers. The caliph of Bagdad formally recognized the new kingdom, in which, during the general subversion of Mohammedan governments, no less than fifteen sovereign princes (of Ghor, Kharizm, Bagdad, &c.,) took refuge at one time, during the reign of Bulbun or Balin (1266 to 1286). The only monarch of this line claiming especial notice is the Sultana Rezia, who, Ferishta writes, "was endowed with every princely virtue, and those who scrutinise her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman." So great was the confidence of her brother Altamsh in her practical ability, that during his campaigns he left Rezia in charge of the home authority in preference to his sons. Her administration when raised to the throne (after the deposition of her nephew, a weak and incompetent prince) is represented as unexceptionable; but the faction by whom her accession had been opposed raised a rebellion, on the pretext of the undue partiality evinced to an Abyssinian slave who had been elevated to the rank of Ameer-ul-omra. The sultana marched for its suppression, but the army mutinied and delivered up their sovereign to the hostile leader, a Turki chief, who, becoming enamoured of his captive, married her and proceeded to assert her rights against his former confederates.

* Kharizm, the Chorasmia of the ancients, a city which gives its name to the province, became independent under Atziz, the revolting governor of a Seljuk Sultan, by the aid of the Khitans, a Tartar tribe. The Kharizm kings conquered Ghor, and were overthrown by Jengis Khan.

† By another account, the death of Shahab is attributed to one of the Fedeyan or zealots of Almowut (*Eagle's nest*), a famous fortress in the Kohistan, tenanted by a cruel and powerful set of fanatics, who for more than a century and-a-half were the dread of orthodox Mohammedans; the caliph on his throne and the dervise in his cell, alike falling victims to the knives of these midnight assassins, who were at length extirpated by Hulaku Khan. Their chief was termed the Sheikh-ul-Jubbul, or *Old Man of the Mountain.*

After two severe conflicts, both Rezia and her husband were taken and put to death in cold blood, A.D. 1239. The short reigns of the two succeeding kings both ended in deposition and murder: that of the latter is memorable for a Mogul incursion through Tibet into Bengal, the only one recorded from that quarter during the period of authentic history; on the north-western frontier they were frequent and destructive. The assassination of Kei Kobad (a cruel and dissolute monarch) in 1288, paved the way for a new dynasty.

*House of Khilji.*—Jelal-oo-deen was placed on the throne by his tribe, the (Khilji*) when seventy years of age, in spite of his own reluctance. At the end of his reign the Deccan was invaded by his nephew, Ala-oo-deen, who, diverting the attention of the Hindoo princes by a pretence of having quarrelled with his uncle and being about to join the Hindoo ruler of Rajamundri, succeeded in marching at the head of a chosen body of 8,000 horse to Deogiri (Doulatabad), a distance of 700 miles, great part of it through the mountains and forests of the Vindya range. Deogiri, the capital of Ramdeo, rajah of Maharashta, once reached was taken without difficulty, as Ramdeo, utterly unprepared for an assault, had no means of defending it, but retired to a hill-fort with a body of 3,000 or 4,000 citizens and domestics. The town was pillaged and the merchants tortured to make them surrender their treasures. The fortress might have held out successfully, but that in the hurry of victualling the garrison sacks of salt had been taken in mistake for grain. The rajah was consequently obliged to make the best terms he could, which involved the payment of gold and jewels to an immense amount, and the cession of Elikpoor and its dependencies. Ala-oo-deen returned in triumph through Candeish into Malwa, but his ambition, stimulated by the success of his late unjust proceedings, prompted the seizure of the throne of India. For this end, he scrupled not at the commission of a crime, heinous in itself to the highest degree, and aggravated, if possible, by the circumstances under which it was perpetrated.

The counsellors of the aged monarch had emphatically warned him of the crafty and unscrupulous character of his nephew, but could not shake his faith in one whom he had reared from infancy. He therefore crossed the Ganges with very few attendants to meet and welcome the conqueror, whom he was fondly embracing at the moment when the heartless ingrate, by a preconcerted signal, summoned the assassins posted for the purpose, who, coming forward, stabbed the king to the heart, and fastening his head upon a spear, carried it through the city. The two sons of the rajah he inveigled into his power, and caused to be put to death. He then strove, by lavish gifts and profusion in shows and festivals, to reconcile the people to his usurpation. Public granaries were constructed, prices fixed for all commodities, importation encouraged by loans to merchants, and exportation prohibited; the origin of these measures being a desire to reduce the pay of the troops and the consequent necessity of diminishing the expence of living. Although, during his prolonged administration, Ala-oo-deen showed himself ignorant and capricious, as well as cruel and arbitrary; though his arrogance and covetousness constantly increased, yet his twenty years' reign left the country in a far better condition than it had been under the sway of his kind but weak predecessor: so true it is that in despotic governments, one vigorous tyrant, whose will is the law of all, generally occasions less suffering than the feeble though gentle sovereign, who, incapable of swaying an undivided sceptre, shares his power with a crowd of petty despots, by whose harassing exactions the strength and wealth of the nation is gradually frittered away. Several Mogul invasions from Transoxiana (the last for many years) were repelled by Ala; the most serious occurred A.D. 1299, and was attended with great suffering to the people of Delhi. A fierce contest took place between armies of extraordinary magnitude, and was gained chiefly by the valour of the Moslem general, Zafar Khan, who, having become an object of jealousy to his treacherous master, was purposely left unsupported. Perceiving his situation, the flying foe turned back and cut him and his small detachment to pieces, after a resistance worthy of his character. The Mogul chiefs taken at this and other times were trampled to death by elephants, and the men butchered in cold blood, to the number of 9,000 in a single instance. Fearing, perhaps, the spirit of vengeance to which such ferocity might give rise, Ala suddenly discharged the whole of the Mogul converts

* A tribe of Tartar descent long settled among the Afghans, with whom their name is almost invariably found associated.

from his service, a violent and imprudent measure, for which, though habitually turbulent, they appear to have given no immediate cause. Driven to despair, some of them entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the king, who, detecting the plot, caused the whole, to the number of 15,000, to be massacred, and their families sold into slavery.

Very extensive conquests were made in the Deccan by the Moslems under the leadership of Cafur, a slave and eunuch, taken in the capture of Guzerat, but promoted by Ala to high command. Maharashta and Carnata were subjugated, the princes who still retained their dominions being compelled to pay tribute, while the successor of Ramdeo (the rajah of Deogiri, previously conquered) having refused to do so, was put to death. The spirit of the Hindoos was however yet far from being completely bowed under the Mussulman yoke. Guzerat revolted; Chittore (a celebrated hill-fort in Mewar) was recovered by Rana (prince) Hamir; and Harpal or Hari Pala (son-in-law to Ramdeo) raised an extensive insurrection in the Deccan, and expelled many of the foreign garrisons.

These ill-tidings coming one upon another, produced in the mind of Ala-oo-deen transports of rage, which a constitution weakened by habitual intemperance and unceasing anxiety could ill bear. Conspiracies and insurrections, real and imaginary, embittered every hour of his life; and the well-nigh successful attempt of his nephew prince Soliman, to seize the throne by a plot similar in its perfidy to his own, inspired constant suspicions of domestic treachery. The only being in whom he trusted, Cafur, his victorious general, proved to be a hypocrite, designing and ambitious as himself; who, after alienating from his master the chief nobility, induced him, by innumerable artifices, to imprison the unoffending queen and her children, and then hastened his decease by poison.

Under the alleged authority of a forged will, (by which Ala bequeathed the throne to an infant son, and appointed Cafur regent,) the traitor assumed the reins of government, caused the eyes of the captive princes to be put out, and sent assassins to dispatch a third named Mobarik. The plot failed; Cafur was himself murdered by the royal guard; and Mobarik succeeded to the throne, A.D. 1317, after blinding his infant brother, who was immured in a hill-fort for life. Under a government where the extirpation of possible rivals was deemed a matter of *expediency* (that lying word so often used in diplomacy to make wrong seem right, or at least disguise its full wickedness), even such barbarity as this might create little aversion, but to provide against any such feeling, while yet unsettled on the throne, Mobarik set free all prisoners, to the amount of 17,000, restored the lands confiscated by his father, removed his oppressive taxes, and abolished all restrictions on trade and property. He then marched to the Deccan and captured Harpal, who was inhumanly sentenced to be flayed alive. A converted Hindoo slave, styled Khosru Khan, was made vizier; by him Malabar was conquered, and this service so won upon Mobarik, that confiding the whole administration to his favourite, he commenced a course of the most odious and degrading debauchery. A continual succession of disturbances and rebellions followed, attended with all the pernicious excitement of cruel tortures and executions; but the king, like his wretched father, was doomed to receive his death-blow, not at the hands of his indignant and cruelly injured subjects, but from the serpent whom he had cherished in his bosom. Khosru occupied the palace with his creatures, filled the capital with Hindoo troops of his own caste, and then, the web being woven, murdered his infatuated victim and seized the vacant throne. After completely extirpating the house of Lodi, the usurper strove to gain over the *ameers* or nobles, and some of them consented to take office under him. Others refused, and joined Toghlak, governor of the Punjaub, who marched to Delhi, and after the defeat and death of Khosru, was proclaimed king, A.D. 1321.

*House of Toghlak.*—The new ruler (the son of a Turki slave by an Indian mother) proved a blessing to the people by whom he had been chosen. Order was restored to the internal administration, and the threatened invasion of the Moguls on the north-west checked by a line of defences formed along the Afghan frontier; Telingana was conquered, as also Dacca; Tirhoot (formerly Mithila) reduced, and the rajah taken prisoner by Toghlak, who, when returning victorious to his capital, A.D. 1325, was crushed to death, with five other persons, by the fall of a wooden pavilion, erected to receive him by his son and successor, to whom a treacherous design is attributed. Mohammed Toghlak, on whose reputation the stigma of parricide is thus affixed, was re-

markable for great talents, often wickedly, and sometimes so wildly used, as to render his sanity a doubtful question. In languages, logic, Greek philosophy, mathematics and medicine, his attainments were extraordinary; in war he was brave and active; in domestic life devout, abstinent and moral. Notwithstanding all this, he proved one of the worst kings under whose scourge India has ever bled and suffered. When released from the fear of invasion on the part of the Moguls, whose absence was obtained by an enormous bribe—he completed the reduction of the Deccan; and then gave the rein to his ambitious but ill-digested schemes, by assembling an army (comprising, according to Ferishta, 370,000 horse), intended for the conquest of Persia, but which, after it had consumed his treasures, dispersed for want of pay, carrying pillage and disorganization in every quarter. Next followed an attempt upon China. For this 100,000 men were sent through the Himalaya Mountains, and having with loss and difficulty effected a passage, were met on the enemy's frontier by a powerful force, with whom fatigue and want of provisions rendered the invaders unable to cope. The approach of the wet season compelled a speedy retreat, which the pursuit of the Chinese, the difficulties of the route, famine and heavy rains, made so disastrous, that at the end of fifteen days, scarcely a man survived to tell the tale, and many of those left behind in garrisons during the advance of the ill-fated force, were put to death by the unreasoning rage of the disappointed king. An endeavour to fill the royal treasury, by substituting paper, for copper, tokens,* utterly failed in its object, from the known insolvency of the government, and it seriously injured trade and impoverished the people; who, no longer able to endure the increasing pressure of taxation, deserted the towns and fled to the woods, in some places maintaining themselves by rapine. The infuriated despot ordered out his army, as if for a great hunt, surrounded an extensive tract of country, as is usual in an Indian chase, and then commanded the circle to close and slaughter all within it (mostly inoffensive peasants), like wild beasts. More than once was this horrible performance repeated; and on a subsequent occasion, its atrocities were paralleled by a general massacre of the inhabitants of the great city of Canouj. Famine, induced by cruelty and misgovernment, brought to a climax the miseries of the nation, and various attempts were made to break the fetters of such unbearable oppression. Mohammed's own nephew took up arms in Malwa, but was defeated and flayed alive; the governor of the Punjaub next rebelled, and he also was subdued and slain.

Bengal, and soon afterwards the Carnatic, revolted under Moslem governors, and were never again subdued; Carnata and Telingana combined succesfully under native rajahs for the recovery of their independence; and lesser struggles took place in every quarter. The Ameer† Judeeda, or new nobles (the name given to the Mogul chiefs and their descendants, who, having invaded India, had embraced Islamism and the service of the kings of Delhi at the same time), became seditious in the Deccan; and in Malwa, seventy of them were treacherously massacred by the new governor, a man of low origin, desirous to show his zeal—upon which the officers of the same nation in Guzerat, prevailed on the rest of the troops to join them in insurrection. Mohammed in person advanced for its suppression, and ravaged his own province as if it had been that of an enemy, devoting the rich towns of Cambay and Surat to plunder. With equal vigour he proceeded to quell a general rebellion in the Deccan; but no sooner was seeming quiet restored in one place by a costly effusion of blood, than new disturbances broke out in another. The king, wearied out with marching and countermarching, fell a victim to a fever, caused, it is said, by a surfeit of fish, but more probably by anxiety of mind, added to the unceasing tumult of his own ungovernable passions. He died at Tatta, whither he had proceeded in pursuit of some fugitives from Guzerat, who had taken refuge with the Rajpoot princes of Sinde. The only marvel is, that he should have been permitted to reign twenty-seven years, and yet escape the common fate of Asiatic tyrants—poison or the sword. Few could ever have provoked such an end more pertinaciously than Mohammed Toghlak, who, in spite of his

* With regard to coinage, it may be remarked that at the time of Cafur's invasion, there was, according to Ferishta, no silver coinage in the Carnatic; and colonel Briggs remarks that the same was true, to a certain extent, till very lately, the common coin being the *pagoda;* there was also another gold coin called a *fanam*, in value about equal to a sixpence.

† Ameer, Emir or Mir alike signify noble, commander, chief. Thus, Ameer-ool-omra, means head of the nobles, or commander-in-chief.

intellectual gifts and personal bravery, alternately excited emotions of horror and contempt in the breasts of his subjects, evincing alike in his extensive projects or less disastrous follies, the same utter recklessness with regard to their lives and properties. Thus—desiring to transfer the capital from the magnificent city of Delhi to Deogiri, as being a more central position, he proceeded to attempt the execution of this design, by ordering all the inhabitants of the former, to remove at once to the latter place, to which he gave the name of Doulatabad, and there built the massive fort still existing. After this the people were twice permitted to return to Delhi, and twice compelled, on pain of death, to leave it: these movements being all, more or less, attended with the horrors of famine, occasioning the death of thousands, and ruin and distress to many more. As an instance of his minor freaks, may be noticed that of having a stately mausoleum erected over a carious tooth, extracted during his campaign in the Carnatic, and this too at a time when his troops, ravaged by pestilence and decimated by civil war, found full employment in heaping a little earth over their fallen comrades. In the early part of this reign, the Mohammedan empire east of the Indus, was more extensive than at any other period; but the provinces lost during its continuance were not all regained till the time of Aurungzebe, and the royal authority received a shock which the iron grasp of the Mogul dynasty alone sufficed to counterbalance.

Feroze Toghlak succeeded to the throne, in the absence of direct heirs, chiefly by the influence of the Hindoo chiefs, and after some disturbances raised by the Mogul mercenaries. His reign stands out in pleasing contrast, not only to that of his predecessor, but to despotic rulers in general. Rejecting the pursuit of what is commonly called glory, he recognised the independence of Bengal and the Deccan, and without seeking to extend the empire by the sword, employed himself in its consolidation and improvement. The diminution of capital punishments, the abolition of torture and mutilation, the removal of numerous vexatious taxes, alterations in the collection of the revenue, the abrogation of fluctuating and precarious imposts—all spoke the earnest solicitude of the ruler for the welfare of the people. Reservoirs and canals for irrigation, mosques, colleges, caravanserais, hospitals, public baths, bridges, and many other edifices were erected, and the revenues of certain lands assigned for their maintenance. The chief of these works still remains a noble monument to the memory of its founder—viz., a canal extending from the point where the Jumna leaves the mountains by Kurnaul to Hansi and Hissar. It reaches to the river *Gagar*, and was formerly connected with the Sutlej. A portion, extending about 200 miles, has been restored by the British government, and will be described in the topographical section.

Feroze long retained his energies; but in his eighty-seventh year, increasing infirmities compelled him to abdicate in favour of his eldest son, Nasir-oo-deen, A.D. 1385. This prince was displaced in little more than a year by two of his cousins, who having secured the person of the old king, proclaimed his grandson, Gheias-oo-deen, sovereign; soon after which event, Feroze died, aged ninety. Gheias, in five months, was deposed and murdered by the kinsmen who had placed him on the throne. His successor, Abu-bekir, was displaced by the previously exiled monarch, Nasir-oo-deen, after a long and severe contest, during which Delhi repeatedly changed hands. The Hindoos took an active part in the struggle, and the household troops, who were all foreigners, having shown particular hostility to the conqueror, were banished the city, none being permitted to remain if incapable of pronouncing a certain letter peculiar to the languages of Hindoostan. The rule of Nasir was weak and inefficient, and that of his son, Mahmood, who acceded to power in 1394, while yet a minor, embarrassed yet more the public affairs. Mozuffer Khan, the governor of Guzerat began to act as an irresponsible ruler; while Malwa and the little province of Candeish permanently threw off the yoke, and remained independent principalities until the time of Akber. The vizier of Mahmood, with peculiar disloyalty, seized on the province of Juanpoor and founded a kingdom. The remaining territories were mostly torn by the dissensions of jarring factions, and each party was occupied with its own peculiar strife, when the fierce onslaught of a foreign foe involved all in a common and overwhelming calamity.

*Timur the lame*, or Tamerlane, has been designated as "the fire-brand of the universe," "the apostle of desolation," and various other opprobrious epithets, all of which his own autobiography, if its authenticity may

be trusted, proves to have been fully merited.* He claimed a remote descent from the same stock as Jengis Khan, whom he in many points resembled; for, though born near Samarcand, in a comparatively civilized country, and a zealous Mussulman by profession, Timur was as barbarous in his warfare, and as short-sighted (though more treacherous and wily) in his policy as the ferocious Mogul. Both were unprincipled marauders, who overran countries and slaughtered unoffending myriads, for plunder; but the latter, while everywhere carrying anarchy, famine, and pestilence in his train, and sparing neither nation nor creed, invariably asserted zeal for Islam as the main spring of his actions, and by a strange mixture of superstition and egotism, seems to have succeeded in deceiving himself at least, as to the true character and consequences of his career. The Seyeds or legitimate descendants of "his holiness the prophet" (through Ali and Fatima), were the exclusive objects of his protection, and their exemption from a personal share in the horrors of war, he considered, or pretended to consider, a certain means of absolution for a life spent in unceasing aggression on the individual and collective rights of the rest of mankind. Having united the hordes of Tartary in the same manner, though not to the same extent as Jengis had done, Timur, after conquering Persia and Transoxiana, ravaged Tartary, Georgia, and Mesopotamia, with parts of Russia and Siberia. Candahar, Ghuznee, and Cabool, to the frontiers of Hindoostan, were also subjugated and placed under the government of Peir Mohammed, the grandson of Timur, who endeavoured to extend his dominions to the south-east by an attack on the Afghans in the Soliman mountains; which proving successful, the invader eventually proceeded to cross the Indus and occupy the city of Ouch, whence he marched to invest Moultan. The place was bravely defended, and Peir lay for six months before its walls. Meanwhile Timur, learning the doubtful state of affairs, renounced his intention of invading the more distant provinces of the Chinese empire, and conducted his forces to India, A.D. 1398, being, he alleged, stimulated thereto by accounts of the gross idolatry still suffered to extend its influence throughout the countries swayed by Moslem rulers. Following the usual route to Cabool, he marched by Haryub and Bunnoo to Dinkot, a place on the Indus to the south of the Salt range, whose exact position is not known. After crossing the river, by a bridge of rafts and reeds, he advanced to the Hydaspes, and marched down its banks, ravaging the country as he passed, as far as Toolumba, where a heavy contribution proved insufficient to save the city from pillage, or the people from massacre.

Moultan had by this time been taken by blockade, famine having conquered where external force had utterly failed; and Peir, leaving a garrison there, joined his grandfather on the Sutlej. At the head of a detachment of 11,000 chosen horse, Timur took possession of Adjudin, where the few remaining inhabitants threw themselves upon his mercy, and being chiefly Seyeds, were spared and shielded from the excesses of the soldiery—a very rare case, for although the promise of similar forbearance was often obtained from the fierce invader, it was almost invariably violated; whether from inability or disinclination to restrain his turbulent associates matters little, since it scarcely affects the degree of guilt involved in giving, or rather selling an immunity which, from one cause or another, he well knew, would not be preserved. His desolating career in Hindoostan may be briefly told; for the terrible details of pillage and slaughter recur again and again, until the mind, sickening with an unbroken chain of similar scenes, has the sense of their atrocity almost dulled by the monotonous repetition. At Bhutneer, the country people who had taken refuge under the walls were massacred; in spite of their capitulation, the inhabitants shared the same fate, and the town was burned. Thence Timur's detachment marched to join the main force, slaying the people of every place traversed, as far as Samana, where the towns being absolutely deserted, the swords of these murderers had some rest, but only sufficient to

* Vide *Mulfuzāt Timūri* (printed at the cost of the Oriental Translation Fund). Originally written in Turki, a language as distinct from the modern Turkish as Saxon from English; translated into Persian by Abu Talib Hussyny, and thence into our tongue by Major Stewart. These memoirs afford strong internal evidence of having been actually dictated by Timur; to quote the words of an able critic, any doubt on the subject "would be removed by the unconscious simplicity with which he [Timur] relates his own intrigues and perfidy; taking credit for an excess of goodness and sincerity which the boldest flatterer would not have ventured to ascribe to him."—(Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 79.)

prepare them for renewed exertion, since, on reaching Delhi, all prisoners above fifteen years of age were put to death, from the fear of their taking part with their countrymen. The number was doubtless very great, even after making large deductions from the accounts of Mussulman writers, who state it at 100,000. Upon the defeat of the Indian army, the reigning prince of Delhi, Mahmood Toghlak, fled to Guzerat, and the city was surrendered under a solemn assurance of protection. Tamerlane was proclaimed emperor of India, and while engaged in celebrating a triumphal feast, his ferocious hordes, laughing to scorn the dearly-bought promise of their leader, commenced their usual course of rapine and plunder, upon which the Hindoos, driven to desperation by witnessing the disgrace of their wives and daughters, shut the gates, sacrificed the women and children, and rushed out to slay and be slain. The whole Mogul army poured into the town, and a general massacre followed, until several streets were rendered impassable by heaps of slain. At length the wretched inhabitants, stupified by the overpowering number and barbarity of the foe, flung down their arms, and "submitted themselves like sheep to slaughter; in some instances permitting one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him."

Delhi yielded an enormous booty in gold, silver, and jewels, especially rubies and diamonds; the historian* above quoted, declares that the amount stated by his authorities so far exceeds belief, that he refrains from the mention—neither does he give the number of men and women, of all ranks, dragged into slavery; but it must have been immense. Among them were many masons and other artificers, competent to the construction of a mosque, similar to the noble edifice of white marble built by Feroze, on the Jumna: in which the sanguinary Timur, on the eve of departure from the blasted city, had the audacity to offer up public thanks for the wrongs he had been permitted to inflict.

Merut next fell beneath the same terrible scourge: the walls were thrown down by mines, and every soul put to the sword. The invaders then crossed the Ganges, and proceeded up its banks to near Hurdwar, where the river leaves the mountains. Several minor contests took place with bodies of the Hindoos in the skirts of the hills, in which Timur, although suffering from illness, and burdened with the weight of more than seventy years, took his full share of danger and fatigue, never scrupling to hazard his own person† equally with that of the meanest individual of his force. From Jammu or Jummoo, north of Lahore, he turned south, and reverting to the route by which he had entered India, took his final departure, having occasioned, during the short space of five months, an almost incredible amount of ruin and bloodshed.

For many weeks Delhi remained ungoverned and nearly uninhabited. A chief named Ecbal at length obtained possession, but being slain on an expedition to Moultan, the authority reverted to Mahmood, who, having returned from Guzerat, had taken refuge at Canouj, then held by the king of Juanpoor. Mahmood died, A.D. 1412. His successor, Doulat Khan Lodi, at the expiration of fifteen months, was expelled by Khizer Khan, the governor of the Punjaub.

*The Seyeds.*—The new ruler, though born in India, was descended from Mohammed, and for this cause found favour with Timur, to whom he complained of having had the governorship of a portion of the Punjaub unjustly taken from him, and was thereupon appointed to the undivided rule of the whole. He affected to recognize his patron as emperor, and did not assume the title or style of royalty on taking possession of the government, which now comprised little beyond Delhi and the adjacent territory. The Punjaub was temporarily re-annexed by him, but the eastern portion, with the country about Sirhind, revolted and severed itself from Delhi, despite the opposition of Khizer, who made spirited efforts to maintain and extend his authority. Tribute was levied from the Rahtores in Rohilcund, and

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 494. For the career of Timur, *see* Elphinstone's able summary—*India*, vol. i., pp. 75 to 80; Price's *Mohammedan History*, vol. iii., pp. 233, 243; and Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, pp. 116, 121.

† In Catrou's *Mogul Empire*, (a work published in 1709, and alleged to be founded on data collected by a Venetian named Manouchi, who acted as physician to Aurungzebe,) the troops of Timur are represented as commenting severely on the person of their leader, incited by a strong dread of Rana (the title signifying prince being mistaken for the name), whose dominions are described as "almost situate in the midst of Hindoostan," and whose Rajpoot soldiers had the reputation of being invincible. "Have we not," said they [the Tartars], one to another, "served this hair-brained cripple long enough, who, to the loss of a leg, has now, in this last battle, added the loss of an arm." They are, however, induced to persevere, and complete victory is the result. (p. 16.)

from other Hindoos near Gwalior, but the war with the king of Guzerat, though diligently prosecuted, had no important result, and that state retained its independence, as did also the permanent monarchies in the Deccan, together with Malwa, Bengal, Juanpoor (comprehending Oude and Canouj), and the governments of Samana, Biana, and Calpee (in Bundelcund). Khizer died in 1421—his three Seyed successors were engaged in struggles, first, with the Mogul ruler of Cabool (Rokh Mirza, the son of Timur), who occasionally took part with the Gukkurs in ravaging the Punjaub; and afterwards with the kings of Juanpoor and Malwa. Under the sway of the last Seyed ruler, Ala-oo-deen, the territory appertaining to Delhi had become so reduced as in one direction to extend for only twelve miles from the capital, and in another scarcely a mile. Moultan, among other places, had become independent, but Badayoon beyond the Ganges being still possessed by Ala, he removed to that place, and having abdicated in favour of Behlol Khan Lodi, who forthwith assumed the title of king, A.D. 1450, he was suffered to remain unmolested in Badayoon for the remaining twenty-eight years of his life.

*House of Lodi.*—The grandfather of Behlol Lodi had been governor of Moultan under Feroze Toghlak, the great patron of the Afghans, and his father and uncles held commands under the Seyeds. Their wealth and power as military chieftains, together with the calumnies of a disaffected relation, at length excited the jealousy of the then sultan (Mohammed Seyed), by whom the Lodis were driven into the hills, where they successfully resisted his authority. Behlol found means to occupy, first Sirhind, then the whole of the Punjaub, and eventually (by a treacherous use of the influence of Hameed the vizier or prime minister of his predecessor Ala), gained possession of Delhi, to which the Punjaub became thus re-annexed, as also Juanpoor, after a contest carried on with little intermission for twenty-seven years. By this last acquisition, together with others of less importance, the dominions of Behlol were extended, until, at his death in 1488, they reached from the Jumna to the Himalaya mountains as far east as Benares, besides a tract on the west of the Jumna stretching to Bundelcund. The next king, Secander Lodi, regained Behar as far as the frontiers of Bengal, and increased his territories in the direction of Bundelcund. Secander was a just and merciful prince, a poet, and a munificent patron of letters. The single reproach on his character, one rarely brought forward against the Moslem sovereigns of India, is that of bigotry, evinced in the destruction of idolatrous temples in the towns and forts captured from the Hindoos, and in the prohibition of pilgrimages and ceremonial bathings on certain festivals at places situate on the sacred streams within his dominions. His conduct in this respect was at least in accordance with the teaching of the Koran, and greater tolerance would have been contrary to his views of duty. The zeal of Secander is once, and only once, alleged to have prompted an act of cruelty, namely, the execution of a Brahmin who had sedulously propagated the doctrine that "all religions, if sincerely practised, were equally acceptable to God." Ibrahim Lodi, the son and successor of Secander, early offended his family and clansmen, by declaring that a king should acknowledge no such relationship, but should place all the subjects of the state on the same footing. The Afghan chiefs whom his father and grandfather had suffered to sit in their presence, were henceforth commanded to stand in front of the throne with folded arms. The proud Lodi tribe enraged by the contumelious treatment they received, resolved to leave Ibrahim in possession of Delhi, and to raise his brother Julal Khan to the throne of Juanpoor. After a twelvemonth's contest, Julal was taken prisoner and put to death by Ibrahim, who imprisoned the remainder of his brothers, and endeavoured by violence and treachery, to keep under the disaffected and rebellious spirit which his arrogance and distrust perpetually excited among his nobles. At length the whole of the eastern part of his dominions was formed into a separate state under Deria Khan Lohani, whose son afterwards took the title of king. Doulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjaub, dreading the fate of other viceroys, revolted and invoked the aid of a neighbouring potentate who had already evinced his desire to take advantage of the distracted state of India by marauding incursions into the Punjaub.

The celebrated Baber—sixth in descent through his paternal ancestors from Timur the Tartar or rather Turk, and connected through his mother with Jengis Khan the Mogul—acceded, at twelve years of age, by the death of his father to the throne of Fer-

ghana,* (A.D. 1494), which, nothwithstanding his extreme youth, he struggled long and ably to retain, against his own relatives, and the Uzbeks,† who were then founding the dominion which they still possess in Transoxiana.

In the defence of his rightful inheritance Baber appears to have been at first successful, but the death of his uncle, the king of Samarcand, and the confusion which ensued, induced him to attempt the conquest of that city, and after more than one failure, this boy of fifteen became master of the famous capital of Timur. He had however bartered the substance of power for the shadow. The resources of Samarcand, already drained by war, afforded little assistance in the payment of the army, disaffection ensued, which spread to the troops left in Ferghana, and Baber prostrated for a time by dangerous sickness, arose stripped alike of the territory to which he had rightfully succeeded, and that acquired by the sword. After various attempts, both on Samarcand and Ferghana, Baber succeeded in regaining his native kingdom, but being again induced to leave it by the hope of securing the former place also, he finally lost both, and after several years of trial and vicissitude, was betrayed by some Uzbeks whom he had tempted to forsake their ally Tambol (his own rebel general), into the hands of this powerful enemy. Escaping from captivity, Baber, accompanied by his mother, bade a last farewell to Ferghana, with all the bitter feelings of an exile, aggravated by his own peculiar trials, and carrying with him fond recollections of that beautiful land which were never obliterated by the excitement of the brilliant career that awaited him beyond the range of the Hindoo Koosh.‡ The princely adventurer was well received in Bactria, and the Moguls flocked round his standard, until his small force of 200 or 300 men (many of them only armed with clubs) had become the nucleus of a regular and well-equipped army. At this time the descendants of Timur had been expelled from Cabool, which was occupied by the Mogul or Turki family of Arghoon, who had been for some time in possession of Candahar. Baber invaded Cabool, and found little difficulty in securing the sceptre, which he swayed for twenty-two years before his conquest of India, and then bequeathed to heirs of his own lineage, by whom it was enjoyed until the end of the seventeenth century. His long reign was spent in contests with internal and external foes. The rebellion of his brother, Jehangeer, and the attempts of two of his cousins to regain the sovereignty for this branch of the family of Timur, were with difficulty subdued. The victor freely forgave his brother, and spared the lives of his other relatives, thus evincing a clemency very unusual in an oriental despot, and the more to be admired since his power, and even existence, were repeatedly in jeopardy, and only rescued from destruction by the great skill and courage with which he never failed to govern and animate his troops. The conquest of Candahar and expeditions into the mountains of the Afghans and Hazarehs, occupied the first years of his sway in Cabool. In all these journeyings great perils and hardships were endured, and once he nearly perished in the snow during a winter march to Herat, undertaken to secure the co-operation of the members of the Timur house then ruling there, against the Uzbeks. With these old and determined enemies, Baber had many severe contests, until, happily for him, their leader Sheibani Khan, went to war with Shah Ismael Saffavi, king of Persia, and was defeated and slain in 1510. By this event the tide of Tartar conquest was turned, and Baber, aided by the Persian monarch, occupied Bactria and made important conquests in Transoxiana, but these were wrested back again by the Uzbeks, by whom his army was completely routed, A.D. 1514.

Baber now turned his attention to India, and after an invasion of the Punjaub, already alluded to, but attended with no important result, gladly accepted the invitation of its rebellious governor, Doulat Khan Lodi, to return under the pretext of claiming this part of the inheritance of Timur. Some of the Afghan chiefs remained loyal, drove out Doulat Khan, and opposed the assumption of the foreign usurper, but were totally overpowered, and Lahore itself reduced to ashes. Debalpoor was next stormed, and

* A small but rich and beautiful country situated on the upper course of the river Sirr or Jaxartes.

† The Uzbeks (so called from one of their khans or sovereigns) were what the geologists would call "a conglomerate" of tribes of Turki, Mogul, and probably of Fennic origin, the former greatly preponderating. They had before been settled on the Jaik, and had possessed a large tract in Siberia.

‡ Vide *Memoirs of Baber*, written by himself in Turki, translated by Dr. Leyden and Mr. Erskine; see also Mr. Caldecott's *Life of Baber;* Price, and the *Ferishtas*' of both Briggs and Dow.

the garrison put to the sword.) Baber pursued his conquering course to Sirhind, when a quarrel with Doulat Khan, who fled to the hills, obliged him to retrace his steps, leaving Debalpoor in charge of Ala-oo-deen, a brother of king Ibrahim, who, having escaped from captivity, had joined the invader. Doulat Khan was checked by one of Baber's generals, but Baber himself, fully occupied in defending Balkh (the capital of Bactria) against the Uzbeks, deputed to Ala-oo-deen the charge of advancing upon Delhi, which he did, and the insurgents being increased to 40,000 by the disaffection prevalent among the king's troops, defeated the latter in an engagement under the walls of the city. Towards the close of the year 1525, Baber, having settled Balkh, and finally subdued Doulat Khan who was compelled to surrender his hill fort and *library of valuable books*—rather a singular possession for an Afghan chief of the sixteenth century—proceeded from Ropur on the Sutlej, above Lodiana, and from thence nearly by the direct road to Delhi. At Paniput, he learned the advance of Ibrahim at the head of an army, which, by his own account, numbered 100,000 men, with 1,000 elephants. One quarter that amount, under an able and popular leader, might have sufficed to inspire the opposing force, of but 12,000 men, with despondency; but even if the numbers are correctly stated, the characters of the respective leaders render the result easy to be conjectured. Baber took up a position, linked his guns together with ropes of twisted leather, and lined them with infantry, strengthening his flanks by field-works of earth and fascines. Ibrahim, on first approaching the enemy, seemed inclined to stand on the defensive likewise; but, changing his mind, after a few days' skirmishing, led out his army to a general engagement. While attempting to storm the hostile front, the flanks and rear of the assailants were attacked by the right and left wings of Baber, whose advance, showering flights of arrows, was seconded by an occasional discharge of cannon. After a protracted struggle, Baber, perceiving the success of his counter-movement, ordered his centre forward, and completed the rout of the Indian army. Ibrahim was killed, and his force having been nearly surrounded in the contest, which lasted from sunrise till noon, suffered prodigious loss, 15,000 being left dead on the field, of whom a third part lay in one spot around their king, while their total loss in the battle and pursuit was reported at 40,000. Baber mentions especially that his guns were discharged *many times* with efficiency, these engines of destruction having at this period (1526) attained neither in Asia or Europe their present terrible pre-eminence among the weapons of war. Delhi surrendered, and Baber advanced to occupy Agra, the late royal residence, where his first act was to distribute the spoil among his adherents, in a manner which procured for him the nick-name of "the Calender," in allusion to a religious order whose rules forbade them to make provision for the morrow. To his son Humayun was given a diamond of inestimable value, and a shahrukri* to every man, woman, and child in the country of Cabool.

*House of Timur.*—The conqueror assumed the supreme authority in India, and became the founder of what is universally called the Mogul empire. Yet Baber, although connected through his mother with the royal race of the Moguls, never names that people in his writings but with undisguised aversion, and always makes mention of himself as a Turk,† and the representative of Timur, whose barbarous massacres he too frequently

* This coin is only about tenpence or elevenpence in value, yet the total sum must have been very great.

† The terms *Turk*, *Tartar*, and *Mogul* afford inexhaustible food for controversy to scholars versed in oriental learning; and to convey in few words anything like a clear idea of the different meanings severally attached to them, is utterly impracticable. For the sake of readers unversed in such discussions, it may however be useful to remark that Tartary is the general term now applied by Europeans to the extensive but little-known country whence, under the name of Scythia, barbarian hordes have from very early times issued forth to desolate the fairest portions of Asia and even Europe. Of these a passing mention has been made in noticing the events of the second century of our era (p. 49); the Tochari, named by Strabo as one of the four chief tribes by whom the Greek kingdom of Bactria was overthrown, being supposed to signify the Turks. Timur, in his *Memoirs* (p. 27.) and a Persian author quoted by Price in his *Mohammedan History*, ascribe the origin of the Khans or sovereigns of the wide-spread Tartar nations to Turk, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah. The great grandson of Turk, Alonjah Khan (during whose reign the people forsook the worship of the living God and became idolators), had twin sons named Tartar or Tatar, and Mogul or Mongol, and the quarrels of their immediate descendants gave rise to the inextinguishable animosities which have ever since prevailed among their respective tribes. Mogul is said to be derived from Mungawul, signifying abject or simple-hearted. Tartar, according to the traveller Carpini, A.D. 1246, was the term applied to the Su or Water Mongols, one of four chief tribes then inhabiting Central Tartary, from the name of a river which ran through

imitated wherever the slightest resistance was offered; probably desiring by this ferocity to inspire a degree of terror not warranted by his limited force. Yet Baber was in domestic life kind and affectionate; his *Memoirs* offer repeated evidence of feelings unchilled by ambition and grandeur, of sensibility to the beauties of nature and art retaining its freshness amid the declining years of pampered royalty, and of a temper whose sweetness remained to the last unmarred, even by the thorny pillow of an usurper, or the excesses into which his social temperament helped to draw him. "It is a relief," says Mr. Erskine, "in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept for the companion of his boyhood." And Mr. Elphinstone, when citing this remark, adds—"He [Baber] speaks with as much interest of his mother and female relations as if he had never quitted their fire-side, and his friends make almost as great a figure in the personal part of his narrative as he does himself. He repeats their sayings, records their accidents and illnesses, and sometimes jokes on their eccentricities." Yet this same individual, in many points so estimable, nevertheless deserved the degrading surname of Baber (*the Tiger*), which has superseded his more flattering designations,* for in his character of conqueror even he could seldom afford to be merciful and still more rarely to be just.

To return to the narrative—the occupation of Agra was far from carrying with it the conquest of the kingdom, and before that could be accomplished Baber had three distinct obstacles to overcome; namely, the opposition offered by the Moslem viceroys, who had revolted in the time of Ibrahim, as well as by Afghan and Fermuli chiefs, attached to the late government; secondly, the deep aversion of the Hindoos, evinced by the abandonment of the villages near the spot where the army was encamped, and the consequent difficulty of procuring grain or forage. In the third place, the troops themselves became disaffected, and the weather being unusually sultry and oppressive, so aggravated the sufferings necessarily experienced by natives of cold countries during an Indian summer, that at length all ranks united in demanding to be led back to Cabool. Baber declared his unalterable determination of remaining in India, but gave to all who chose permission to return. The majority decided to stay and share his fortunes, but a part persisting in their former desire, were dismissed with honour under the authority of Khaja Khilan, who was appointed to a government beyond the Indus. This arrangement produced a change of feeling throughout the kingdom, and dissipated the general idea that Baber would depart as Timur had done. Some governors voluntarily tendered submission, detachments were sent to reduce others, and in the course of four months, not only had the country held by Sultan Ibrahim been secured, but all the revolted provinces ever possessed by the house of Lodi, including the former kingdom of Juanpoor, were conquered by Prince Humayun. The supremacy of Baber being thus established over the Moslems, his arms were next directed against the Hindoos.

their territory (Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 30), while Gmelin (*Decouvertes Russes*, vol. iii., p. 209) gives the derivation of the word from *tatanoi*, to collect, used in a reproachful sense to denote robbery, and declares that the Moguls and Calmucks, who are doubtless closely allied, have not the shadow of a tradition which favours the idea of their having ever composed one nation with the Tartars (meaning Turks). De Guignes, on the contrary, recognizes only the Eastern and Western Tartars—the first the Manchoos, the second Turks and Moguls, whom he looked upon as one race, the latter descended from the former. His authority, though usually of much weight, is in this respect diminished by the mistakes committed in confounding distinct races, and likewise in the indistinct geography of Tartary—defects scarcely to be avoided even by writers of the present day on this dark and difficult subject. The tribes now inhabiting Tartary are very numerous and various: language is the chief, if not the only guide by which Europeans have been enabled to class them under the heads of —1st, *Manchoos*, who extend over the region called Mantchouria, stretching from the Eastern Ocean along the north of China, and whose influence is confined chiefly to that country, where at the present moment (1853) a severe struggle is taking place for their extirpation; 2nd, *Moguls*, who occupy the central portion (Mongolia) between the other two; 3rd, *Tartars or Turks*, (of Toorkistan,) whose boundary is the Muz Tagh (ice mountains), the Belut Tagh (dark or cloudy mountains), Hindoo Koosh, &c. The Turki is the language of the Tartars as distinguished from that of the Moguls, but whether these two differ essentially or only as very different dialects of the same tongue is perhaps yet to be decided (Erskine's *Baber*, p. xxi.) Whatever may be the barrier between the Turks and Moguls, it is certainly a great one and of ancient origin. In appearance the contrast is most striking between the short, square, and athletic though disproportioned body, bullet-shaped head, small angular eyes, scanty beard and eyebrows, high cheek-bones, flat nose, and large ears of a Mogul or Calmuck, and the comely form of a Turk, whose well-known Caucasian features and flowing beard in many points resemble those of a European, the exception being the contraction of the eyes.

* His original name was Zehir-oo-deen (protector of the faith) Mohammed (greatly praised).

Sanga, the Rajpoot prince of Mewar (sixth in succession from Hameer Sing, the recoverer of Cheetore or Chittoor in 1316), had immediately before the arrival of Baber been engaged in hostilities with Mahmood, king of Malwa, whom he had defeated and taken prisoner. The king of Delhi was likewise the enemy of Sanga, who opened a friendly communication with Baber while marching against Ibrahim, but on finding him established on the vacated throne, transferred his enmity to the new ruler, and proceeded to combine against him with the Lodi chiefs (previously defeated by Humayun) and Hasan Khan, rajah of Mewat, a hilly tract extending towards the river Chumbul, from within twenty-five miles of Delhi, and including the petty state now called Macheri or Alwa. The first movements of the Hindoos were successful; the garrison of Biana (within fifty miles of Agra) were driven with loss into their fort, and communication cut off between them and the capital. Baber marched forward with all his forces, and at Sikri, about twenty miles from Agra, found himself in the vicinity of the enemy, by whom his advanced guard was immediately attacked, and though supported by the main body, was defeated with heavy loss. The assailants, instead of following up the victory, withdrew to their encampments, and thus gave Baber time to fortify his position, and revive, by his own indomitable energy, the drooping spirits of the troops. This was no easy task; for the Indian auxiliaries began to desert or give way to hopeless despondency, and the feeling spread throughout all ranks, being deepened by the unlucky arrival of a celebrated astrologer from Cabool, who announced, from the aspect of Mars, the inevitable defeat of the Moslem army, which was drawn up in an opposite direction to that planet. Baber cared little for soothsaying, but fully recognised the perils of his position, and, by his own account, repented of his sins, forswore wine, gave away his gold and silver drinking-vessels to the poor, and remitted the stamp-tax on all Moslems (that is, the revenue collected by means of a stamp or mark affixed on all imported articles). Assembling all the officers, from the highest to the lowest, he addressed them in glowing terms—not, however, in the usual inflated style regarding the rewards, temporal and eternal, awaiting the champions of Islam, but appealing almost exclusively to their sense of honour, and setting the chance of military glory, in plain terms, against the risk of death. With one accord they swore on the Koran to conquer or to die, and Baber determined to bring matters to an immediate crisis, a step rendered the more expedient by the daily accounts of fresh disturbances in the provinces. A desperate battle ensued; rajah Sanga was defeated, and escaped with difficulty; Hasan Khan and many other chiefs were slain. The mistaken astrologer ventured to congratulate Baber upon his victory, but received in return a sharp lecture for perversity, conceit, and mischief-making, with a command to quit the royal dominions, accompanied, however, by a liberal present in acknowledgment of long service, faithful though not discreet.

Mewat was next reduced and settled. In the beginning of the following year (1528) Chanderi, on the borders of Bundelcund and Malwa, was attacked. It was held by Medni Rai, a Rajpoot chief, who had escaped from the late battle, and desperately but vainly defended by the Rajpoots, who, on perceiving the troops of Baber mounting their works, slew their women, rushed forth naked, drove the enemy before them, leaped from the ramparts, and continued to fight with unabated fury until all had found the death they sought: 200 or 300 had remained to defend Medni Rai's house, who for the most part slew one another sooner than fall into the hands of the enemy. An Afghan insurrection occurred simultaneously with this siege. The latter was no sooner ended than Baber marched to the Ganges, where the Afghans were drawn up, threw a bridge over the river under cover of artillery, and compelled the insurgents to disperse and take refuge in the dominions of the king of Bengal. It was probably on this occasion that he reduced South Behar, which was subsequently seized by the Lodi prince, Sultan Mahmood, who being once more forced to fly, all that country south of the Ganges reverted to Baber; but North Behar remained in the possession of the king of Bengal, with whom a treaty of peace was formed. The health of Baber now began to fail, and its decline was hastened by circumstances connected with the dangerous illness of Humayun. The physicians had declared the condition of that prince to be beyond the help of their art, upon which the fond father resolved to devote his own life to the preservation of his son's, in conformity with a superstition still prevalent in

the East. His friends, who do not seem to have in the least doubted the efficacy of the measure, entreated him to forbear for the sake of the millions whom he ruled, but without effect. After the customary formula of walking three times round the couch of the prince, Baber spent some moments in earnest prayer to God, and then, impressed with a conviction of the fulfilment of the desired sacrifice, exclaimed, "I have borne it away! I have borne it away!" All historians agree that Humayun began from that time to recover, and Baber to sink rapidly, which latter result may be readily believed. Calling together his sons and ministers, he enjoined concord among them all, and affection among his children, and soon afterwards expired at Agra, A.D. 1530, and was buried in Cabool, at a spot selected by himself, and still marked by a small mosque of marble, above which rises a hill, from whence a noble prospect is obtained. Though he did not attain to the age of fifty years, Baber had, in one sense, lived many lives, from the incessant activity of both mind and body.* On his last journey, when his constitution was evidently giving way, he rode in two days from Calpee to Agra (160 miles), without any particular motive for despatch, and swam twice across the Ganges, as he mentions having done every other river he traversed. Besides the necessary business of the kingdom, the intervals of peace were occupied by planning aqueducts, reservoirs, and other improvements, and in the introduction of new fruits and other productions of remote countries. Yet he found time to indite many elegant Persian poems, and compositions in Turki, which entitled him to distinction among the writers of his age and country. His contemporaries were, in England, Henry VII. and VIII.; in France, Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I.; in Germany, Maximilian and Charles V.; in Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, and Charles. Thus the career of Baber formed part of a memorable epoch, of which the great events were—the discovery of America by Columbus; of the passage to India, *via* the Cape of Good Hope, by Vasco di Gama; the increase of the power of France by the annexation of the great fiefs to the crown, and of Spain by the union of its kingdoms under Charles; the destruction of the empire of Constantinople; the influence of the art of printing; and the rise and progress of the Protestant reformation. (Luther and Baber were born in the same year.)

Baber left three sons besides Humayun, but as he made no declaration in their favour he probably intended the empire to descend undivided to the child for whose life he had evinced such tender solicitude. Of the three younger brothers, one named Kamran was governor of Cabool and Candahar, and being firmly seated there, appeared disposed to maintain his position if necessary by a degree of force with which Humayun could ill cope, since to assemble an army for action in Cabool would necessitate the evacuation of the lately-acquired and disaffected provinces. Kamran was therefore recognized as the independent ruler of his previous government, to which was added the Punjaub and the country on the Indus. The other brothers, named Hindal and Askeri, were appointed to the sway of Sambal and Mewat. By the cession to Kamran, Humayun was deprived of the trusty and warlike retainers who had long been the hereditary subjects of his family, and left to govern new conquests, unsupported by the resources which had materially contributed to their acquisition. At first, by the aid of the veteran army of his father, he succeeded in putting down the Afghan insurrections, which were among the early disturbances of his reign, and came to terms with his future rival, Sheer Khan (an influential Afghan, claiming descent from the kings of Ghor), who submitted on condition of being suffered to retain the hill-fort of Chunar, near Benares. His next struggles were with Bahadur Shah, king of Guzerat, one of the most powerful of the states formed out of the fragments of the empire of Delhi, and which had been recently increased in size and influence by the annexation of Malwa, and the vassalship or fiefdom promised by the princes of Candeish, Berar, and Ahmednugger. Bahadur had taken under his protection Ala-oo-deen, the brother of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, who had

* Towards the close of his life, Baber observed that since his eleventh year he had never kept the annual fast of the Ramzan twice in any one place—a strong proof of the roving, warlike disposition which brought him to India. And it should be remembered that, in spite of many attractive qualities, Baber comes under the same condemnation, for lawless usurpation and bloodshed, as his ferocious ancestors, Jengis and Timur. Nor is his private character free from heavy reproach. Drinking he eventually renounced; persevered in the use of intoxicating confections; but polygamy, with other vices not to be named, he refers to with as little regret as to the "erection of minarets of human heads," and other common incidents of war.

played so conspicuous a part during that monarch's disastrous reign, and he assisted him with troops and money to assemble a force for the attack of Agra, A.D. 1534. The attempt failed, for the army was as speedily dispersed as it had been collected, and Tatar Khan, the son of Ala, fell bravely fighting at the head of a division which had remained faithful amid the general desertion. Humayun proceeded against Bahadur, who was engaged in besieging Chittoor or Cheetore, then held by the Rana of Mewar, but was induced, (by the remonstrances of Bahadur against the impiety of molesting a Mussulman prince while engaged in war with infidels, or else by his own dilatory habits), to retard his march until the place was taken, and the besieger prepared to receive him in an intrenched camp at Mandesor, rendered formidable by artillery, commanded by a Constantinopolitan Turk, and partly served by Portuguese prisoners.* These advantages were however wholly neutralized by the enemy's success in cutting off the supplies, and thus making the position untenable, upon which Bahadur blew up his guns, and, leaving the army to disperse as they chose, fled by night almost unattended to the sea-port of Cambay, whither he was followed by Humayun, who reached that town on the evening of the day on which the fugitive had departed for a more secure place of refuge at Diu, in the remotest part of the peninsula of Guzerat. While the pursuers were encamped at Cambay, a night attack was made by the Coolis, a forest-tribe, still famous for similar exploits in this part of India, with such silence and wariness, that the royal tent itself was plundered, and the baggage and books carried off—among the latter was a copy of the *History of Timur*, illustrated with paintings. Humayun, in unjust retaliation for the conduct of these mountaineers, gave up the town to plunder, and then quitting the peninsula, proceeded to occupy the settled part of Guzerat. The hill fort of Champaneir, he surprised by a stratagem, having, with 300 chosen men, scaled the walls in the night by means of iron spikes, fixed in an almost perpendicular rock; the daring besiegers, including the king, ascending separately during an attack made on one of the gates by the army.†

Shortly after this success, and before sufficient time could elapse for the consolidation of his new conquests, Humayun was recalled to Agra by intelligence of the proceedings of Sheer Khan, who had made himself master of Behar, including the strong fortress of Rohtas,‡ and was successfully prosecuting the invasion of Bengal. The measures of this usurper had been laid with much skill and circumspection, his hope being, by the union of the Afghans, to

* In the *Memoirs of Humayun*, written by Jouher the ewer-bearer, (a faithful servant who attended that monarch during his adversity, and was eventually rewarded by a treasurership in Lahore) and translated by Major Stewart, it is asserted that Bahadur had entered into a treaty with the Portuguese, (established at Surat some time before), and had by their assistance raised a force of 6,000 Abyssinians or negroes. Price, on the authority of Abu Fazil, states, that Bahadur had sent a deputation to Diu to solicit the aid of the Portuguese viceroy, or captain-general of the possessions of that nation on the western side of India, requesting his assistance in waging war against the house of Timur. The Portuguese commander accordingly assembled at Diu a considerable body of troops, and a powerful naval armament, in readiness to meet Bahadur, on whose arrival, it is said, some cause of suspicion, not satisfactorily explained, induced the European chief, instead of coming to meet his ally, to remain on board ship on pretence of illness. Bahadur, with a degree of confidence which seems to indicate the whole affair to have originated, not in a misunderstanding, but in systematic treachery on the part of the Portuguese, put himself on board a galley to visit the alleged invalid; but had no sooner reached the admiral's vessel, than, perceiving the deceit practised upon him, he endeavoured to return to the shore. The Portuguese had however resolved on first obtaining from him the cession of certain ports at Guzerat, and endeavoured to detain him by fair words, entreating a moment's delay while they brought a present in token of profound respect; but Bahadur desired that the present might be sent after him and persisted in making fur the ship's side. The Portuguese Cazi (probably the fiscal) now interposed and forbade his departure, upon which the Sultan in a paroxysm of indignation drew his scimitar, clove him in twain, and succeeded in gaining his own galley, which was speedily hemmed in by the enemy's fleet. An unequal conflict ensued, and Bahadur, perceiving the inevitable result, sprang into the sea, and is generally supposed to have been drowned. The date of this event, A.D. 1537, is preserved in the Persian characters comprised in the sentence, "Feringuian Bahadur Kosh,"—*Portuguese butchers of the hero*.—(Price, vol iii. p. 751).

† After its capture the stronghold was vainly searched for the treasure it was believed to contain; one officer alone knew the secret, which it was proposed to draw from him by torture, but to this Humayun refused to consent, and directed that wine and good cheer should be tried instead. The expedient proved successful, and the officer willingly revealed the existence of a large amount of gold and silver at the bottom of the reservoir, which was at once apparent on the water being drawn off.

‡ Rohtas was taken by treachery from a Hindoo rajah. Sheer Khan, having besought an asylum for his family, introduced two armed soldiers in each of the covered litters supposed to contain women, and then easily overcame the unsuspecting garrison.

drive the Moguls out of the country, and re-establish a Patan dynasty.* To retard the advance of Humayun he had strongly garrisoned the famous fortress of Chunar, which stands on a rock close to the Ganges, on what may be termed a detached portion of the Vindya mountains. As Humayun marched along the river, and conveyed his guns and stores by its waters, he was compelled to commence hostilities with the siege of this fort. By a cruel stratagem† information was acquired regarding the state of the defences, and attempts were made to mine the accessible portions of the walls on the land side, and by floating batteries to bear upon the face fronting the river.—These failed, but the garrison, after several months' resistance, were starved into surrender, and the right hands of all the gunners, to the number of 300, cut off, without the consent of Humayun, by his chief engineer Rumi Khan, who soon afterwards, through the malice of rival courtiers, perished by poison. At the defile of Sicragali, a detachment of the imperial army, sent to take possession, were attacked and repulsed with considerable loss by the son of Sheer Khan, who then rejoined his father in the hills, leaving the pass unobstructed, having followed out the well-devised policy of impeding Humayun as far as possible without hazarding any decisive conflict. During the protracted siege of Chunar, Mahmood had been defeated and Gour reduced by Sheer Khan, who having removed the captured treasures to the before-mentioned fort of Rohtas, whither he had previously assembled his family, now left Gour undefended. Humayun took possession, but gained little advantage thereby, for the rains had attained their climax, the Delta of the Ganges was one vast sheet of water, and in the country beyond the reach of inundation every brook and channel had become an impassable flood. It was impossible to carry on operations in Bengal, and extremely difficult to communicate with upper India. Several months of forced inactivity elapsed, rendered doubly wearisome by the moist and sultry climate. The sickly season that followed the heavy rains thinned the ranks of the soldiers, and depressed their spirits so greatly that when the roads became again traversible they began to desert in numbers—Prince Hindal, who had been left in North Behar, setting the example. Meanwhile Sheer Khan issued from his retreat, seized Behar and Benares, recovered Chunar, laid siege to Juanpoor, and pushed his forces up the Ganges as far as Canouj. Humayun once more found his communication with the capital intercepted, and leaving a detachment which he could but ill spare to guard Gour, he reluctantly set out to return to Agra with the remainder of his diminished army, but was intercepted between Patna and Benares by Sheer, who had raised the siege of Juanpoor and advanced by forced marches for this purpose. Instead of at once attacking the troops of his rival while suffering from fatigue, Humayun suffered many valuable hours to elapse, and the next morning found Sheer (who had now assumed the title of Shah or king) so skilfully intrenched that he could neither be passed nor attacked with any prospect of success. Humayun therefore, in turn, fortified his position and began to collect boats, with a view of forming a bridge across the Ganges, and then pursuing his way along the opposite bank. Sheer Shah suffered this work to proceed for two months, but when it approached completion, he attacked Humayun about day-break in three colums, and completely surprised the camp. Humayun attempted to rally his troops, but with little effect, and after receiving a wound in the arm was prevailed on by three of his favourite officers to seek safety in flight, and plunge at once into the Ganges.‡ Here his career had nearly terminated, for before reaching the opposite bank his horse sunk from exhaustion, but the royal rider was saved by the exertions of a poor man opportunely crossing at the time with a leathern bag or water-skin inflated like a bladder. Thus rescued, Humayun, accompanied by a very small retinue, fled to Calpee, and thence to Agra, (A.D. 1539.) Almost the whole army had been slain or drowned, and the queen, who having been early surrounded it had been the object of his last exertion to release, remained in the hands of the enemy, but was treated with great delicacy and consideration. By some accounts, Sheer Shah

* According to *Ferishta*, the proper country of the Afghans is called Roh, and extends along the Indus; but, subsequent to the introduction of Islam, having settled at Patna on the Ganges, they gradually acquired the appellation of Patans.

† Rumi Khan (originally a Turki slave named Soghrauk, but promoted for his ability, and thus entitled by the Guzerat princes), severely flogged a *negro* slave, and sent him to play the part of a deserter in the fort. The Afghans received him kindly, and suffered him to examine their works, which having done, he returned to his intriguing master.

‡ The three officers returned to the battle and nobly perished in attempting to rescue the queen.

is said to have gained this important victory by treachery, having broken an armistice, which from his character is very probable—but by others it is asserted that he never promised to suspend hostilities, but only contrived to delude his adversary into so doing by delusive negotiations and other pretexts, which war is too generally supposed to justify and even necessitate. On reaching Agra, Humayun found Hindal in open rebellion, and Kamran preparing to take a similar course, but his sudden arrival forced them to come to terms, and the three brothers, after spending eight or nine months in preparation, assembled a fresh army to attack Sheer Shah. Kamran remained to guard Agra while Humayun crossed the Ganges near Canouj by means of a bridge of boats, at the head of 90,000 cavalry, with kettle-drums beating and trumpets sounding. A general action ensued (A.D. 1540), the imperial troops were again utterly routed and driven into the Ganges, and Humayun himself escaped with extreme difficulty. After exchanging his wounded horse for an elephant, he crossed the stream, and was drawn up the steep bank by two fugitive soldiers, who having reached the shore in safety, twisted their turbans together, and threw the ends to his assistance. After this discomfiture, Humayun, with Hindal and Askeri, took refuge in Lahore, where Kamran had previously retreated, but this prince, having made peace with the conqueror by the cession of the Punjaub, retired to Cabool, leaving his unfortunate brother to provide as best he could for his own safety. The succeeding adventures of the royal wanderer would form a fitting pendant to those of the English Stuarts, from the instances of unwavering loyalty, connected with his hair-breadth escapes—while his character as a Mussulman, though far from faultless, will yet well bear comparison with that of the professedly Christian but licentious Charles, or even of the "bonnie Prince," for whom Scottish chivalry and misfortune have combined to win a place in the page of history, which would probably have been very differently filled had the Young Pretender been destined to become a crowned king instead of dying in exile.

After the desertion of Kamran, which was followed by that of Hindal and Askeri, Humayun* sought to obtain the recognition of his authority in Sinde, then ruled by Hussyn, the head of the Arghoon family—but after a year and-a-half wasted in alternate negotiations and hostilities, he found his funds exhausted, and the adventurers who had rallied round his standard dispersed, just as Hussyn approached to venture a decisive conflict. During the previous interval, Humayun, then about three-and-thirty years of age, had married a beautiful girl of fourteen, with whom he had become enamoured at an entertainment prepared for him in the apartments of the mother of Prince Hindal. Carrying with him his young bride Hameida, he fled to Ouch, and thence proceeded to ask the protection of Maldeo, rajah of Marwar, but on reaching Joudpoor, after a toilsome journey over the desert, during which he lost many of his followers from thirst and fatigue,† a new disappointment awaited him in the discovery of the unfriendly disposition of the rajah. The royal fugitive, again driven to seek comparative safety amid the dreary sands, now led his little band towards Amercot, a fort in the desert, not far from the Indus. In this route they experienced yet greater trials than during the one previously taken. Before quitting the inhabited country, the villagers repelled all approaches to their wells, which were to them precious possessions, and it was not without a conflict and bloodshed that the travellers were enabled to slake their burning thirst. After leaving behind the last traces of human culture, their obstacles and difficulties increased ten-fold until, one morning, when faint and weary with a long night march, Humayun, who had remained behind with the females and servants, while the few chiefs marched on at some distance in front, perceived the approach of a considerable body of horse, under the command of the son of Maldeo, and prepared to meet a fate similar to that of the Imaum Hussyn and his ill-fated com-

* These names, like almost all Eastern appellations, have each a distinct signification. Thus, Humayun, means *auspicious*; Kamran, *successful*; Hindal, *Indian*, and Askeri, *born in the camp*.

† At one time they are stated to have travelled twenty-seven hours without finding water, and at the expiration of that time, having at length come upon a well and rivulet, Humayun alighted, and after prostrating himself in gratitude to the Almighty, ordered all the water-bags to be filled, and sent back on his own horses for the use of those who had fallen exhausted by the way, adding at the same time a melancholy but needful command, for the burial of "all the persons who had died from thirst." A very unpleasing anecdote is however related by Jouher, of Humayun's having taken advantage of the thirst of a Mogul merchant who had lent him money, to oblige him to cancel the debt.

panions.* The valour of Sheikh Ali Beg, one of Humayun's bravest and most faithful followers, appears to have warded off the immediate danger, and soon afterwards the Hindoo leader, bearing in his hand a white flag, approached the party, and having represented that they had wilfully done wrong in killing kine in a Hindoo country, and likewise in entering his father's territory without leave, supplied them with water for their immediate relief, and then permitted them to proceed without further molestation. Several weary marches, with intense suffering from thirst, further diminished the small but faithful band, before Humayun with seven mounted horsemen reached Amercot, where the Rana† (Pursaud) welcomed the dethroned monarch with most courteous and generous hospitality. The remainder of the fugitives found refuge within the walls of the fortress on the same day, and thankful indeed must Hameida have been to quit her horse, and find at length an interval of rest. Pursaud offered to assist Humayun in a fresh endeavour to establish himself in Sinde, placing at his service 2,000 horsemen of his own tribe (Rajpoots), and 5,000 cavalry belonging to his allies. These auxiliaries, or a portion of them, were gladly accepted, and Humayun, accompanied by the Rana, with about 100 Moguls, whom he had himself succeeded in assembling, marched towards Tatta. Hameida remained at Amercot, and on the following day gave birth to the celebrated Akber (A.D. 1542). The joyful intelligence was immediately forwarded to Humayun, who unable to practise the munificence customary in the East on these occasions, called for "a china plate," and breaking a pod of musk, distributed it among the chiefs who came to offer their congratulations, saying—"this is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame will I trust be one day expanded all over the world, as the perfume of the musk now fills this apartment." Joon or Jiun (a place not marked on the maps, but supposed to have been situated on a branch of the Indus, half-way between Tatta and Amercot, was captured after an action with the officer in charge, and though harassed by the troops of the Arghoons, Humayun's party held their ground, and were strengthened by the neighbouring princes until they amounted to about 15,000 horse. Hameida and the infant prince (by this time about six weeks old) joined the camp, and all seemed prospering, when Rana Pursaud received an affront from a Mogul, and was so dissatisfied by Humayun's conduct in the matter, that he indignantly quitted Joon, with all his followers and friends. Humayun, thus rendered too weak to contest with Hussyn Arghoon, proceeded to Candahar, but was compelled by his turbulent brothers to escape to Seestan with Hameida, and thence to seek refuge in Persia, the infant Akber falling into the hands of his uncle Mirza Askeri, who showed more kindness on the occasion than might have been expected.

*Afghan tribe of Soor.*—Sheer Shah‡ assumed, as has been shown, the title of king in 1540, and took possession of all Humayun's territories. After commencing the famous fort of Rohtas on the Hydaspes, on which he expended an enormous sum of money, and named after that in Behar, he returned to Agra, and there found employment in subduing the revolt of his own governor of Bengal. He conquered Malwa in the course of the year 1542, and soon afterwards reduced the fort of Raiseen, held by a Hindoo chief. The garrison surrendered on terms, but after they had left the fort, the capitulation was declared void on some quibbling legal pretext, and the Hindoos were attacked and cut to pieces after a brave resistance. Barbarous as the Mohammedans too often showed themselves in India, yet treachery such as this can hardly be paralleled, save in the career of Timur. In 1544, Sheer marched into Marwar, which was desperately defended by rajah Maldeo, who, though able to collect only 50,000 men wherewith to oppose his adversary's powerful army, estimated at 80,000, and probably well-provided with artillery, appears to have at first succeeded in overawing the invader, aided by the natural obstacles offered by the sterility of his

* In the desert of Kerbela, A.D. 680, Hussyn, the son of Ali and Fatima, with seventy-three persons of his family, including his infant child, were cruelly massacred. Several heroic youths, his sons and nephews, perished singly in defending the venerated person of the Imaum; who after a protracted defence at length sunk, mutilated of an arm and covered with wounds, of which thirty-six were counted on his dead body, before it was finally crushed by twenty horsemen, and then left to be devoured by wild beasts. The unfortunate females were thrown across the backs of camels and afterwards stripped and publicly exposed—all these atrocities being committed by Mohammedans. (Price, vol. i. p. 410.)

† The patronymic of the princes of Mewar.

‡ His name was changed from Fureed, to Sheer Khan, or *Lion-knight*, from his slaying a wild beast while hunting with the king of Berar.

territory and the want of water in many parts of it. At length Sheer Shah, always a cunning schemer, contrived to sow division in the hostile camp by the common expedient of letters written on purpose to be intercepted. The rajah's suspicions were raised against some of his chiefs, and he commenced a retreat. One of the suspected leaders, indignant at the imputation, determined, in the true Rajpoot spirit, to give incontestable proof of its injustice, and quitting the army at the head of his own tribe fell with such impetuosity on the enemy, that Sheer Shah with difficulty and severe loss succeeded in repelling the assailants. He was, however, eventually victor here, as also at Chittore; but at Calinjer, to which he laid siege, a striking retribution awaited him. The rajah, warned by the breach of faith committed at Raiseen, refused to enter into any terms with his perfidious foe, and Sheer, while superintending the batteries, was so scorched by the explosion of a magazine struck by the rebound of a shell, that he expired in a few hours, but continued to direct the operations of the siege during his mortal agonies, his last words being an exclamation of pleasure at learning that the place was taken.

This ambitious, cruel, and vindictive man, nevertheless evinced considerable ability in civil government, and, happily for the subjects of his usurped authority, seems to have recognised the promotion of their welfare as his best means of security. He caused a high road to be constructed, extending from Bengal to the western Rohtas, near the Indus, a distance of about 3,000 miles, with caravanserais at every stage, all furnished with provisions for the poor, and attendance of proper casts for Hindoos as well as Mussulmans. An Imaum (priest) and Muezzin (crier to call to prayers) were placed at the numerous mosques erected on the route; wells were dug at distances of a mile and-a-half, and the whole way planted with fruit-trees for refreshment and shade. Sheer Shah was buried in a stately mausoleum still standing at Sahseram, placed in the centre of an artificial piece of water, a mile in circumference, which is faced by walls of cut stone, with flights of steps descending to the water. Previous to his death, his eldest son had been the recognised heir to the throne, but being a prince of feeble character was supplanted by his brother, who reigned for nine years, under the title of Selim Shah. On his decease, A.D. 1553, his son, a boy of twelve years old, was murdered by his uncle, who seized the throne under the name of Mohammed Adili,* but was prevented from using the powers of a ruler by natural incapacity, increased by habits of the most odious debauchery. His extravagance speedily emptied the royal coffers, upon which he resumed the governments and jaghires† of the nobles and bestowed them on the lowest of his creatures. The proud Afghans, stung even more by the insulting bearing of their unworthy ruler than by the injuries they suffered at his hand, fled in numbers, and raised the standard of revolt at Chunar. Meanwhile, the person of the king was protected and his authority upheld by the exertions of Hemu, his chief minister, a Hindoo of mean appearance and low origin, who had formerly belonged to the very lowest class of small shopkeepers, as a retailer of salt, but who had been gradually raised to power by the late king, and now displayed a degree of zeal and ability, which would have honoured a better cause. From some weakness or personal defect Hemu was unable to sit on horseback, but he directed all military operations, and fought with unfailing intrepidity from his litter mounted on an elephant. Not the least extraordinary part of his history is the manner in which he succeeded in reconciling such of the haughty Afghans and unruly Moguls as still remained with Adili, to his authority; this he appears to have done chiefly by the munificence with which he distributed whatever treasure or revenue came into his hands—for his objects and motives, though scarcely indicated in the contemptuous and calumnious mention made of "this swarthy upstart" by Mussulman historians, unquestionably soared far above the mere accumulation of wealth. Delhi and Agra were seized on by Ibrahim Soor, a member of the reigning family, who attempted to assume the supreme authority under the name of Ibrahim III., but was opposed by Hemu, and also by Secander Soor, another relative of Adili's, who caused himself to be proclaimed king in the Punjaub. Ibrahim was defeated first by Secander and then by Hemu. The adventurous minister next marched towards Bengal, to

* This wretch, known before his usurpation as Moobariz Khan, is alleged to have dragged the prince from his mother's arms, that mother being his own sister and tried friend. (*Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 142.)

† The revenues of certain lands granted by the king, sometimes in perpetuity but generally revocable at pleasure, and on military tenure.

oppose the governor, Mohammed Soor, who had assumed the rank of an independent ruler. Hemu was again victorious, this new adversary being defeated and slain; but struggles in other quarters still continued, and a more formidable foe than any yet dealt with, arose in the person of the dethroned Humayun, who had gradually re-established himself in the Punjaub, where Secander, who had occupied Agra and Delhi on the defeat of Ibrahim, now marched for his expulsion. Before narrating the success of Humayun and Akber, and the fate of Ibrahim and of Hemu and Adili, it is necessary to revert to previous events and sketch the chain of circumstances which ended in the restoration of the exiled monarch.

*House of Timur restored.*—Humayun entered Persia in much uncertainty regarding the reception he should receive from Shah Tahmasp, the son and successor of Shah Ismael, the first of the Saffavi or Sophi kings. Though both were zealous Mohammedans, they belonged to distinct sects, characterised by a degree of mutual animosity, for which the difference of opinion existing between them on doctrinal points far less than those which divide the churches of England and Rome, is quite insufficient to account.—(*See* note to p. 62). Shah Tahmasp was a strenuous advocate of the Sheiah doctrine, which had been widely disseminated through Persia by the instrumentality of his ancestors, dervises much famed for sanctity, while Humayun was a Sonnite, and this was doubtless one cause of the want of cordiality which marked the private intercourse of the two monarchs, whose connexion was really, on both sides, an interested one. At first Humayun seems to have been inclined to put in practice his cherished desire of ceasing, at least for a time, the weary struggle for power, in which he had been so long engaged, and proceeding on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but his faithful followers urgently dissuaded him from this project, pleading the disastrous results it would have on the fortunes of Akber. The reception met with in Persia successfully seconded their arguments—the governors of each province received him with regal honours, the people came out to bid him welcome, and palaces were prepared for his accommodation at Cazvin and elsewhere. But the splendour with which the Persian despot thought proper to gild the fallen majesty of his unfortunate compeer, was unaccompanied by a single ray of true sympathy; for many months Humayun was not suffered to appear before the Shah, and his brave-hearted envoy, Behram Beg, was harshly treated for refusing to wear the peculiar-shaped cap,* from which the Persians have acquired the title of Kuzilbash (*Red-heads*), in allusion to its colour, and which was expressly designed for a sectarian symbol. Behram urged that he was the servant of another prince, and not at liberty to act without orders. He persisted in declining to assume this badge, unawed by the displeasure of Tahmasp, who strove to intimidate the refractory ambassador, by the summary execution of some prisoners brought before him for the purpose. This incident was a sufficiently significant prelude to the long-delayed interview, during which Tahmasp affected to receive Humayun as his equal, but in reality took ungenerous advantage of his defenceless position, by compelling him, by means of threats affecting life itself, to assume the obnoxious cap. Nor even after this concession could Tahmasp resist taunting his guest with having, during his prosperity, when practising the favourite Arabian form of divination by arrows, to discover the destiny of reigning princes, placed the name of the king of Persia in a rank inferior to his own. Humayun frankly acknowledged that he had done so, and gently urged in justification his hereditary rank as Padshah† or Emperor of India, whereupon Tahmasp broke out into violent and unjust invective against the arrogance which had rendered him a fugitive, and thrown his female relatives and infant heir into the hands of enemies.

Notwithstanding the humiliations suffered in private from what he justly termed "the meanness of this Persian monarch," Humayun continued to receive every outward mark of unbounded munificence in the festivals prepared in his honour, especially the military diversion of great circular hunts, so famous in the annals of Timur. All the expenses thus incurred are however said to

* The cap which Humayun so reluctantly assumed was that called *Taji Hyder*, in honour of Hyder, the father of Shah Ismael, by whom it was first adopted. It consisted of a tiara of crimson silk, richly ornamented with gold and jewels, of a high conical shape and divided into twelve segments, in honour of the twelve Imaums, from whom the reigning family claimed descent.

† This title was exclusively assumed by the dynasty of the Great Mogul.

have been repaid two-fold by the gift of a few rich gems, which the exiled monarch had brought with him from Hindoostan. One of these was a diamond, which the jewellers of Tahmasp declared to be above all price, it was perhaps that obtained at Agra, and there estimated in a somewhat indefinite manner as equal in value "to the purchase of a day's subsistence for one-half the inhabitants of the terrestrial globe." Behram Beg, the bearer of this costly offering, was dignified by the title of Khan, and another officer with that of Sultan, but it was not without far heavier sacrifices that the assistance, from the first promised to their sovereign, was at length afforded. He was compelled to sign a paper, the contents of which, though not precisely stated, involved a pledge, in the event of success in regaining the sceptre of Baber, to cede to Persia the province or kingdom of Candahar, and likewise to introduce among the Mussulmans of India the profession of the Sheiahs in opposition to that of the Sonnites. Orders were then given for the assemblage of 14,000 horse in Seestan, under the command of Murad Mirza, the son of Tahmasp, and after some more bickering the monarchs parted, and Humayun proceeded again to try his fortune in war, his private forces amounting only to about 700 men. At this period (1545) Sheer Shah was still alive, Kamran swayed Cabool, and his younger brothers, after the settlement of their private quarrels, received appointments under him; Hindal being governor of Ghuznee, and Askeri of Candahar, which latter place was attacked by Humayun and captured after a siege of five months. Askeri was taken and kept in close captivity for the next three years. The fort and treasures were made over to the Persians, on which the greater part of them returned home, leaving a garrison under Murad Mirza. According to Abul Fazil* the conduct of the Persians to the inhabitants was so cruelly oppressive as to justify Humayun, on the sudden death of Murad, in treacherously seizing the fortress; his troops obtaining entrance thereto on the plausible pretext of placing Askeri in charge of the Persian governor. Some of the garrison offered resistance on discovering what was really intended, but their opposition was soon silenced in death, and the remainder were suffered to return to Persia. From Candahar, Humayun marched to Cabool, of which he took possession without a struggle, for Kamran, finding himself deserted by Hindal and many other chiefs who had gone over to the now successful brother, had sought refuge in Sinde. With Cabool, Humayun recovered Akber, then between two and three years of age, but both the city and the young prince were subsequently re-captured by Kamran, who long held his ground against all attempts for his expulsion. Prisoners taken during this siege were slain in cold blood by the assailants, and treated with yet greater barbarity by Kamran, who threatened, if the firing were not discontinued, to expose Akber on the walls. Eventually, being unable to continue the contest, he escaped by night, and by the aid of the Uzbeks again made head against his brother for about eighteen months, but was, at the expiration of that time, compelled to surrender. Humayun behaved on this occasion very nobly, treated Kamran with great kindness, released Askeri, and, accompanied by Hindal, sat down with them at a feast. The four brothers having eaten salt† together, seemed for the time entirely reconciled, but during Humayun's subsequent absence in Transoxiana, the conquest of which he had resolved on attempting, Kamran once more rebelled, and after many vicissitudes, (during which Cabool and the young prince were again lost and won, and Hindal fell in the cause of Humayun,) was finally betrayed by the sultan of the Gukkurs, with whom he had taken refuge, into the hands of his much-injured brother. Some chiefs, whose wives and children had been savagely disgraced and murdered by order of Kamran during the siege of Cabool in 1547, now loudly urged that his life should pay the forfeit of his crimes. This Humayun steadfastly refused,

* Abul Fazil, the famous minister of Akber, recorded the leading events of the reigns of this sovereign and his father in an heroic poem comprising 110,000 couplets, from which Ferishta has borrowed largely. Although a man of extraordinary ability, he was, unfortunately for the students of history, an accomplished courtier and professed rhetorician, delighting in the cumbrous and inflated style still in vogue in India. His account of important events is therefore often unsatisfactory, and, unless carefully weighed, misleading; but, notwithstanding their defects, his works (the *Akber Namah* and *Ayeen Akbery*) afford information not to be obtained elsewhere.

† In the east it is regarded as peculiarly infamous for either the giver or receiver of the lowest description of hospitality, to practice hostility against one another. Thus, salt, which forms an ingredient of the most sumptuous or humble meal has become a type and pledge of good faith.

but consented to allow him to be blinded, the barbarous method commonly resorted to in the East, to crush ambitious pretenders to that uneasy seat—the throne of a despot. The cruel operation was usually performed by means of a searing instrument, called a fire-pencil, held against the visual nerve until it was annihilated, or by means of antimony; but in this case, perhaps from the fact of several state prisoners condemned in late reigns to a similar fate having escaped its completion—a lancet was employed, and after many wounds had been inflicted, without drawing a groan, lemon-juice and salt were at last squeezed into the sightless orbs of the wretched sufferer, who then exclaimed in uncontrollable agony—"O Lord my God! whatever sins I have committed have been amply punished in this world, have compassion on me in the next." Humayun shortly afterwards went to visit his unhappy brother, and wept long and bitterly while Kamran confessed the justice of his punishment, and asked leave to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca. This he was suffered to do, and died in that place in 1557. Askeri, who had likewise returned to the course of rebellion after having repeatedly abjured it, had been previously captured, but was only punished by imprisonment, from which he also was released, for the purpose of proceeding to Mecca, and died on his way thither. Thus delivered from the difficulties in which the turbulence and disunion of his brothers had involved him during so long a period, Humayun began to take advantage of the unsettled state in which the death of Selim Shah and the misgovernment of his successor had involved the territories conquered by Baber, which had gradually, as has been shown, been parted by various usurpations into five distinct states, whose rulers were at variance with one another. In January, 1555, he started from Cabool with 15,000 horse, obtained possession of Lahore, and subsequently engaged Secander, who being defeated fled to the mountains near the Himalaya, leaving Humayun to occupy Delhi and Agra. The portion of his original dominions thus at length regained, after sixteen years of strife and banishment, had been enjoyed by Humayun less than six months, when an accident occurred which produced fatal results. The monarch had ascended the terrace at the top of his library to enjoy the cool evening air, and give orders respecting the attendance of astronomers to note the rising of Venus, which was to be the signal for the announcement of a general promotion among the nobility and officers. While preparing to descend the steep and highly-polished stairs, protected only by an ornamental parapet a foot high, a muezzin or crier announced the hour of prayer from the minarets of the adjoining mosque, where the people being assembled had just offered the monarch the usual *kornesh* or salutation. Humayun, intending to repeat the customary formula, attempted to seat himself on the spot, but his foot becoming entangled in the folds of his robe, he fell headlong down the steps, receiving a contusion on the right temple, of which he died, aged somewhat less than forty-nine years.

Historians agree in according him high rank as a benevolent, forgiving, and munificent prince, intrepid in the hour of danger, patient in adversity, moderate in prosperity, and skilled in literature, mathematics, geography, astronomy, and the mechanical sciences. These varied gifts, united to a naturally easy temper, pleasing person, and courteous demeanour, rendered his society so delightful that Baber used often to declare Humayun to be without an equal as a companion. Procrastination and indecision were his characteristic failings; these may be easily traced to the frequent and intoxicating use of opium, a vice whose degrading influences were heightened by the peculiar defects of his religious creed. Perhaps no single character, when carefully weighed would afford an inquirer into the effects of Mohammedanism on individuals more striking evidence than that of Humayun. His conduct repeatedly affords evidence of the want of a steady principle of action, directing even the passing thoughts of the mind, and marking with a broad line the difference between right and wrong. Notwithstanding the false notions of expediency which led him to commit, or at least sanction, crimes from which a naturally gentle and easy disposition must have revolted, it has been said that "had he been a worse man he would have been a greater monarch." The remark sounds strangely, but it is to be hoped that young students of history will not forget that all Christendom concurs in invoking the same just, merciful and omnipotent Ruler to give wisdom to senators and prosperity to nations—therefore any description of greatness, inconsistent with the goodness inculcated in the Gospel, ought simply to excite abhorrence

and reprobation. Most assuredly the man who, in an unrighteous cause, has made mothers childless, and widowed happy wives, desolated cultivated lands and spread famine and pestilence in his train, has attained in the sight of his Creator a pre-eminence in crime little in accordance with the idea commonly attached to the word greatness. Some ray of light, breaking through the dense clouds in which the teaching of the False Prophet had involved the purposes and results of war, beamed on the mind of Humayun, when not many days before his death he prayed, "Lord, ennoble me with the knowledge of thy truth;" and described himself as "sorely afflicted by the perplexities of a troubled mind." The faith of Islam and its innumerable observances had thus utterly failed to enlighten or sustain even a follower, so diligent in their observance, that a sentiment of deep reverence had all his life long preserved him from so much as uttering the name of his Creator with unwashen hands.*

A new epoch is formed by the reign of Akber, since by him India was consolidated into one formidable empire, by the absorption of the various small kingdoms which had sprung up during the reign of Mohammed Toghlak, as also by the annexation of numerous Hindoo principalities, which Akber obtained far less by force than by the favours and distinctions which he invariably bestowed on the native rulers so soon as they consented to recognize his supremacy, without regard to their religious opinions. Before proceeding further, the origin and condition of these states must be shown, as the reader may probably need this knowledge for subsequent reference.

---

The *Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan* was founded by an Afghan, born in the lowest condition at Delhi, and servant to a Brahmin astrologer, named Gungoo, much favoured by Mohammed Toghlak. In consideration of his good conduct, Gungoo gave Hussun a pair of oxen, and permitted him to till a piece of land for his own sustenance. While ploughing, Hussun discovered a copper casket filled with ancient gold coins, which he carried to his master, who, in return, used his utmost influence at court, and succeeded in rewarding the honesty of Hussun by obtaining for him an appointment and jaghire in the Deccan, under the governor of Doulatabad. Some time afterwards, the officers of the Deccan, by refusing to surrender some fugitive chiefs from Guzerat, incurred the displeasure of Mohammed Toghlak, and fearing to fall into the hands of this cruel despot, broke into open rebellion. On the establishment of their independence Hussun was chosen as king, A.D. 1347, and the capital fixed at Culbarga, whence it was subsequently removed to Beder or Bidr. Hussun, on assuming the regal honours of the mosque and mint,† took the name of Ala-oo-deen, adding thereto Gungoo Bahmani (Brahmin), in honour of his early benefactor, whom he sent for and made treasurer; and the succeeding princes of the Deccan followed this example by generally committing to Brahmins the charge of the revenues. Notwithstanding the close connection between the first Bahmani king and his Hindoo patron, his son and successor, Mohammed I., proved a sanguinary foe to that people. "It is computed," says Ferishta, "that in his reign [of seventeen years] nearly 500,000 unbelievers fell by the swords of Islam, by which the population of the Carnatic was so reduced that it did not recover for several ages."‡ This destruction was accomplished by indiscriminate slaughter, without regard to sex or age, a proceeding at length stopped by the remonstrances of the Hindoo ambassadors, who urged that since the princes of the Deccan and of the Carnatic might long remain neighbours, it was advisable that a treaty should be made, binding both parties to refrain from taking the life of the helpless and unarmed. From this time, it is asserted, that the conquered were no longer slain in cold blood during the hostilities carried on by the Bahmanis against the neighbouring states, and especially the new monarchy of Beejanuggur, throughout the whole period of their existence, excepting the reign of Mahmood Shah I., who, for nearly twenty years (A.D. 1378 to 1397), by rectitude and discretion, preserved his subjects alike from foreign and domestic strife.§ Although in these conflicts many thousand Moham-

* Price, from *Abul Fazil*, vol. iii., p. 944.

† The *Khotbah* is the public prayer for the reigning king; *Sicca* the royal right of stamping coin.

‡ By the Carnatic is here meant the country where the Canarese language prevails, south of a line drawn between Colapoor and Beder. It must be remembered that this tract continued, up to the time of the Mohammedan writer to be devastated by almost incessant wars.

§ The proceedings of Mahmood Shah I. occupy but a few pages in Ferishta's history, far less than are often given to the details of a single campaign, but quite enough is said to make the reader solicitous to learn more respecting this truly great and gifted mo-

medans, in the fantastic and fanatical language of their historians, "tasted the sherbet of martyrdom," they were on the whole gainers. In 1421, Ahmed Shah took permanent possession of Warangol, and compelled the rajah of Telingana to relinquish his ancient capital. In 1471, Mohammed II. concluded a struggle of more than forty years' duration, in which much life and treasure had been wasted, by the partial conquest of the Concan,* and in 1477 completed the subjugation of Rajahmundry and Masulipatam. Notwithstanding these successes, Mohammed was rendered infamous, even in the eyes of his fellow-believers, by the slaughter of some Brahmins whom he found officiating in an idolatrous temple at Condapilli, and to this ungrateful outrage on the Order, by whom his ancestor had been first brought to notice, was popularly attributed the downfall of the Bahmani dynasty. Soon after this, the king, while flushed with wine, was induced, by a forged letter, to sanction the immediate execution of his faithful minister, Mahmood Gawan, then in the seventy-eighth year of his age. By so doing, he sealed the fate of his house, whose power was speedily absorbed in the whirlpool of strife raised by the two factions into which the troops had become divided. *The first* consisted of Mogul converts, to whom were gradually added Persians and Turks, Georgians, Circassians, Calmucks, and other Tartars, who were for the most part of the Sheiah sect; *the second*, or native troops, called Deccanies, were Sonnites, and were always joined by the Abyssinian mercenaries, who came in numbers by the seaports on the western coast.†

The late minister was a Sonnite, and although just and kind to both sects, this circumstance afforded a pretext to Nizam-ul-Moolk Behri, the son of a converted Hindoo, and the leader of the opposite party, for gratifying his ambition. Having succeeded in procuring the death of Gawan, he obtained also his much-coveted office, through the fears of the king, who, on learning the base plot by which he had been deceived, openly bewailed his rash credulity, but made no attempt to bring the conspirators to justice. A low fever, brought

narch. We are told that he was "naturally of a disposition wise, merciful, and just, and his judgment in all affairs of state was usually correct." * * * "During his reign no disturbances occurred in the kingdom, nor did any relaxation take place in the energy of the government." The praise is coldly given, but in the present day the character of a ruler in whom firmness and mildness were so admirably balanced will be regarded in a very different light to that in which it was likely to be viewed by a Mohammedan, who regarded the title of *Ghazi* (the holy warrior), bestowed on the blood-thirsty Mohammed, as the most desirable of distinctions. Indeed the virtues of Mahmood Shah I. savoured little of the morality of the Koran. He had but one wife, wore plain white robes, and was equally simple and unpretending in all his habits. As a youth he is said to have delighted in gaudy attire, but on acceding to the throne he declared that he looked upon kings as only trustees of the state, and thenceforth observed in his personal expenses remarkable moderation. A famine occurring during his reign, he employed 10,000 bullocks, at his private expense, in going to and from Malwa and Guzerat for grain, which was distributed to the people at a cheap rate. He established orphan schools at the cities of Culbarga, Beder, Cand'har, Elikpoor, Doulatabad, and in several other great towns, with ample foundations for their support, apportioned stipends to the expounders of the Scriptures, and gave monthly charity to the blind throughout his dominions. The fame of his learning and munificence is said to have reached the ears of Hafiz, the poet of Shiraz, who resolved to visit the Deccan. An assurance of an honourable reception was sent by the king, accompanied by a present, which, according to Ferishta, the poet distributed among his relations and creditors, and then put himself on board one of the royal vessels which had arrived at Ormus, but the anchor was scarcely weighed before a heavy gale arose, and the ship was compelled to return to port. Hafiz had suffered so much during the storm that he insisted on being put ashore, sending to Mahmood Shah a copy of verses, in which he frankly confessed the reason of his change of mind—

"The glare of gems confused my sight,
The ocean's roar I ne'er had heard."

Unhappily, the line of Bahmani presents an instance of a monarch exactly opposite to Mahmood Shah I. Humayun the Cruel was one of those monsters who seem possessed by a demoniac desire to cause and witness suffering. His own brother he ordered to be devoured by a tiger, before his eyes; and the tortures inflicted by his command, and in his presence, were often too shocking to be narrated. On one occasion, after an unsuccessful rebellion, 7,000 persons, including unoffending females and servants, perished by such agonizing deaths as hewing to pieces with hatchets, and flaying in cauldrons of scalding oil or boiling water. After reigning three years this tyrant, during a fit of intoxication, was assassinated by his own servants.—Briggs' *Ferishta*.

* The sufferings of the Moslems in the Concan are very graphically told by Ferishta, who describes their "wandering through gloomy defiles, where the very grass was tough and sharp as the fangs of serpents, and the air fetid as the breath of dragons. Death dwelt in the waters, poison impregnated the breeze." On one occasion, having halted at night, in a spot so rugged as to prevent two tents being pitched side by side, no less than 7,000 of the invaders were surprised and put to death by the Hindoos, the fierce gusts of wind rushing through the trees, preventing the cries of the first sufferers being heard by their companions.—Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii., p. 430.

† The influx of Arabians appears to have been very small, but it is difficult to conjecture the reason.

on by grief and remorse, was aggravated by intoxication, and he expired in strong convulsions, crying out that Gawan was tearing him to pieces. The date of his death, A.D. 1482, is recorded in the Persian characters (applied numerically) which express "the ruin of the Deccan." Mahmood Shah II. next ascended the throne. Being but twelve years old and of limited ability, he naturally became a mere puppet in the hands of the grasping nobles, who, though for a time disposed to co-operate for their own advantage, soon broke out into new hostilities. Behri, for some years, maintained his ascendancy over the young king, and Yusuf Adil Shah, the leader of the foreign party, withdrew to his government of Beejapoor, which he formed into an independent state. Behri, when old and defenceless, was strangled at the instigation of the king, who then gave himself up to every species of excess, leaving the public affairs in the hands of the leaders of the foreign party. The Deccanies and Abyssinians conspired for his destruction, and having surprised the palace during one of the ordinary scenes of midnight revelry, would have succeeded in their object, but for the loyalty of some half-dozen of his body-guard, who, though unarmed, threw themselves between him and the assassins, and by the sacrifice of their own lives, enabled the king to escape to the terrace of the royal tower, where he was joined by the foreign troops. Mahmood, mounting his throne at sunrise on the following day, gave orders that the houses of the Deccanies should be broken open, the inhabitants slain without distinction, and their property seized by the triumphant Moguls,* who gladly gave vent to the savage fury which they had nursed for years; and all the horrors of a successful siege, heightened by the envenomed bitterness of intestine broils, raged for three days through the stately city of Beder. Strife and cruelty naturally brought licentiousness and disorder in their train. "The people, following the example of their prince, attended to nothing but dissipation: reverend sages pawned their very garments at the wine-cellars, and holy teachers, quitting their colleges, retired to taverns and presided over the wine-flask."† The governors of frontier provinces took advantage of this state of affairs, each one to claim as his own the territories entrusted to his charge. Ahmednuggur, Golconda and Berar became distinct principalities, until at length there remained to the nominal king of the Deccan no more than the province of Telingana and the districts adjacent to Beder. Even there he had no real sway, being wholly in the hands of Kasim Bareed, who had assumed the reins of government after the failure of the Deccani plot, and in revenge for Mahmood's attempts to get rid of him, as he had previously done of Behri, by the hand of an assassin, ruled him so tyranically, as to forbid him "even to satisfy his thirst, without permission." On the death of Kasim, his son, Ameer Bareed, succeeded him in the office of Vakeel,‡ and after regaining the person of the king, who had in vain endeavoured to assert his rights, confined him closely, until his death, in 1518, terminated a nominal reign of thirty-seven years. The two years' equally nominal sway of Ahmed, the son and successor of Mahmood, being ended by his decease, Ameer Bareed raised to the throne a prince entitled Ala-oo-deen II., who, rejecting all allurements to the excesses by which the energies of his predecessors had been destroyed, attempted to out-manœuvre the wary minister, but having failed in an attempt to seize his person, was himself made prisoner and put to death. His successor, also a son of Mahmood Shah II., met with a similar fate; for Ameer Bareed having conceived a passion for his wife, caused him to be poisoned, married the queen, and bestowed the empty title of Shah on another Bahmani prince, who, having subsequently incurred his displeasure, by making a private and unsuccessful appeal to Baber, the new emperor of India, then fully engaged in hostilities with the kings of Malwa and Guzerat, was so harshly treated, that, escaping from his palace-prison, he took refuge at Ahmednuggur, and there resided till his death. Thus ended the Bahmani line. Bareed Shah ascended the throne of Beder, and founded a dynasty, which reigned over the fifth of the kingdoms (Beejapoor, Ahmednuggur, Golconda, and Berar), formed from that called the Deccan, but not with geographical accuracy, since Hindoo states, independent and even antagonistic, existed in

* This term must be here understood in the loose sense in which it was then used, as synonymous with the whole foreign or Sheiah party.

† Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii., p. 535.

‡ The Vakeel or Representative was then the first person in the kingdom, his business being to issue all orders from the royal closet to the vizier and other executive officers.—(Dow's *Hindoostan*, vol. i. p. 202.)

various parts of the territory commonly comprehended in that term. During the above period* of two centuries, relations of a domestic character had gradually arisen between the Moslems and Hindoos. Feroze Shah, who began to reign in 1397, made it an article of a peace with the rajah of Beejanuggur, that he should give him his daughter in marriage. This stipulation perhaps contributed to the blending of the two people, though it originated in the ungoverned passions of a king, who received into his harem 300 females in one day, being convinced, by the reasoning of the Sheiahs, that this proceeding was in perfect accordance with the spirit of the Koran, against whose doctrines his sole offences are said to have been an addiction to wine and music. These foibles would weigh lightly enough in the judgment of a Mussulman against a king who earned the coveted name of *Ghazi*, by the unbounded zeal for Islam evinced during "four and twenty glorious campaigns, by the success of which he greatly enlarged his dominions." In reality, the religious feelings of both Moslems and Hindoos had deteriorated, and the conscientious scruples of the former people became frequently little better than a superstitious regard to certain forms.

Thus the very men, who, for the sake of gain, entered the service of the rajah of Beejanuggur, to fight against their fellow-believers, cavilled at the idea of making the obeisance required as a pledge of fealty to an idolator, but gladly availed themselves of the miserable pretext of having a Koran placed before the throne and bending thereto, it being understood that the rajah would appropriate the homage as offered to his person, and in return, assign lands for the support of his new auxiliaries, and build a mosque at his capital for their encouragement.

The early Bahmani kings lived in great pomp. Mohammed Shah I. had 3,000 elephants, a favourite evidence of regal splendour.† He obtained from the rajah of Telingana a throne six cubits long by two broad, of ebony, covered with plates of pure gold and inlaid with gems, to which additions were made in successive reigns, until the whole attained the value of a crore of hoons (£4,000,000 sterling), when it was broken up by Mahmood Shah II., who took it to pieces to make vases and goblets. Some terrible famines are recorded at intervals, occasioned, according to Ferishta, by the absence of the periodical rains, but more likely by the slaughter and oppressive exactions of the Mohammedans. During one of these visitations, about A.D. 1474, no grain was sown in Telingana, Maharashtra, and throughout the Bahmani dominions for two years, and on the third, scarcely any farmers remained to cultivate the land, having for the most part perished or emigrated to Malwa and Guzerat.

*Adil Shah dynasty at Beejapoor.*—The first king of this line, Yusuf Adil Shah, reigned from A.D. 1489 to 1510. A romantic story is related of his royal descent. He is said to have been a son of the Ottoman emperor Amurath, at whose death he escaped destruction by the contrivance of his mother, who had him conveyed to Persia, from whence, at the age of sixteen, he was compelled to fly, by the suspicions entertained regarding his birth, was captured, and sold at the Bahmani court as a Georgian slave. He rose, according to the course of Mameluk adventurers, until he became the governor of Beejapoor, and then, by one of the acts of flagrant disloyalty so common at the period, took the first opportunity of declaring himself an irresponsible prince. From that time he was occupied in hostilities with Kasim Bareed of Beder, and other neighbouring chiefs, who were also endeavouring to form independent principalities; but his most formidable foe was the Hindoo rajah of Beejanuggur. With the new rulers of Ahmednuggur and Berar, Yusuf entered into a sort of partition treaty, by which he recognised them in their unlawful seizures, and they him in the possession of the country bounded by the Beema and Kishna rivers on the east, the Tumbuddra river on the south, the sea from near Goa to near Bombay on the west, and perhaps the Neera river on the north.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, the fourth king, A.D. 1535, formed an alliance with Bhoj Tirmul, (who had obtained the throne of Beejanuggur by the murder of its young occupant, his

* Ferishta makes some remarkable statements respecting the use of artillery in the Deccan. For instance, he asserts, that in 1368, (22 years after their alleged employment by Edward III. at Cressy) 300 gun carriages were among the spoil captured from the Rajah of Beejanuggur; and the Moslems, by the aid of Turks and Europeans, are said to have used artillery for the first time in the following campaign. There can be little doubt that guns were common in India before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498.

† The king in return signed a treaty pledging his successors to forbear further encroachment on the territory of the Telingana rajahs, which, as might be expected, did not prevent its entire seizure.

own nephew), against Rama Rajah, the regent and brother-in-law of the late sovereign. Ibrahim sent an army to the assistance of Bhoj Tirmul, who, in return, paid down fifty lacks of hoons* (£2,000,000 sterling), and promised to acknowledge himself tributary. No sooner had the foreign troops quitted Beejapoor, than Rama Rajah, breaking, it is alleged, a promise of allegiance which had been extorted from him, surprised the city. Bhoj Tirmul, mad with rage and despair, shut himself up in the palace, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, collected together, in one glittering heap, the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, and other gems, amassed during many ages, and caused them to be crushed to powder between mill-stones; then, fixing a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, rushed upon it just as the palace-gates were opened to his enemies. Rama Rajah became the undisputed master of Beejanuggur, and Ibrahim, after having received from his predecessor so large a bribe to take the field against him, now stooped to the humiliation of soliciting, with a costly present, the aid of Rama against a brave chief, Seif Einool-Moolk, driven into rebellion by his own suspicious tyranny. The required assistance was sent under the guidance of Venkatadri, the Rajah's brother. Ibrahim died soon after, of a complication of disorders brought on by the most abandoned conduct, having first caused several physicians to be beheaded and trodden to death by elephants for failing to cure him, upon which the rest fled for their lives, leaving him to perish unheeded. His successor, Ali,† entered into a new alliance with Rama Rajah, and the two monarchs having, at the request of the former, united their forces, jointly invaded the territory of Nizam Shah, and, says Ferishta, "laid it waste so thoroughly, that from Purenda to Joonere, and from Ahmednuggur to Doulatabad, not a vestige of population was left." Ali at length became "scandalised by the behaviour of his Hindoo allies," and alarmed at the growing strength and haughtiness of Rama; therefore, after receiving the full benefit of his power, while continuing every outward mark of friendship, he made a secret league with his late enemy, Nizam Shah, and with the kings of Beder and Golconda, "to crush the common enemy of Islam." A decisive battle took place on the Kishna, near Talicot, the Hindoos commencing the attack by vast flights of rockets and rapid discharges of artillery. A general engagement followed, in which, after great numbers had been slain on both sides, the Moslems were victorious, aided by the treachery of two Mohammedan chiefs in the pay of the rajah. Rama, although seventy years of age, gave orders from his elephant throughout, but was at last captured, and brought into the presence of Nizam Shah, by whose orders his head was struck off and stuck upon a pole. It is no small proof, either of the barbarity of the conquerors or the dread which their victim must have inspired, that the head of the brave old man should have been annually exhibited at Ahmednuggur for more than two centuries and a half, covered with oil and red pigment, by the descendants of his executioners, while a sculptured representation of it was made to serve as the opening of one of the sewers of the citadel of Beejapoor.

Thus ended the monarchy of Beejanuggur, which at that time comprehended the greater part of the south of India. The city of that name was destroyed, and is now uninhabited; the country fell into the hands of the tributary chiefs and officers, since so well known as zemindars or poligars; but the confederate kings were prevented by their mutual jealousies from gaining any great addition of territory, the balance of power being pretty evenly maintained among them, until all were overwhelmed by Akber. Venkatadri, the brother of the late rajah, removed his residence further east, and finally settled at Chandragiri, seventy miles north-west of Madras, at which last place his descendant first granted a settlement to the English, A.D. 1640. The wars between the Adil Shah dynasty and the Portuguese settlers are very slightly mentioned by the native historians; they state little more than that Goa was lost under Yusuf, retaken by that king, lost again under his son Ismael

* The *hoon* varies in value from 3½ to 4 rupees—eight shillings sterling may be taken as the average.

† This monarch (whose death by the hand of a eunuch shamefully insulted by him, has rendered his name infamous) greatly improved the capital by constructing the city wall and the aqueducts which still convey water through every street. Mention is made of his receiving tribute from several petty principalities, the government of which was hereditarily vested in females, who ruled with the title of *Ranies*, their husbands having no power in the state. Colonel Briggs remarks upon this statement of Ferishta, that "the gynecocracy of the Ranies of Malabar and Canara seems to have suffered no alteration from the period alluded to, to the present day."—*Note* to *Ferishta*, vol. iii. p. 140.

(alluding to the second capture by Albuquerque, in 1510), and attacked simultaneously with Choul, in 1570, by the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur, who were both repulsed.

The reigns of the early Beejapoor kings were marked by fierce sectarian strife, for Yusuf had imbibed in Persia a strong attachment to the Sheiah doctrines and ceremonial, which he endeavoured to introduce in his dominions, but was compelled to renounce the attempt by the displeasure of his subjects and the combination formed against him by all the other Mohammedan sovereigns. The same division prevailed among the troops as that previously described as existing under the Bahmani dynasty, and according to the opinion of the king or his chief ministers, the Deccanies (including Hindoos), or the foreigners, were uppermost. After the extinction of their native rulers, the Hindoos formed the chief part of the infantry of most of the Moslem governments, and appear to have been well paid* and entirely relied upon. Yusuf is said to have given a command of 12,000 infantry to a Mahratta chief,† and Ismael raised "a vast number" of Mahratta cavalry, under the name of Bergies, who, for an annual subsidy, engaged to appear fully equipped whenever their services were required. Ibrahim, the fourth king, caused the public accounts to be kept in the Mahratta language instead of the Persian, a very politic and almost necessary measure, since the village accountants and the revenue and finance officers were for the most part Hindoos. Ibrahim II., who acceded to the throne of Beejapoor, A.D. 1579, was cotemporary with Akber, and will be again mentioned.

*Nizam Shah dynasty at Ahmednuggur.*—Ahmed, the first of these kings, began to reign A.D. 1490, having, as before stated, on the assassination of his father, Nizam-ool-Moolk Behri, assumed the title of Shah, and made Ahmednuggur his capital. Not only tolerance, but great favour was shown to the Hindoos by this monarch and his successor, Boorhan, who appointed a Brahmin, named Kawar Sein, Peshwa or prime minister, and had every reason to rejoice in the selection. In fact, these kings appear to have been proud of their Brahminical descent, and frequent wars took place between them and the Berar sovereigns, for the possession of the village of Patree, situate just within the Berar territory, where the ancestors of the Nizam Shah family had held the office of *coolcurny* or hereditary village accountant. It was, however, by the orders of Hussun, the third king of this dynasty, that Rama Rajah was beheaded, in revenge for the humiliations previously suffered from his brave foe, to whom he had been compelled to sue for peace, by paying the Hindoo a visit, and receiving a pân (aromatic leaf) from his hand, which, thus given, implies the superiority of the donor, and is equivalent to the English custom of kissing hands; but, when presented in a silver or gold box, or on a salver, denotes equality.‡ Hussun died shortly after, from the consequences of unbounded dissipation. His successor, Murtezza, appears to have become insane, and growing suspicious of his son, Meeran Hussun, the heir apparent, endeavoured to destroy him, by setting fire to the couch on which he lay sleeping. Meeran escaped, successfully rebelled, and seized the person of his father, who, although ill of a mortal disease, he confined in a bath-room, and suffocated with hot air. Ferishta, who was at the time on guard at the palace, relates this horrible tale, adding, as the reason of his life being spared during the general massacre of the few who remained faithful to the king, "the Prince fortunately knew me, and reflecting that we had been school-fellows, and brought up together, ordered my life to be spared."§ Meeran Hussun retained the throne less than a year, but during that period he inflicted great misery, frequently riding through the streets in fits of intoxication, accompanied by a party of abandoned courtiers, and putting to death persons guilty of no crime. Fifteen princes of the royal family were massacred in one day, in order to establish an authority obtained by parricide, at the instigation of the vizier, Mirza Khan, who, at length terrified by the menaces of the king during his drunken revels, deposed and slew him. A speedy retribution attended

* Briggs gives a table (vol. ii. p. 504) showing how much more liberally Indian troops were paid by Mohammedan sovereigns in 1470 than by the British in 1828 (the date at which he wrote).

† Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 84.

‡ The chivalrous Rajpoot probably intended to waive the performance of this galling act, for when Hussun entered his tent, he rose and took him by the hand, but the insolent Mussulman called for a basin and ewer as if polluted by the touch of Rama, who exclaimed in his own language, "If he were not my guest, I would cut off his hands and hang them round his neck." After this interview the rajah and his troops are accused of treating their Mohammedan foes and even friends with great indignity.

§ Briggs' *Ferishta* vol. iii. p. 269.

this wretch, for in the struggle which ensued between the Deccanies and the Moguls, he was hewn to pieces by the former, and his limbs affixed on different public buildings. In the space of seven days, nearly 1,000 foreigners were slain, and their effects confiscated; some few escaped with their lives, through the protection of Deccani or Abyssinian officers, and these, among whom was Ferishta, for the most part, obtained service under the king of Beejapoor.

The remaining reigns of this line present no very striking features, excepting the gallant struggles made by Chand Beeby (*the Lady Chand*) as regent on behalf of her infant nephew, after the death of her brother, Ibrahim, slain in battle with the king of Beejapoor. An attempt was made to seize the throne in the name of a boy called Ahmed, under a shallow pretence of his being a son of the late king. Chand Beeby evinced equal valour and discretion during this trying period,* and her efforts were temporarily successful. Ahmed, the young pretender, was confessed to be not lineally descended from the royal family, and was provided with an estate by Ibrahim Adil Shah, at Beejapoor, while Bahadur was proclaimed king, his aunt continuing regent until the siege of Ahmednuggur by the son of Akber. Then, hopeless of offering a successful defence, in consequence of the factions which divided the troops, she called a council of war, and proposed to negotiate, on favourable terms, the evacuation of the fort. The ungrateful Deccanies, to whom her suggestion had been purposely misrepresented by an intriguing eunuch, rushed into her apartments and put her to death. The place was shortly after taken by storm, and little or no quarter given. The unfortunate king was sent to Akber, who confined him in the fortress of Gwalior, A.D. 1599, but was prevented from gaining possession of his dominions by the determination of an Abyssinian officer, Malek Amber, (who founded the city afterwards called Aurungabad,) to retain the sovereignty on behalf of his newly-elected nominal master, and the Adil Shah dynasty was not extinguished until the time of Jehangeer. At its greatest extent the kingdom of Ahmednuggur comprehended all that is now called the Subah of Aurungabad, and the west of that of Berar, with a portion of the sea-coast of the Concan. It must have been a formidable power, for it appears that in one campaign upwards of 600 of its guns were seized by the rival state of Beejapoor, including the cannon still preserved at the latter place, and famous as one of the largest pieces of brass ordnance in the world.† Duelling (an infrequent crime in Asia) was introduced in the reign of Ahmed, who, being himself an expert swordsman, encouraged the assemblage of young men at the palace for the purpose of displaying their skill, till at length a day seldom passed without one or two persons being killed. The king then endeavoured to discourage the practice, but it spread far and wide among the Mohammedans of the Deccan. Even learned divines and philosophers shared the infatuation, and Ferishta records an instance which he witnessed in the streets of Beejapoor, of a dispute arising regarding some trifling matter, and terminating in a few minutes in the death or mortal injury of six persons of high standing, of whom five were grey-headed men. The spread of this destructive and contagious vice was, of course, fostered by the rancorous sectarian-spirit between the Sonnites and Sheiahs—the native and foreign factions.

*The Kootb Shah dynasty at Golconda* was founded, about A.D. 1512, by a Turcoman soldier, named Kooli Kootb, who came from Hamadan, in Persia, in quest of military service, entered the guards of the Bahmani king, was promoted, and, on the dissolution of the monarchy, held sway over Telingana, which he retained, making Golconda his capital. He was a zealous Sheiah, and introduced this profession into his dominions.

* On one occasion when closely besieged, after having succeeded in destroying two out of five mines carried under the bastions at Ahmednuggur, by herself labouring all night at the head of the garrison, a third was sprung at day-break, which killed many of the counter-miners, and threw down several yards of the wall. The principal officers concluding all now lost, prepared for flight, but Chand Beeby, clad in armour, with a veil on her face and a naked sword in her hand rushed to defend the breach, and while the Mogul storming-party waited the explosion of the other mines, found time to bring guns to bear upon it, so that on the enemy's advance they were received with repeated volleys, until, when compelled to renounce the attack by the darkness of night, "the ditch was nearly filled with dead carcases." During the succeeding hours Chand Beeby (on whom the name of Chand Sultana was now bestowed) superintended unceasingly the repairs of the breach, which by the morning's dawn was built up to the height of seven or eight feet. At length, reinforcements being on their way, the siege was raised.

† Weighs 40 tons, is 4 ft. 8 in. in diameter at the muzzle, and only 15 ft. long. Calibre, 2 ft. 4 in.

At the close of a long reign he left a territory extending from the Godavery river to beyond that of the Kishna, and from the sea (Bay of Bengal) to a line drawn west of Hyderabad, about 78° E. long. The chief part of his dominions were wrested from the Warangol family, and other Hindoo chiefs of Telingana, over whom, together with the Rajah of Orissa, he gained a great victory at Condapilli.

It has been stated in a previous page, on the authority of Ferishta, that the Bahmani line abided by the oath of Mohammed Shah I., not to slay prisoners or the unarmed in cold blood, but if this dynasty really redeemed its pledge, the rulers of the subsequent Deccani kingdoms reverted to the barbarities which their predecessors had abjured, and were far more treacherous and sanguinary. Thus Sultan Kooli Kootb Shah having repeatedly, but in vain, attempted to storm the strong hill-fort of Nulgonda, at length sent a flag of truce to the commandant, Rajah Hari Chandra, promising to withdraw the troops if he would consent to become tributary to Golconda, but threatening, in the event of refusal, to procure reinforcements, destroy the neighbouring towns, devastate the country, and thus reduce the place by cutting off its supplies, in which case he would not spare the life even of an infant in the garrison. The Rajah having consented, the king remarked that as Nulgonda was the only hill-fort which had successfully resisted him, he should like to see it, and therefore desired to be allowed to enter with a few attendants. The request being granted, Kooli, having instructed his body-guard, (whom, to disarm suspicion, he had left in the town below,) how to act ascended the hill with four chosen soldiers in complete armour. On entering the gate-way he drew his sword and cut down one sentinel, while his companions, attacking the others, held possession until their comrades came rushing to their assistance, and the whole army soon poured into the fortress. "Neither man, woman, or child was spared on this occasion. The Rajah, on being made prisoner, was confined in an iron cage, and eventually put to death." Such are the words in which the Mohammedan historian concludes the account of this abominable transaction.* The author of it was eventually the victim of domestic treachery, being assassinated in his ninetieth year, A.D. 1543, at the instigation of his son, Jamsheed, who, having put out the eyes of his elder brother, the heir apparent, ascended the throne. Wars were carried on with their Moslem rivals in a spirit less perfidious perhaps, but scarcely less ferocious. Thus it is recorded that Ibrahim Kootb Shah, when at war with Ali Adil Shah, detached a force of 4,000 horse and 10,000 foot to make nightly attacks on the enemy. "The Munewar infantry were eminently successful in all directions, and at all hours, bringing nightly between 300 and 400 noses and ears from the enemy's lines; and they received for each nose a hoon, and for each ear a purtab [star pagoda.] Meanwhile, the king, by whose orders these atrocities were being committed, "had ordered pavilions to be pitched on the bastions [of Golconda], and adorned them with rich brocades and silks from China, and with velvets of European manufacture, giving himself up to the gratification of listening to the enchanting vocal and instrumental music of heart-alluring damsels and fairy-faced virgins."† Truly it is as reasonable to expect the shrill cry of human suffering to pierce "the dull cold ear of death," as to touch a heart turned into stone by sensuality.

Mohammed Kooli, the fifth of the Kootb Shah kings, began to reign A.D. 1580. He removed the seat of government to a neighbouring site, where he built a magnificent city called Bhagnuggur,‡ in honour of Bhagmuttee, his favourite mistress, a public singer, for whom 1,000 cavalry were assigned as an escort. After her death the name was changed to Hyderabad. In this reign fierce struggles took place between the Deccanies and the Moguls, as the foreigners of whatever denomination came to be called. The disorderly conduct of some of the latter caused the issuing of a proclamation commanding all aliens, whether Patans, Persians, Arabs, Tartars or others, who had no fixed employment, to quit Hyderabad. The Deccanies construing this order into a permission to plunder their old foes at pleasure, deserted their occupations and hastened to rifle the warehouses of the wealthy merchants, of whom many were killed in defending their property. The riots grew to an alarming height, but the king was sleeping, and none of the servants dared disturb the royal slumbers, until one of the ministers had

* See Briggs' *Appendix to History of Kings of Golconda*, translated from the Persian of a contemporary of Ferishta's, vol iii. p. 374. † *Idem*, p. 431.
‡ The Hindoos still call it Bhagnuggur.

the courage to break open the door, and having with great difficulty aroused the monarch, bade him observe from the palace-windows the state of the city. The measures adopted were in the true spirit of oriental despotism. The cutwal (chief magistrate) through whose representations the sentence of banishment had been procured, was directed to put an immediate stop to the disturbances, on peril of being trodden to death by elephants. Many of the rioters were executed, "and by way of satisfying the minds of the people, several minor police-officers, who had been most active, were beheaded or hanged, or flayed alive, while others were maimed by the loss of limbs, and exhibited through the city in this mutilated state as examples."*

*The Imad Shah dynasty of Berar* was founded about 1484, by the descendant of a Hindoo of Canara, captured when a child, and educated as a Mussulman, by the governor of Berar. This small kingdom extended from the Injadri hills to the Godavery, and bordered Ahmednuggur and Candeish on the west. Very little is known of its history, except from its wars with neighbouring states. Boorhan, the fourth and last of his line, ascended the throne while yet a child, about the year 1560. The regent, Tufal Khan, imprisoned the young king and seized the crown, relying upon the protection of Murtezza Nizam Shah of Ahmednuggur, who, false to both parties, having obtained possession of Boorhan and his rebellious minister, caused them to be put to death, and annexed Berar to his own dominions, A.D. 1572.

*The Bareed Shah Dynasty at Beder*, commenced in 1498. The territories of these kings were small and ill-defined, and the period of their extinction uncertain. Ameer II. was reigning in 1609, when Ferishta closed that part of his history. Having thus shown the fate of the five Mohammedan principalities formed from the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom, it becomes necessary to sketch the leading characteristics of the other states which succeeded in establishing their independence of Delhi during the feeble reign of Mahmood Toghlak, of which the chief were Guzerat, Malwa and Candeish.

*The kings of Guzerat* ruled the territory still called by this name; bounded on the north and north-east by a hilly tract connecting the Aravulli mountains with the Vindya chain, and on the south by the sea, which nearly surrounds a part of it, forming a peninsula then termed Surashtra, now Katiwar. The founder of the dynasty was Mozuffer, the son of a Rajpoot, who had embraced Islamism, and become conspicuous for his enmity to all who still held the creed which he had renounced. The king of Delhi having been informed that the existing governor of Guzerat was endeavouring to establish himself as an independent ruler by gaining the affections of the Hindoos, sent Mozuffer Khan to supersede him; which, after some opposition on the part of the Hindoos, he succeeded in doing, and by the permission of the Delhi monarch assumed the white umbrella or canopy, and the scarlet pavilion, considered as exclusive appurtenances of royalty. When he took the title of Shah does not appear, but his reign really commenced with his government, A.D. 1391. At first his sway extended over only a portion of the fertile plain, about sixty miles in depth, which stretches along the sea. On the north-west were the independent rajahs of Jhalor and Sirohi, from whom he occasionally levied tribute, as also from the Rajpoot prince of Idur, in the western part of the hills, while the rugged forest tracts were generally retained by the mountain tribes of Bheels and Coolies; among whom some Rajpoot chiefs, mostly connected with Mewar, had also founded petty principalities. The peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindoo tribes, who probably paid tribute so long as a power existed capable of its enforcement. All these small states preserved their existence under the kings of Guzerat, the Mogul emperors, and during many years of British ascendancy. Of the plain which formed the Guzerat kingdom at the accession of Mozuffer, the eastern portion belonged to an independent rajah, who resided in the hill-fort of Champaneer, and their dominions stretched along the sea to the south-east, so as to include the city of Surat, and some further country in the same direction.

It would occupy space which could be ill-spared to narrate in detail the varying fortunes of this dynasty in their wars with Malwa, their Hindoo neighbours, and the Rajpoot kingdom of Mewar, from the accession of Mozuffer I. to that of the puppet set up by a faction under the title of Mozuffer III., in A.D. 1561, when the kingdom was partitioned among the conspirators. One striking characteristic in their incessant strife with the Hindoos, was the cruel bigotry which marked their conduct, far exceed-

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iii., p. 478.

ing that displayed by the Delhi usurpers. It may be perhaps that the proceedings of the latter sovereigns are purposely placed in the least unfavourable light, but this scarcely accounts for the difference, since, in both cases, the annals are furnished solely by Mohammedan pens. Ferishta, although his history bears internal evidence of the honesty and ability of the writer, was yet compelled to depend in great measure on the compilations of his fellow-believers; and his ignorance of the language of the Hindoos would greatly hinder his obtaining information from whatever records they might possess, even if the inveterate prejudices of his creed had not taught him to shun with contempt and aversion the thought of gaining information from so defiled a source.

In 1402 the port of Diu was seized by Mozuffer I. from the Rajah of Idur, who had been driven from his capital, and forced to take refuge there. We are told that "it opened its gates without offering any resistance. The garrison was, however, nearly all cut to pieces, while the Ray, with the rest of the members of the court, were trod to death by elephants." The next king, Ahmed Shah, A.D. 1412, though a zealous Mussulman very diligent in destroying temples and building mosques, yet showed more favour to the natives than his predecessor had done, and Hindoo names appear among those of the government officers and nobility — an innovation which had long been opposed. Ahmed built the fortified town of Ahmednuggur, as a check on the Rajah of Idur (the successor of the prince slain by Mozuffer), and founded Ahmedabad, thenceforth his capital, and still one of the principal cities in India. This king introduced the practice of paying the soldiers one-half in money, and the other by a grant of land, with a view of inducing them to take an interest in the cultivation and protection of the province.* Mahmood Shah I. reigned for fifty-two years (1459 to 1511), and warred alike with Moslems and with the Indian and European idolaters, the latter term being used to designate the Portuguese. He obtained the surname of Begarra,† by the reduction of Girnar or Junaghar‡ and of Champaneer—two hill-forts, situated the one on the west, and the other on the east, of his dominions, and both until that time deemed impregnable.§ His maritime exploits were re-

* Bird's *Gujarát*, p. 191.

† Signifying, in the Guzerat language, two forts.

‡ According to Ferishta nearly 1,900 years had elapsed since this fortress had come into the possession of the rajah, who held it when Mahmood first marched against it in 1469; and whose title, *Mandulik*, here used by Ferishta for the first time, implies petty chieftain, a term originally applied to officers of some greater state, but often retained by rulers who had acquired or inherited an independent sway. A body of Rajpoots occupying an important defile were surprised by Mahmood. The troops then passed on unopposed, till on reaching the foot of the hill they were met by the rajah, who, being defeated and severely wounded, sooner than sustain a siege purchased a cessation of hostilities by the payment of a large amount in jewels and in specie. In the following year, "the king, who only wanted some excuse to invade Girnar a second time, urged as a complaint against the rajah, his habit of assuming the ensigns of royalty." On this plea, in itself a gross insult to the high-born Hindoo, forty thousand horse were sent to exact from him a heavy fine, which having obtained, Mahmood distributed in one night, amongst a set of female dancers; and at the latter end of the same year appeared in person before Girnar. "The rajah declared his willingness to pay any sum of money he could produce, to protect his subjects from the oppression and horrors of war." Mahmood would enter into no terms, but sat down before the place, starved the garrison into subjection, and succeeded in acquiring possession. The expelled rajah, it is said, from conviction, but more probably to save his life, embraced Islamism, a faith against which the covetousness and fraud practised towards him by its professors were sufficient to have inspired a deep-rooted prejudice.—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 55.)

§ Champaneer was not captured till 1483. The rajah, Beni Ray, sent ambassadors offering two elephant-loads of gold to procure the departure of Mahmood, who had arrived at the head of a powerful force; but, finding all endeavours at conciliation useless, he sallied forth, and after many attempts succeeded in compelling the invader to raise the siege, and then led his troops to attack him. In the sanguinary battle which followed, the flower of the Hindoo force was slain, but a compact body of 12,000 men retreated in order to the fort. Mahmood continued to construct trenches and mines, and caused a mosque to be built in the lines, in order to convince his troops of his determination not to be wearied out by the prolonged defence, but no decided advantage was gained until it was discovered that the Rajpoots left the place every morning through a sally-port to perform their ablutions. Watching their opportunity, a chosen band waited close to the walls at day-break, and succeeded in rushing into the place, while another party, under Malek Eiaz, (the famous admiral who engaged the Portuguese fleet, off Choul,) escaladed the western wall, where a breach had been newly made, and got possession of the main gate. The Rajpoots finding the king rejected all terms of surrender, burned their wives and children on a funeral pile, together with their costliest effects, and then, having bathed, perished on the swords of their cruel foes, who likewise suffered severely. Beni Ray and his prime minister, crippled by wounds, were captured, and brought into the presence of Mahmood, who, on asking the former why he had held out so long against an overwhelming force, was reminded of the

markable. He took the islands of Jegat and Beet, then, as now, nests of pirates; despatched a sea and land force against Bombay; and sent a large fleet of vessels, mounting guns, under Eiaz, to co-operate with the twelve ships equipped by the Mameluk Sultan of Egypt, for the purpose of attacking the Portuguese squadron in the harbour of Choul, south of Bombay. In the first action the combined forces were successful, but were subsequently defeated near Diu, and the Mameluk portion annihilated. Fleets were, however, still despatched by the Mameluks to the Indian seas, and the Turks, after their conquest of Egypt, continued the practice, with a view to open the navigation of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, but apparently without entertaining any idea of forming settlements in India.

Mahmood Begarra attained an unenviable European celebrity by the marvellous accounts of travellers, who described his personal appearance as terrific; and declared his system to have been so impregnated with the mortal poisons, on which he habitually fed, that although he had by some means or other contrived to neutralize their effect on his own vital powers, he had only, after chewing betel, to breathe upon any courtier who had offended him, and death infallibly ensued. If a fly settled on him, it instantly dropped lifeless.*

Bahadur Shah, A.D. 1526, (before mentioned as the opponent of Humayun,) with the aid of Rana Rattan Sing, made war upon Mahmood, king of Malwa, who had intrigued against them both. Mahmood was captured and put to death, and Malwa annexed to Guzerat. Raiseen, a strong hill-fort, Bhilsa and other places in the west of Malwa together with Oojein, remained in the possession of Silhuddi; a Rajpoot who had risen under Mahmood to power, but whose son, Bopat Rai, was in the service of Bahadur, by whose invitation Silhuddi came to visit the royal camp. He was treacherously seized, and Oojein taken by surprise. Raiseen held out under his brother Lokmun, but was at length reduced, both Silhuddi and Lokmun being slain at its capture.†

In his dealings with the Portuguese, Bahadur was less fortunate. Having entered into negotiations with them for their aid, and among other things conceded in return permission for the erection of a factory at Surat, he found them surrounding the building with a wall and, in effect, rendering it a strong fortification. This seems to have first roused suspicions, and treachery is alleged to have been meditated by both parties. The result has been already stated, Bahadur perished in an affray which arose on his visiting the ship where Nuno de Cunha, the Portuguese viceroy, had allured him on the plea of sickness, A.D. 1537.‡

The fort of Surat is said by Ferishta to have been completed during the reign of Mahmood III. (1538 to 1553), but the Persian characters inserted over the old gate—"Against the bosom and lives, the ambition and rapacity of the Portuguese, be this fabric an effectual bulwark," when numerically viewed, give 1530 as the date of its erection.§ This king was assassinated by his chaplain, named Boorhan, whose revenge he had excited, by sentencing him, for some offence not re-

hereditary right by which the territory had been held, and the long line of noble ancestors through which his name with honour had descended. This fearless reply for the moment raised a feeling of admiration in the selfish victor, and he ordered Beni Ray and his faithful companion to be treated with respect and attention. On recovering from their wounds, they both persisted in refusing to abjure their religion, and were therefore confined separately, and treated harshly, which, as might have been foreseen, only served to confirm their previous determination. "At length the king, at the instigation of some holy men about his person, ordered them to be put to death."—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 70.)

* *Bartema and Barbosa* (Ramusio, vol. i., pp. 147—296.) Mahmood Begarra is the original of Butler's *Prince of Cambay*, whose—

"———— daily food
Is asp, and basilisk and toad."

† The king feared to storm the fort, knowing that in the seraglio were many Mohammedan females, who would, in the event of his success, be burnt alive with their Rajpoot companions, for whom, of course, as infidels, no compassion could possibly be entertained. Silhuddi consented to abjure his creed, and was sent to escort the females of his family from the fort, but on arriving there, his wife (the daughter of Rana Sanga) bitterly reproached him and his brother for their conduct, and, setting fire to a pile with which she had caused the apartments of the females to be surrounded, sprang into the flames, and all, to the number of 700, perished. Silhuddi and Lokmun, with a hundred of their blood-relations, rushed out, and perished on the Moslem swords.

‡ One account of this transaction has been given at p. 85. I have since read the Portuguese and Mussulman statements, collated by General Briggs (*Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 132), in which each party endeavours to throw the blame upon the other, but there is little difference in the leading facts of the case, except that Bahadur, after jumping into the sea, is asserted to have been first stunned by a blow with an oar, and then dispatched with a halbert.

§ Price would place it six years earlier.—*Mahomedan History*, vol. iii., p. 726.

corded, to be built up in a mud wall with his head exposed, and left to starve. Life was nearly extinct when Mahmood passed the spot, and noticing the attempt of the wretched captive to bend his head in salutation, inspired with compassion, had him released and attended by the royal physician until he recovered. But soon after this Boorhan again fell into disgrace, and, fearing, perhaps, to be re-immured, or stimulated by ambition to attempt to seize the throne, persuaded his nephew, Dowlut, to take the opportunity afforded by his office of fumigating the long hair of the king, to assassinate him while he slept. This being done, Boorhan, by the aid of a corps called, from their qualification for enlistment, "the tiger-killers," succeeded in destroying several of the leading nobility by sending for them separately, but was at length, when intoxicated with success, slain by the vengeful swords of the survivors. A supposititious child* was next set up by a party under the name of Ahmed II., but assassinated A.D. 1561. The last and merely nominal king abdicated in favour of Akber, A.D. 1572.

*Kings of Malwa.*—This state became independent in 1401, under Dilawur Ghori, whose successor founded the capital, Mandu, on a rich table-land, thirty-seven miles in circumference. Wars with Mohammedan kingdoms, especially the neighbouring one of Guzerat, with the Hindoo rajahs of Chittore or Mewar, and several minor principalities, together with the usual instances of treachery and intrigue in the court and camp, and besotted sensuality in the harem, form the staple of the history of this dynasty. Mohammed Ghori, the third king, was poisoned at the instigation of his minister and brother-in-law, who ascended the throne in 1435, by the name of Sultan Mahmood Khilji. He reigned thirty-six years, of which scarcely one was suffered to pass without a campaign, "so that his tent became his home, and his resting-place the field of battle."† A famous fort in Kumulnere was taken by storm after a severe struggle, and its defenders compelled to chew the calcined parts of a large marble idol,‡ representing, according to Ferishta, a ram (? a bull), as they were in the habit of doing chunam or lime between betel leaves, that they might be said to have eaten their gods. Many Rajpoots were slain, probably in consequence of their refusal to obey this command of their imperious conqueror. Some years after, Mahmood received a signal defeat from Koombho Sing, the rajah of Chittore, who erected, in commemoration of his victory, a superb column, still in existence, which Tod states to have cost nearly a million sterling.§ Mahmood unsuccessfully besieged Delhi and Beder. His internal administration would seem to have been more gentle than could have been expected, for we are told that his subjects, Hindoos as well as Moslems, "were happy, and maintained a friendly intercourse with one another." He took vigorous measures for the suppression of robbery, and further promoted the safety of travellers, and indeed of the people generally, by obliging the governors of the different districts to send out parties for the destruction of wild beasts, proclaiming that if after a period of two years a human being should be seized by them, he would hold the governor responsible. For many years after his death wild beasts were scarce throughout the kingdom. Now the vicinity of the once famous city of Mandu, overgrown by forest trees, has again become the favourite haunt of tigers, who, in some instances, within the memory of the present generation, have been known to carry off troopers riding in the ranks of their regiments. The next king, Gheias-oo-deen Khilji, A.D. 1482, was only remarkable for the extent of his seraglio, which contained 15,000 women, including 500 Turki females who stood clad in men's clothes, with bows and arrows, on his right hand; while 500 Abyssinian females kept guard with fire-arms on his left. He reigned thirty-three years, and became at last idiotic; his two sons meanwhile quarrelled about the succession, until the elder gaining the ascendancy slew the younger with all his family, and having, it is alleged, accelerated his father's death by poison, mounted the vacant throne A.D. 1500. This wretch died of a fever brought on by his own excesses, having first driven his sons into rebellion by suspicious and tyrannical conduct. One of these, Mahmood Khilji II., established himself on the throne, A.D. 1512, mainly through the assistance

* Mahmood left no lineal heir; fearing to risk the chance of rebellious children, of which frequent instances occur in Mohammedan history, he avoided the commission of infanticide by the perpetration of a yet more heinous crime.

† *Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 234.

‡ The temple was filled with wood, and being set on fire, cold water was thrown on the images, causing them to break.

§ *Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. ii., p. 762.

of Medni Ray, a Rajpoot chief, who joined him at the commencement of the struggle with a considerable body of his tribe, and whose zealous and able services rendered him so popular with the king, as to excite the hatred and jealousy of the Mussulmans. Conspiracies were formed, and after repeated failures Mahmood was at length inspired with sufficient distrust to consent to discharge all the Rajpoots holding offices at court, excepting only the obnoxious minister, and to declare that no Hindoo could be permitted to retain Mohammedan females in his seraglio. Medni Ray pleaded earnestly the tried services of his countrymen, but the weak and ungrateful king, though soothed for the time, was subsequently induced to sanction an attempt on the part of his Moslem body-guard of 200 men to waylay and murder Medni Ray, and a brave Rajpoot officer, called Salivahan, who had evinced much anger at the late unjust and humiliating proceedings. The latter was slain; the former, though covered with wounds, escaped to his own house, while a body of Rajpoots rushed to the palace, but being repulsed by the king in person, returned to the house of the minister, and entreated him to be their head. Medni Ray refused, persuaded them to disperse peaceably, and sent word to the king that if he thought his life necessary to the good of the state, he was ready to lose it, sooner than lead an army against his acknowledged sovereign. Mahmood was little affected by a degree of magnanimity quite beyond his comprehension, and fearing some treachery similar to that of which he had given the example, fled by night from the fort of Mandu, accompanied by his favourite mistress and the master of the horse, and did not draw rein till he reached the frontier of Guzerat. Though frequently at war with one another, the Moslem intruders were always ready to coalesce against a Hindoo foe; the king of Guzerat, therefore, supported Mahmood, and accompanied him at the head of a large army to Mandu, which was taken by assault after a close siege of several months, and 19,000 Rajpoots slain. Medni Ray was, however, not among them, having previously joined Rana Sanga at Chittore, from whence he retired to Chanderi, of which place he was probably hereditary chief. Mahmood proceeded thither, and found that Rana Sanga had previously marched with his whole force to the support of Medni Ray. In the conflict which ensued, Mahmood was defeated, and after evincing, in an extraordinary manner, the physical daring that invariably distinguished him in battle, contrasting strangely with his excessive moral cowardice in time of peace, was unhorsed and taken prisoner, weltering in his blood. Rana Sanga caused him to be brought to his own tent, dressed his wounds, attended on him personally, and, after his recovery, sent him back to Mandu with an escort of 1,000 horse.* This chivalrous proceeding was returned by the most glaring ingratitude, for its object did not scruple to take advantage of the confusion which ensued on the death of his benefactor, to attack his son, Rattan Sing, the new ruler of Chittore. Rattan Sing applied for aid to Bahadur Shah, of Guzerat, who had also had reason to complain of the selfish rapacity of the king of Malwa. Mahmood, unable to withstand their combination, was defeated in his capital and captured by Bahadur Shah, who caused him to be confined in the fortress of Champaneer, where he was put to death, with his seven sons, and Malwa annexed to Guzerat, A.D. 1531.

*Khans of Candeish.*—This small principality, separated by forests from Guzerat, comprised merely the lower part of the valley of the Taptee, the upper being included in Berar.† Its first ruler, Malek Rajah, claimed descent from the Caliph Omar, and died A.D. 1399. His son, Malek Naseer, received from the king of Guzerat the title of khan, and founded the city of Boorhanpoor, near the strong hill-fort of Aseer,‡ which he had obtained by treachery from its rightful occupant, a Hindoo, of peaceable disposition, from whom he had received many personal favours. He gained possession by the same artifice used in the capture of Rohtas, viz., by entreating the unsuspecting chief to receive and shelter the inmates of his harem during a war in which he pretended to be about engaging, and then introducing soldiers in the doolies

* General Briggs here takes occasion to note the contrast between the generosity usually evinced by the Hindoos to the Moslems, and "the sordid, cruel, and bigotted conduct of the latter. It seldom happened that a Hindoo prince, taken in battle, was not instantly beheaded; and life was never spared but with the sacrifice of a daughter delivered up to a sort of honourable prostitution, or by the payment of vast sums of money and jewels."—(Vol. iv., p. 264.)

† Why he was named Rajah does not appear.

‡ This hill-fort, like many others in India, seems to bear witness to the pastoral pursuits of its early possessor, Aseer being considered to be a corruption of Asa Aheer, or Asa the cow-herd.—(*Idem*, p. 286.)

or palanquins, who sprang out and murdered Asa, with his whole family.

Numerous stone embankments for irrigation and other works now in ruins and buried in woods, indicate that Candeish must have once attained a high state of prosperity, but many of these are probably referrible to the previous period of Hindoo independence. Aseer or Aseerghur was taken by Akber, and Candeish re-annexed to Delhi in 1599.

*The Rajpoot States.*—Of these a very cursory notice must suffice, because our present information concerning them, although voluminous,* is too fragmentary to afford materials for the condensed chronological summary which can be framed with comparative ease and satisfaction from the more precise statements of Mohammedan writers respecting their own kingdoms. At the time of the invasion of Mahmood of Ghuznee, the Rajpoots were in possession of all the governments of India, nor did they resign their power without long and fierce struggles; indeed some have never been entirely subjugated, but up to the present time hold the position of feudatory chiefs (see pp. 7, 8). The table-land in the centre of Hindoostan, and the sandy tract stretching west from it to the Indus, formed the nucleus of Rajpoot independence; and the more broken and inaccessible the country, the better was it suited for the partly feudal, partly clannish, mode of government and warfare, adopted by its sons, from whom, though subsidies might be exacted, and forts captured by the Delhi monarchy during strong and aggressive reigns, tribute would be refused and positions regained the first opportunity. Thus Rintumbor, Gwalior, and Calinjer, were constantly changing hands; while Ajmeer and Malwa were early captured and easily retained, from their situation on the open part of the table-land, terminating in a slope of broken ground towards the Jumna.

At the time of the accession of Akber the chief Rajpoot state was that of *Mewar*, held by the descendant of the brave Rana Sanga of Oudipoor, whose family and tribe are said to have been descended from Rama, and consequently to have derived their origin from Oude, whence they removed to Guzerat, and ultimately settled at Chittore, about the eighth century of our era. There they maintained themselves, notwithstanding the accessible nature of the country—a sure retreat being ever, in case of defeat, afforded by the Aravulli mountains and the hills and forests connected with them, which form the northern boundary of Guzerat. *Marwar*, the next state in importance, was possessed by that portion of the Rahtores, who at the taking of Canouj, A.D. 1194, had quitted the neigbourhood of the Ganges, and, under two grandsons of their last king, established themselves in the desert intermingled with fertile tracts, between the table-land and the Indus. They soon became paramount over the old inhabitants of the race of Jats, and over some small Rajpoot tribes who had preceded them as colonists; and formed an extensive and powerful principality. A younger branch of the Canouj family founded the separate state of *Bikaneer*, on another part of the same desert, A.D. 1459, while the western portion was occupied by the Bhattees, under the rajah of *Jessulmer*. The rajahs of *Amber* or *Jeypoor* were ancient feudatories of *Ajmeer*, and probably remained in submission to the Mohammedans after the conquest of that kingdom. The rajahs of the tribe of Hara, who give their name to *Harauti*, were, in some sort, feudatories of the ranas of Oudipoor, and shortly before the accession of Akber, captured the famous fort of Rintumbor from the governor, who had held it for the Afghan kings. There were besides several petty states, such as the Chouhans of *Parker*, the Sodras of *Amercot* and others, situated in the extreme west of the desert, beyond the reach of Mussulman invaders; and those of *Sirohi*, *Jhalor*, &c., which, lying in the fertile tract beneath the Aravulli mountains, and on one road from Ajmeer to Guzerat, were liable to constant exactions. On the eastern slope of the table-land, *Merut*, *Gwalior*, *Narwar*, *Panna*, *Oorcha*, *Chanderi*, and other places in Bundelcund, were mostly held by old Rajpoot families, tributary to Delhi at the time of the death of Humayun.

*Bengal* was separated from Delhi, A.D. 1338, by the exertions of a soldier, who, having risen from the ranks, at length slew his master (the governor appointed by Mohammed Toghlak), and proclaimed himself an independent sovereign, but was in less than three years displaced by another usurper as ambitious as himself, who, within two years more, was in turn assassinated. Frequent changes of dynasty, with few important events, occupy the remaining period to the accession of the last king, Daood

* *Vide* the late Colonel Tod's extensive and valuable work on *Rajast'han*.

(David), in 1573; among the most interesting is the forcible occupation of the throne by Rajah Kans, a Hindoo zemindar,* whose son and successor voluntarily embraced the Mohammedan faith, declaring, however, his willingness to withdraw his pretensions in favour of his brother, if the chiefs desired it. At one time Bengal seems to have comprehended North Behar. It included Sundergong (Dacca). Jugnuggur (Tipperah) was tributary; Assam occasionally plundered. Cuttack and the adjoining parts were captured just before the extinction of the state. Bengal was then, as now, remarkable for the luxury of its inhabitants, whose wealthy citizens vied with one another in their display of gold plate. Sheer Shah conquered Bengal in 1539: after his death it was seized by the Afghan successors of the governor appointed from Delhi.

*Juanpoor* stretched along the Ganges from Canouj, on the north-west, to the frontier between Bengal and South Behar on the south-east. Khaja Jehan, the vizier at the time of Mahmood Toghlak's accession, occupied this government during the king's minority, and proclaimed its independence, A.D. 1394, which he and his successors maintained until its re-annexation to Delhi, in 1476. It was again separated after the death of Sheer Shah, and eventually conquered by Akber early in his reign.

*Sinde.*—Little is known of the history of this principality beyond that which has been already incidentally mentioned (p. 58). The ruling Rajpoot family appear to have become converts to Islam about 1365. They were displaced by the Arghoons, who held it at the period at which we have now arrived.

*Moultan* revolted during the confusion which followed the invasion of Timur, and was ruled by an Afghan dynasty named Langa, until the early part of the sixteenth century, when the Arghoons of Sinde gained possession; but were, in their turn, expelled by Prince Kamran, and Moultan was thenceforth attached to Delhi. The other provinces which had become independent at the same time (with the exception of the Punjaub, to which Secander Soor maintained his claim), were all in the hands of adherents of the Afghan government. The petty states under the Himalaya Mountains, from Cashmere inclusive, to the Bay of Bengal, were independent under sovereigns of their own; there were besides many mountain and forest tribes throughout India whose almost inaccessible retreats had preserved them from subjugation to the Moslem yoke.†

———

*Reign of Akber.*—When the death of Humayun took place, Akber was absent in the Punjaub with Behram Khan, and the fear of attempts being made to seize the throne before the heir apparent could have time to repair to the metropolis, induced such of the ministers as were on the spot, to conceal the fatal event from the public, by causing one of the Mullahs, or religious attendants of the court, to impersonate the deceased monarch, and receive from that part of the palace which overlooked the river Jumna, the salutations of the populace. At length, however, the truth transpired, but the consternation which ensued was temporarily calmed by the exertions of the nobles, one of whom read the Khotbah in the name of Akber—a proceeding equivalent to proclaiming him king.

Akber was little more than thirteen years of age, and by his own desire, as well as in accordance with the wishes of his best advisers, Behram Khan continued to hold the same position to his now crowned pupil as that in which Humayun had previously placed him—being dignified with the appellation of Khan Baba (the king's father), and invested with irresponsible sway. It was a critical epoch for the House of Timur. Several eager competitors watched an opportunity to snatch the sceptre from the youthful descendant of the foreign usurper, but in vain, for the stern and skilful soldier who had helped the father to regain it remained to guard it for the son, and that son had repeatedly evinced a degree of discretion beyond his years, and was learning to curb his own daring spirit and passion for glory, and to take large and statesmanlike views of the duties of civil government, which made some amends for his rapacity as a conqueror, and enabled him to consolidate by policy what he won by the sword.

The first contest for supremacy was waged with Hemu, who headed an army in the name of Sultan Adili, for the double pur-

* This term was originally applied to the hereditary Hindoo chiefs who had become more or less subject to Moslem rule—it was sometimes extended by the proud invaders to independent princes, like those of Oudipoor and Joudpoor, whom they affected to treat as subordinate to their government; but it is only in comparatively modern times that it has been used to denote persons holding assignments of the government revenue, as well as district and village officers.

† Elphinstone, vol. ii. pp. 166—251; Price's *Mohammedan History*, vol. iii., p. 947.

pose of expelling the Moguls and reducing Secander Soor, who, though driven to take refuge in the vicinity of the northern mountains, still maintained his pretensions to be king of Delhi and the Punjaub, in which latter place Akber and Behram Khan remained after their late victory, occupied in arranging the new government. Meanwhile, Hemu, having captured both Delhi and Agra, prepared to march to Lahore, where the tidings of his successes and approach created so much alarm that the general opinion in the camp was in favour of a retreat to Cabool, but Behram Khan's determination prevailed over more timid counsels, and the rival forces met at Paniput, where, after a desperate battle, the Moguls triumphed. The elephants, on whose number Hemu placed great dependence, became ungovernable and threw their own ranks into confusion, but Hemu, from his howdah, at the head of 4,000 horse, continued the action, until an arrow pierced his eye, and he sank back for the moment in extreme agony. His troops believing the wound mortal, gave way, but raising himself again, and plucking out the barbed weapon, together with the eye itself, Hemu endeavoured to force a path through the enemy's ranks, but was captured through the treachery of his elephant-driver, and brought before Akber, who was desired by Behram Khan to slay the infidel and thus earn the title of Ghazi.* Akber so far complied as to touch with his sword the head of his brave and almost expiring foe, and then burst into tears, upon which Behram Khan, in whose stern breast no sentiment akin to Rajpoot chivalry ever found place, drew his own sabre and beheaded him with a stroke. With Hemu, Adili lost all hope of recovering his dominions, but he continued to reign some time longer until he was killed in a battle with a new pretender in Bengal. Akber took possession of Delhi and Agra; succeeded in effecting the pacification of the Punjaub; acquired Ajmeer without a battle; and early in the fourth year of his reign had driven the Afghans out of Lucknow and the country on the Ganges as far east as Juanpoor. Notwithstanding these triumphs, the happiness of the victor was embittered by the harsh and arbitrary conduct of the Khan Baba, who attempted to enforce in a luxurious and refined court the same rigid discipline by which he had maintained subordination in an army of adventurers. The nobles were offended by his haughty and distrustful conduct, and even Akber had grave reasons for considering himself treated in a manner, which his position as king, together with his deep and lively interest in all state affairs, rendered unwarrantable. Thus, Behram took advantage of Akber's absence on a hawking party, to put to death Tardi Beg, an old noble, who had been one of Baber's favourite companions, had accompanied Humayun in all his wanderings, and had first read the Khotbah in the name of his successor. The ostensible reason,† was the hasty evacuation of Delhi, where Tardi Beg was governor, before the troops of Hemu; an offence that in the eyes of the warlike and inflexible minister, would have fully justified the sentence, which he might have desired to spare his young sovereign the pain of pronouncing. However this may have been, Behram is accused‡ of having, on subsequent occasions, behaved very tyrannically to all who seemed inclined to seek power and influence, except through the channel of his favour. One nobleman of high standing, having incurred his dis-

* This epithet, variously translated as "Holy Warrior," "Champion of the Faith," or "Victorious in a Holy War," is one of those expressions which can scarcely be faithfully rendered in another tongue to readers imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances of its origin and use. From it arose the word *Gazette*—first employed to designate the official announcement in eastern Europe of victory, in what the combatants called religious warfare; but since applied to governmental publications of all kinds. With regard to translations of Persian, Sanscrit or other terms, and their orthography, I would again deprecate the criticism of oriental scholars, and plead the difficulty of presenting them, with any chance of correct pronunciation, without adopting a system of accentuation, which might possibly deter readers of the very class, whose sympathies I am most desirous of enlisting, the young and the unlearned. I have followed Tod, Dow, and others in avoiding the wearisome repetition of the long titles assumed by Mohammedan sovereigns, by occasionally giving, in the event of oft-recurring mention, only the first word, thus—Ala-oo-deen (glory of the faith) is sometimes adverted to as Ala only. An able and kindly critic, lieutenant-general Briggs, has pointed out the erroneous impression this practice may produce; and it therefore seems best to state at once the desire for brevity by which it was prompted.

† Jealousy of his influence was the supposed cause.

‡ The chief authority on this portion, and indeed regarding nearly the whole of Akber's reign, is Abul Fazil, whose evident unfairness and prejudice in all matters involving the character of his royal master, (to whose revision all his writings were subject), renders it difficult to form a satisfactory judgment of the circumstances which led to the rupture between Akber and Behram Khan, and the disgrace and death of the latter.

pleasure, was put to death on some slight charge, and Peir Mohammed Khan, the king's private tutor, to whom he was much attached, narrowly escaped the same fate. Akber, before he was eighteen, resolved to reign without control, and having concerted a plan with those about him, took occasion, when on a hunting party, to make an unexpected journey to Delhi, whence he issued a proclamation, forbidding obedience to any orders not sanctioned by his authority. Behram sent two envoys of distinction, with assurances of submission, but Akber refused to see them, and ordered their imprisonment. After this, the disgraced minister seems to have had some intention of attempting to establish an independent principality in Malwa, but subsequently set off for Guzerat with the professed object of embarking from thence for Mecca. As he lingered long, a formal notice of dismissal arrived from Agra, commanding him to proceed on his pilgrimage forthwith. Having resigned his standards, kettle-drums, and other ensigns of authority, Behram continued his route in a private character, until, irritated by some further proceedings of Akber, he changed his mind, and attempted an invasion of the Punjaub. There, as elsewhere, the people were disposed to rally round the young king; Behram was defeated, and eventually driven to a surrender. Akber received him with much kindness, seated him on his right hand, and offered him the alternatives of an important government, a high position at court, or an honourable dismissal to Mecca. This last proposition seems to indicate that the foregoing ones were merely complimentary, and Behram probably so understood them, since he chose the pilgrimage, for which he had previously evinced little inclination, and proceeded to Guzerat, where, while preparing for embarkation, he was assassinated (A.D. 1561), by an Afghan, whose father he had killed in battle during the reign of Humayun.

Akber, now left to his own resources, soon found that other officers were likely to prove less overbearing perhaps than his old governor, but more inclined to take advantage of his youth for their own advancement.* Always abundantly self-reliant, he checked such attempts with a firm hand. Adam Khan, an Uzbek officer, having defeated Baz Bahadur,† the Afghan ruler of Malwa, showed some disposition to retain the province for himself, upon which Akber marched immediately to the camp, and conferred the government on his old tutor, Peir Mohammed Khan, whose conduct in this position, went far to vindicate the previous harshness displayed towards him by Behram. After massacring the inhabitants of two cities, of which he had obtained possession, he was at length defeated and drowned. Baz Bahadur recovered Malwa, of which he was again deprived by the victorious Mogul, whose service he subsequently entered.

The successive steps of Akber's career can only be briefly sketched. The seven years following the disgrace of Behram were mainly employed in a severe struggle with the military aristocracy, and in repelling the pretensions advanced on behalf of the young prince Hakim, who, although an infant at the time of his father, Humayun's death, had been left in the nominal government of Cabool; but, being expelled thence by his relation, Mirza Soliman, of Badakshan, attempted to invade the Punjaub, but was driven out (1566), and subsequently returned to Cabool, of which country he

* Among these was Asuf Khan, an officer who obtained permission from Akber, A.D. 1565, to invade a small independent kingdom called Gurra Mundela, then under the government of a regent or queen-mother named Durgavati, equally celebrated for her beauty and good sense. On the approach of the Mohammedans she led her forces in person against them mounted on an elephant, but after a sharp contest being disabled by an arrow-wound in the eye, her troops disheartened, gave way, upon which, fearing to fall into the hands of the victors, she snatched a dagger from the girdle of the elephant-driver and stabbed herself. The chief place was then taken by storm, and the infant rajah trodden to death in the confusion. One thousand elephants, 100 jars of gold coins, numerous jewels, and images of gold and silver were seized by Asuf Khan, who sent to Akber only a very small portion of the spoil, and then went into rebellion, but was afterwards compelled to sue for pardon. The whole transaction was aggression, robbery, and murder from first to last, and the guilt rests as much on the head of Akber, who sanctioned the crime and shared the booty, as upon Asuf Khan, the actual perpetrator. (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 128.)

† The Hindoo mistress of Baz Bahadur, celebrated equally for her beauty and poetic talent, fell into the hands of Adam Khan, and unable to strive against his importunity and threatened violence, appointed an hour to receive him, and then arrayed in costly robes, fragrant with the sweetest perfumes, lay down on a couch covered with a mantle. On the Khan's approach her attendants strove to rouse her, but she had taken poison and was already dead. (*Khafi Khan*, quoted by Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 263.) Her persecutor did not long survive her, for having quarrelled with the vizier of Akber he stabbed him while at prayers, and was, by order of the king, (who was sleeping in an inner room, and rushed in, awakened by the uproar) immediately thrown from a lofty terrace-parapet, where he had sought refuge.

long retained undisturbed possession. The Mirzas, (namely, the four sons and three nephews of Sultan Mirza, a prince of the house of Tamerlane, who had come to India with Baber, but rebelled against Humayun, who pardoned and gave him the government of Sambal) revolted, and were compelled to fly to Guzerat, where they endeavoured to take advantage of the disturbed state of affairs, but were strenuously opposed by Etimad Khan, the Hindoo minister, or rather master, of the pageant king, Mozuffer III. Sooner than suffer the sceptre to be seized by the Mirzas, Etimad prompted its formal surrender to Akber, A.D. 1572, who having personally received it, proceeded to besiege Surat, where these princes had taken refuge. Before the place could be invested they departed with a light detachment, intending to join their main body in the north of Guzerat. Akber ordered 1,000 men to follow him, and set out in pursuit with such rash haste, that he found himself in front of the enemy with a party which, after waiting to allow some stragglers to come up, numbered only 150 men. He nevertheless commenced the attack, but being repulsed, took shelter in a lane formed by strong hedges of cactus, where not more than three horsemen could advance abreast. Here he was hard pressed and separated from his men, but saved by the gallantry of Rajah Bhagwandas of Amber, and his nephew and adopted son, Rajah Maun Sing, both officers of high rank in the imperial army. Soorjun Ray, Rajah of Rintumbor, is also mentioned as having evinced great bravery; and the fact of the king's being immediately surrounded by Hindoo chiefs on such an occasion, sufficiently proves the degree to which he had conciliated, and the trust which he reposed in them. The Mirzas succeeded in effecting the junction which Akber had risked so much to prevent, but were afterwards dispersed, and met with various adventures, terminating in violent deaths by the hands of Delhi officers. Though eager to put down any infringement of his own real or assumed rights, Akber utterly disregarded those of others; the establishment of unquestioned supremacy over all India being the object which he proposed from the beginning. With this view he never scrupled to foment strife, watching craftily an opportunity of turning to his own advantage the dissensions which rendered weak and effete the various independent governments, both foreign and native. Under his banner, Hindoo fought against Hindoo—Moslem against Moslem; and each against the other. Over the fiery Rajpoots his personal influence became unbounded. Skilfully availing himself of their foibles, and studious needlessly to avoid clashing with their feudal observances and associations, he won from them voluntary concessions which force had long failed to extort. As early as 1651 he had sent a strong force against Maldeo, Rajah of Marwar, actuated perhaps by the recollection of the sufferings of his parents when refused protection shortly before his birth (p. 87), and captured the strong fortress of Meerta. Nagore was also taken; and both these strong-holds were conferred by Akber on the representative of the younger branch of the family, Ray Sing of Bikaneer. In 1569, Rao Maldeo succumbed to necessity; and, in conformity with the times, sent his second son with gifts to Akber, then at Ajmeer, which had become an integral part of the monarchy; but the disdainful bearing of "the desert king" so displeased Akber, that he presented Ray Siug with a *firmân* (imperial mandate) for the possession of Joudpoor itself, and the old Rao had to stand a siege in his capital, and after brave but fruitless resistance, was compelled to yield homage. His son and successor, well known as Moota (the fat) Rajah, gave a princess of his family in marriage to Akber (a great concession, not to say degradation, in the sight of a Rajpoot, even though the issue of this union would take equal rank with other princes of the imperial house) and, in return, received all the possessions previously wrested from Marwar, except Ajmeer, besides several rich districts in Malwa.* Rajah Bharmul, of Amber, likewise gave the king a daughter to wife,† and enrolled himself and his son, Bhagwandas, among the royal vassals, holding his country as a fief of the empire; and he also received honours and emoluments, in the shape most agreeable to a Rajpoot—increase of territory. In fact, every chief who submitted to Akber, found his personal possessions increased in consequence. One state, however, still maintained its independence, and could neither be flattered, bribed, or forced into alliance with the foreigner; it even dared to re-

* Tod says four provinces (Godwar, Oojein, Debalpoor, and Budnawar) yielding £200,000 of annual revenue were given for the hand of Jod Bae.

† Mother to Selim, Akber's successor.

nounce intermarriage with every house by which such disgrace had been sustained. Against Mewar, Akber therefore turned his arms, so soon as the disaffection of the Usbek nobles and other rebellions nearer Delhi had been put down. The Rana, Oodi Sing, unlike his brave father, Sanga, was a man of feeble character, quite unfit to head the gallant chiefs who rallied round him. On learning the approach of his formidable foe, he retreated from Chittore to the hilly and woody country north of Guzerat, leaving a strong garrison under Jei Mal, a chief of great courage and ability. The place, though previously twice taken, was still regarded by the Rajpoots of Mewar as a sort of sanctuary of their monarchy. The operations of the siege were conducted with great care, and seem to have closely resembled those adopted in modern Europe. Two mines were sunk, and fire set to the train; one of them exploded, and the storming party crowded up the breach, but while so doing, the second explosion occurred, and destroyed many of the assailants, upon which the rest fled in confusion. The previous labours were re-commenced; considerable advantage had been gained, and the northern defences destroyed, when Akber, one night, in visiting the trenches, perceived Jei Mal on the works, superintending some repairs by torch-light. Taking deliberate aim, he shot him through the head, and the garrison, appalled by the death of their able leader, abandoned the breaches, and withdrew to the interior of the fort. There they assumed the saffron-coloured robes, ate the last "beera" or pân togther, and performed the other ceremonies incidental to their intended self-sacrifice. After witnessing the terrible rite of the *Johur,* in which the women, gathering round the body of Jei Mal, found refuge in the flames from pollution or captivity; the men, to the number of 8,000, ran to the ramparts, and were there slain by the Moslems who had mounted unopposed. "Akber entered Chittore, when," says Tod, "30,000 of its inhabitants became victims to the ambitious thirst of conquest of this *guardian of mankind.*" *

Notwithstanding the loss of his capital and many of his bravest warriors, the Rana remained independent in his fastnesses in the Aravulli; raised a small palace, around which edifices soon clustered, and formed the nucleus of the city of Oudipoor, which eventually became the capital of Mewar. He died shortly afterwards, A.D. 1572. His successor, Pertap, was in all respects his opposite. Brave, persevering, and devoted to the cause of Rajpoot independence, the recovery of Chittore was his watchword. Till this should be accomplished, he interdicted to himself and his successors every article of luxury—exchanged golden dishes for vessels made of leaves, and soft couches for straw pallets; and, in sign of mourning, commanded all his followers to leave their beards unshaven.† Such an adversary was not likely to be undervalued by the politic Akber, who succeeded in arraying against the patriot his kindred in faith as well as in blood, including even his own brother, Sagurji, who received, as the price of his treachery, the ancient capital of his race. The odds against Pertap were fearful: driven from his strongholds of Komulmeer and Gogunda, he nevertheless withstood, for more than a quarter of a century, the combined efforts of the empire, often flying from rock to rock, feeding his wife and family from the fruits of his native hills, and rearing, amid the haunts of savage beasts, his young son, Umra, the heir to his prowess and his struggles.‡ In 1576, a desperate battle occurred at the pass or

* Akber's conduct on this occasion has also left an indelible stain on his character as a patron of the arts, for the stately temples and palaces of Chittore were defaced and despoiled with the most ruthless barbarity. He showed, however, his sense of the bravery of his fallen foes by erecting at one of the chief gates of Delhi two great elephants of stone, (described by Bernier in 1663), each with their rider, one representing Jei Mal, the other Putta. The latter, the youthful head of the Jugawut clan, perished in the defence of the city, following the example of his widowed mother, who, arming her son's young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock and both fell fighting side by side. The *zinars,* (Brahmanical cords taken from the necks of the Rajpoots), are said to have amounted to seventy-four mân's and a-half; and still, in memory of this terrible destruction, the bankers of Rajast'han mark this *tilác,* or accursed number on their seals, thereby invoking "the sin of the slaughter of Chittore" on any one who should dare to violate this mysterious but revered safeguard. (*Annals of Rajast'han,* vol. i. p. 327.

† The descendants of Pertap, though unfaithful to the spirit of this vow, still adhere to the letter, by placing leaves under their gold or silver plate, and straw beneath their couches, while their beards remain unshorn. (*Idem,* p. 333).

‡ Colonel Tod's narrative of the life of this noble Rajpoot is full of incidents of thrilling interest. So hot was the pursuit of the Mogul myrmidons that "five meals have been prepared and abandoned for want of the opportunity to eat them," and his family were repeatedly on the eve of capture. On one of these occasions they were saved by the faithful Bheels of Cavah, who carried them in baskets and concealed them in the tin mines of Jawura, where they

plain of Huldighat, where Pertap had taken up a strong position with 22,000 Rajpoots, while above, on the neighbouring cliffs and pinnacles, his trusty auxiliaries, the aboriginal Bheels, stood posted, armed with bows and arrows, and huge stones ready to roll upon the enemy. But all efforts proved vain against the overpowering Mogul force, headed by Selim, the heir of Akber, with its numerous field-artillery and a dromedary corps mounting swivels. Of the stalwart Rajpoots who rallied round the royal insignia,* ever seen in the hottest part of the action, 8,000 only survived it. Pertap himself, after receiving several severe wounds, was saved with difficulty, by a noble act of self-devotion. One of his chiefs (Marah), seizing the "golden sun," made his way to an intricate position, and thus drew upon himself and his vassals the brunt of the battle, while his prince, forced from the field, lived to renew the struggle, and to honour the memory of his brave deliverer by conferring on his descendants distinctions whose value a Rajpoot alone could fully appreciate.† Another generous sacrifice eventually enabled the Mewar prince, when almost driven into the abandonment of his native kingdom, to cope successfully with the Mogul force. Bhama Sah, his minister, whose ancestors had for ages held this office, placed at his disposal their accumulated resources; and thus furnished with the sinews of war, Pertap renewed the contest. The chivalrous clemency which habitually distinguishes the Rajpoot was, for once, merged in a sense of the desperate nature of his position. Komulmeer and thirty-two posts were taken by surprise, and the troops slain without mercy. To use the words of the native annalist, "Pertap made a desert of Mewar; he made an offering to the sword of whatever dwelt in the plains:"‡ and in one campaign, recovered his hereditary dominions, except Chittore, Ajmeer, and Mandelgurh.

Akber, occupied by new fields of conquest, suffered Pertap to retain his territory unmolested; but the mind of the Hindoo prince could know no rest while, from the summit of the pass to Oudipoor (where, in accordance with his vow, he inhabited a lowly hut) might be seen the stately battlements of Chittore, whose re-capture, he felt, was not for him. A spirit ill at ease, accelerated the decay of a frame scarred by repeated wounds, and worn out with hardships and fatigue. His sun went down at noon; but he died (A.D. 1597) as he had lived, an unflinching patriot, enjoining on Umra and his subjects to eschew luxury, and seek, first and last, the independence of Mewar.

The manner in which this dying command was fulfilled belongs to the succeeding reign. We now return to the proceedings of Akber, who, in 1575, headed an army for the subjugation of Bengal. The Afghan ruler, Daood Khan, a weak, dissipated prince, retired before the imperial forces from Behar to Bengal Proper, upon which Akber returned to Agra, leaving his lieutenants to pursue the conquest, which proved a more difficult task than was expected. The chief commanders were Rajah Todar Mal, the celebrated minister of finance, and Rajah Maun Sing, and their efforts were at length successful. Daood was defeated and slain; and the mutinous attempts of various Mogul officers to seize the jaghires of the conquered chiefs for their private benefit, were, after many struggles, put down. The last endeavour of any importance, on the part of the Afghans, to recover the province, terminated in defeat in 1592, and being followed up by concessions of territory to the leading chiefs, the final settlement of Bengal was concluded, after fifteen years of strife and misery. While his generals were thus engaged, Akber was himself occupied in renewed hostilities with Mirza Hakim, who, after having remained long undisturbed in Cabool, again invaded the Punjaub, and assaulted the governor, Maun Sing, in Lahore. The king having raised the siege, drove his brother to the mountains and occupied Cabool; but that government was restored on the submission of the prince, who retained it until his death in 1585. The vicinity of Abdullah, Khan of the Uzbeks, who had recently seized Badakshan from Mirza Soliman, probably induced Akber, on learning the demise of Hakim, to proceed immediately to the strong fort of Attock, which he had previously erected on the principal ferry of the Indus.

guarded and fed them. Bolts and bars are still preserved in the trees about Jawura to which the cradles of the royal children of Mewar were suspended.

* The *changi*, or chief insignia of royalty in Mewar, is a sun of gold in the centre of a disc of black ostrich feathers or felt, about three feet in diameter.

† Such as bearing the title of Raj (royal), the privilege of enjoying "the right hand of the Mewar princes," &c., to which territorial advantages were also added by the grateful Pertap.

‡ All his loyal subjects had previously followed him to the mountains, destroying whatever property they could neither conceal nor carry away. (*Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. i. p. 347.)

Although Badakshan had been the ancient possession of his family, Akber was far too politic to stir up a quarrel with so formidable a foe as its present occupant, while, in another quarter, opportunity invited the exercise of more profitable and less dangerous, though utterly unprovoked aggression. Near at hand, nestled in the very centre of the Himalaya, above the heated plains, below the snowy heights, lay the lovely valley of Cashmere, verdant with perpetual spring. From the age of fable till the beginning of the fourteenth century, this small kingdom had been ruled by a succession of Hindoo princes, interrupted, it would appear, by a Tartar dynasty.* It then fell into the hands of a Mohammedan adventurer, and was held by princes of that religion until 1586, when the distractions prevailing among the reigning family induced Akber to brave the difficult and dangerous passes by which alone this terrestrial paradise could be approached, and send an army, under Shah Rokh Mirza, son of Mirza Soliman (who had entered his service when driven out of Badakshan), and Bhagwandas, of Jeypoor, for its conquest. These chiefs, with difficulty, penetrated through the snow by an unguarded pass; but their supplies being exhausted, were glad to enter into a treaty with the king, Yusuf Shah, by which the supremacy of the emperor was acknowledged, but his practical interference with the province forbidden. Yusuf, relying on the good faith and generosity of Akber, accompanied the troops on their return to the court of that monarch, who, considering the pledge given on his behalf an inconvenient one, detained his guest, and dispatched a fresh force for the occupation of Cashmere. Yacub, the son of the captive, assembled the troops, and prepared to defend the pass; but the prevailing dissensions had extended so widely among the soldiery, that part went over to the invaders, and the prince deemed it best to fall back with the rest on Serinuggur, where strife and rebellion were also at work. Driven thence to the hills, he continued the struggle for two years, but was at last captured and sent to Delhi, where both he and his father were induced by Akber to enter his service, and accept large jaghires in Behar. From this time, Cashmere became the favourite summer retreat of the Mogul rulers.

The imperial arms were next directed against the Eusofzeis and other Afghan tribes inhabiting the hilly countries round the plain of Peshawer, among whom a powerful party had been established by Bayezeed, a false prophet, who founded a sect, self-styled Roushenia, or the enlightened, and declared his followers justified in seizing on the lands and property of all who refused to believe in his divine mission. The impostor was defeated and slain, but his sons bore about his bones in an ark, and the youngest, Jelala, became formidable from his energy and ambition, and succeeded in gaining repeated advantages over the Delhi troops, many of whom perished, including Rajah Beer Bal, one of Akber's favourite generals. In 1600, Jelala obtained possession of the city of Ghuznee, but was eventually expelled and slain. The religious war was continued by his successors during the two next reigns (those of Jehangeer and Shah Jehan); and when the errors of the Roushenias became exploded, the Eusofzeis, who had long renounced their doctrines, continued to maintain hostilities with the house of Timur, and afterwards with the kings of Persia and Cabool, preserving throughout their turbulent independence undiminished.

Sinde was captured in 1592, its ruler, on submission, being, according to the policy of Akber, enrolled among the nobles of the empire; and Candahar, which had been seized by Shah Tahmasp soon after the death of Humayun, was recovered without a blow, in 1594, owing to the disorders which marked the early part of the reign of his successor, Shah Abbas. By this last acquisition, Akber completed the possession of his hereditary kingdom beyond the Indus (the war with the Afghans being confined to the mountains) at nearly the same period at which he concluded the conquest of Hindoostan Proper. Excepting only Oudipoor and its gallant rana, with his immediate retainers, the other Rajpoot states of any im-

* Professor H. H. Wilson considers it to have existed either under the name of Caspapyrus or Abisarus as early as the days of Herodotus and Alexander.—*Essay on the Raj Taringi, or Hindoo History of Cashmere—Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 82. This work was executed by four different persons, the first of whom wrote in 1148, but frequent and precise references are made to earlier writers. The facts and dates become consistent as they approach A.D. 600, and from that period to the termination of the history, with the conquest of the kingdom by Akber, the chronology is accurate. Much interesting matter occurs incidentally, regarding Buddhism and Brahminism, (the former having been very early introduced into Cashmere), and also respecting the ancient worship of the Nagas or Snake Gods.

portance all acknowledged Mogul supremacy, and their chiefs had become changed from jealous tributaries to active auxiliaries.

The Deccan now became the theatre for Akber's aggression, to which its perturbed condition offered every facility. After two years spent by his son, Prince Morad, and other generals, during which time Ahmednuggur was besieged and nobly defended by the Sultana Chand, Akber proceeded in person to the scene of action, where Berar had already been surrendered on behalf of the king of Ahmednuggur. The conquest of Candeish was completed by the reduction of the strong fortress of Aseerghur, in 1599, and Prince Danial made viceroy of the new provinces, with Mirza Khan (the son of Behram, who had received the title of Khan Khanan, formerly bestowed by Humayun on his ill-fated father) as his confidential adviser. Prince Danial took to wife the daughter of Ibrahim II., of Beejapoor, who, like the neighbouring king of Golconda, had deprecated, by presents and embassies, the anger of the powerful Mogul for having sided against his generals in the contest with Ahmednuggur.† These endeavours would probably have proved fruitless, as many similar ones had done, but for the hurried and compulsory return of Akber to Hindoostan, owing to the misconduct of his eldest son and acknowledged heir. Selim was now above thirty years of age, and not deficient in natural ability; but his intellect had been impaired and his heart depraved by the excessive use of wine and opium. Taking possession of Allahabad, he made himself master of Oude and Behar, seized upon treasure amounting to thirty lacs of rupees (£300,000), and assumed the title of king. These pretensions were speedily withdrawn on the appearance of Akber, who behaved with extreme moderation; but his ungrateful son, while expressing submission and fidelity, took an opportunity of revenging his own supposed injuries, and inflicting a severe blow on the feelings of his father, by instigating the assassination of Abul Fazil, whom he both feared and hated. An ambuscade was laid near Gwalior by Nursing Deo Rajah of Oorcha, and Abul Fazil, after a brave defence, was slain with most of his attendants, A.D. 1602. Akber was greatly distressed by the loss of his friend and counsellor. He spent two days without food or sleep, and sent a force against Nursing Deo, with orders to seize his innocent family, ravage his country, and exercise other unwarrantable severities; but the intended victim succeeded in eluding pursuit, and was subsequently raised to high honour on the accession of Selim to the throne.

Akber would not publicly recognise his son's share in the crime;‡ but, on the contrary, conferred on him the privilege of using the royal ornaments, and other marks of the highest distinction. But all in vain. Selim became daily more brutal and debauched, until at last, the public quarrels between him and his son, Khosru (himself a violent-tempered youth) grew to such a height, that Khosru's mother (the sister of Maun Sing), in a moment of grief and despair, swallowed poison; after which, her husband became so cruel and irascible, that Akber thought it necessary to place him under temporary restraint. He was no sooner released than his jealousy of his son (whom he believed, and probably not without reason, desired to supplant him in the succession to the throne) occasioned new scenes of disorder. Meanwhile Khosru himself was, beyond measure, envious of his younger brother, Khoorum (Shah Jehan), who was equally a favourite with both his father and grandfather. While affairs at home were in this unsatisfactory state intelligence arrived of the decease of prince Danial. Morad had died some years before, now this other son, Selim's only remaining brother, was taken from Akber, under circumstances calculated to embitter the bereavement. Intemperance had laid fast hold on its victim, and though so surrounded by the faithful servants of his father as to be unable openly to gratify its solicitations, he found means to have liquor secretly conveyed to him in the barrel of a fowling-piece, and by unrestrained indulgence soon terminated his existence at the age of thirty (April 1605.)

* With this fortress, ten years' provisions and countless treasures fell into the hands of the conqueror, who was supposed to have employed magical arts.

† The chief of Sinde is said to have employed Portuguese officers in his defence against Akber, and to have had 200 natives dressed as Europeans, who were consequently the earliest *sepoys*. He had also a fort defended by an Arab garrison, "the first instance," says Mr. Elphinstone, "in which I have observed any mention of that description of mercenaries afterwards so much esteemed." Vol. ii. p. 297.)

‡ Selim, in his *Memoirs*, openly acknowledges the crime and vindicates it on the plea of Abul Fazil's having induced his father to disbelieve in the Koran. For this reason, he says, "I employed the man who killed Abul Fazil and brought his head to me; and for this it was that I incurred my father's deep displeasure."—Price's *Memoirs of Jahangueir*, p. 33.

Alas for Akber! he was now about sixty-three, and had probably anticipated that an old age of peace and honour might crown a youth of vicissitude and daring adventure, and a manhood of brilliant success. His foes were either silent in the grave, or had been won by politic liberality to a cheerful acknowledgment of his supremacy; and the able system of civil government framed by the aid of the gifted brothers, Abul Fazil and Feizi,* and founded on a careful consideration of the customs and opinions of the Hindoos, had won from the mass of the people a degree of cordial and grateful support which none of the "Great Moguls" before or after Akber ever acquired or even strove for. A total disbeliever in revealed religion,† he had found no difficulty in sanctioning the free exercise of all creeds, and in humouring national vanity, or courting sectarian prejudice whenever it suited his object, and it was always his object to be popular. To the Brahmin, the Buddhist, the Parsee,‡ the Jew and the Roman catholic,§ the emperor listened with courteous deference; and his legislative ability, personal daring, and suavity of manner, won golden opinions from multitudes who cared not to

* Their father, a learned man, named Mobarik, was expelled from his situation as college-tutor at Agra for latitudinarian if not atheistical opinions, which his sons, though professing Moslems, evidently shared. Feizi diligently applied himself to the study of Sanscrit, as did several of the most distinguished men of Akber's court, through which a taste for literature was widely diffused. Feizi was presented to Akber in the twelfth year of his reign, and introduced Abul Fazil six years later, and they jointly became the intimate friends and confidants of their sovereign, who survived them both. An account of the death of Feizi has been recorded by a personal friend but a zealous Mussulman (Abdul Kader), and therefore it may be highly coloured, but, according to him, this celebrated scholar died blaspheming, with distorted features and blackened lips, but of what malady does not appear.—(Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 320.)

† "The religion of Akber," says Mr. Elphinstone, (who, by the aid of a manuscript translation of the *Akbernameh*, has obtained information otherwise accessible only to oriental scholars,) "was pure deism. * * * His fundamental doctrine was, that there were no prophets; his appeal on all occasions was to human reason."—(Vol. ii., p. 322.) This free-thinking did not however interfere with his alleged right as "head of the church, [? what church] to decide all disputes among its members," nor prevent him from introducing a new confession of faith, declaring that "there was no God but God, and *Akber was his caliph*."—(p. 324.) The practices of spiritual instructors of different denominations he did not scruple to adopt, and Abul Fazil, who wrote under his immediate supervision, makes repeated mention of the supernatural endowments which he habitually and publicly exercised, and of the "numerous miracles which he performed." Among the many superstitious modes used in seeking "success in business, restoration of health, birth of a son," &c., a favourite method adopted "by men of all nations and ranks," was to "invocate his majesty," to whom, on the obtainment of their wishes, they brought the offerings which they had vowed. "Not a day passes," says Abul Fazil, "but people bring cups of water to the palace, beseeching him to breathe upon them. He who is privy to the secrets of heaven reads the decrees of fate, and if tidings of hope are received, takes the water from the supplicant, places it in the sun's rays, and then having bestowed upon it his auspicious breath, returns it. Also many, whose diseases are deemed incurable, intreat him to breathe upon them, and are thereby restored to health."—(*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 665.) Had Akber lived in the middle of the nineteenth century he would have taken a peculiar interest in mesmerism, spirit-rapping, and table-turning.

‡ To the customs of this sect Akber practically inclined more than to any other, his stated times of worship being day-break, noon, and midnight. "His majesty," Abul Fazil adds, "has also a great veneration for fire in general, and for lamps, since they are to be accounted rays of the greater light."—Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 160.)

§ Akber appears to have played upon the credulity of the priests sent from Goa in a manner which they have described with much *naïveté*, though no Protestant can read their account without pain and indignation at the thought of the pure and life-giving faith of the meek and lowly Redeemer being presented to the imperial sceptic, under a form so little likely to win respectful attention. He had expressed a wish to see their chapel, which they dressed up for the occasion with every kind of ornament they could borrow from the Hindoos or any other quarter, and Akber declared himself dazzled with the result, and exclaimed that "no other religion could produce such brilliant proofs of its divinity;" a speech which, considering the enormous wealth in gold and gems he must have heard of, if not witnessed, in the idolatrous temples of Hindoostan, would seem little better than a cutting sarcasm. He had on a previous occasion prostrated himself before a representation of the crucifixion, "but his chief emotion was excited on viewing a finely-painted and ornamented image of the Virgin. He gazed on it long in admiration, and declared that she appeared indeed the Queen of Heaven seated on her throne." The friars began to entertain great hopes of his conversion, but soon found that he persisted in "holding himself forth as an object of worship; and though exceedingly tolerant as to other modes of faith, never would admit of any encroachments on his own divinity." One of his courtiers suffered it to transpire that the sole aim of the monarch in listening to the missionaries was "curiosity and amusement," and this was confirmed soon afterwards by Akber's gravely proposing to them, as a means of deciding between their assertions and those of the Mohammedans, that a famous Mullah should leap into a furnace with the Koran in his hand, followed by one of the friars bearing a Bible. He promised that the Mullah should leap in first, hinting that he would not at all regret to see him fall a sacrifice to his presumption; but the friars refused the ordeal, and not feeling "much at ease in the Mogul court, soon solicited and obtained permission to return to Goa."—(Murray's *Account of Discoveries*, vol. ii., p. 92.)

search out the selfishness which was the hidden main-spring of every project, whether ostensibly for the promotion of external aggression or internal prosperity. But now the season for rest had arrived, and he might hope to enjoy the wide-spread dominion and almost incalculable wealth, which a clever head and a sharp sword had combined to win. His strongly-built and handsome frame* had escaped almost unscathed from the dangers and fatigues of the battle-field, the toilsome march, the onslaught of wild beasts, and the weapon of the assassin. All had failed to dispirit or unnerve him, and the conduct of an intricate campaign, or the pressure of civil government (a far more difficult undertaking for one who had to make laws as well as superintend their execution), never absorbed the time and energy necessary to the active part which he loved to bear in mental or bodily exercises of all descriptions, from philosophical discussions to elephant and tiger hunts, animal fights, feats of jugglers, and other strangely varied diversions. Though in youth given to indulgence in the luxuries of the table, in later life he became sober and abstemious, refraining from animal food on particular days, amounting altogether to nearly a quarter of the year. There is, however, reason to believe that, like his father and grandfather, he was addicted to the inordinate use of opium,† an insiduous vice which would partially account for the criminal excesses in another respect attributed to him by Hindoo authorities,‡ and which, however notorious, would unquestionably have been passed over in silence by so fulsome a panegyrist and determined a partisan as Abul Fazil. Regarding the cause of his death, Hindoo records likewise cast a dark cloud,§ to which Mr. Elphinstone makes no allusion, but simply notes the total loss of appetite and prostration of strength which were the chief symptoms of the fatal disease. In truth, the disgraceful nature of his recent domestic afflictions, and the cabals and struggles respecting the succession, (which raged so fiercely that his only son was with difficulty induced to attend his dying bed,) were alone sufficient to bring a proud and sensitive spirit with sorrow to the grave.

Akber expired in October, 1605, having been for nearly the whole forty-nine years of his reign a cotemporary ruler with Elizabeth of England, whose enterprise had prepared an embassy (sent by her successor) to solicit from him the promotion of the peaceful pursuits of commerce between their subjects. How little could these mighty ones of the earth have foreseen that the sceptre of Akber would eventually fall from the feeble grasp of his weak and vicious descendants, into the hands of the struggling community of traders, for whose protection an imperial firman was at first so humbly solicited. These marvellous changes teach great lessons. May we but profit by them.

* "My father," says Jehangeer, "was tall in stature, of a ruddy, or wheaten, or nut-brown complexion; his eyes and eyebrows dark, the latter running across into each other. Handsome in his exterior he had the strength of a lion, which was indicated by the extraordinary breadth of his chest and the length of his arms." A black mole on his nose was pronounced by physiognomists a sure prognostication of extraordinary good fortune.—(Price's *Memoirs of Jahangueir*, p. 45.)

† Ferishta mentions that Akber was taken dangerously ill about 1582, "and as his majesty had adopted the habit of eating opium as Humayun his father had done before him, people became apprehensive on his account."—(Vol. ii., p. 253.)

‡ Abul Fazil states that to the Noroza, or ninth day of each month, Akber gave the name of Khusroz, or day of diversion, and caused a female market or sort of royal fair, to be held and frequented by the ladies of the harem and others of distinction, going himself in disguise to learn the value of different kinds of merchandize, and what was thought of the government and its executive officers.—(*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 228.) Tod attributes the presence of Akber to a different and most disgraceful motive, and says, that however incredible it may seem, that so keen-sighted a statesman should have risked his power and popularity by introducing an immoral festival of Scythic origin, peculiarly opposed to the sensitive honour of the Rajpoots, "yet there is nevertheless not a shadow of doubt that many of the noblest of the race were dishonoured on the Noroza," and one of the highest in the court (Pirthi Raj) was only preserved from being of the number by the courage and virtue of his wife, a princess of Mewar, who, having become separated from her companions, found herself alone with Akber, in return to whose solicitations she "drew a poinard from her corset, and held it to his breast, dictating and making him repeat, an oath of renunciation of such infamy to all her race." The wife of Ray Sing is said to have been less fortunate or less virtuous.—(*Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 345.)

§ "The Boondi records," says Tod, "are well worthy of belief, as diaries of events were kept by her princes, who were of the first importance in this and the succeeding reigns." They expressly state that a desire to be rid of the great Rajah Maun Sing of Jeypoor, to whom he was so much indebted, and whom he did not dare openly attack, induced Akber to prepare a *maajûn* (intoxicating confection), part of which he poisoned—but presenting by mistake the innocuous portion to the Rajah, he took the other himself, and thus perished in his own snare. Maun Sing had excited the displeasure of both Akber and Selim, by seconding the pretensions of his nephew, Khosru to the throne. Old European writers attribute the death of Akber to a similar cause.

At the period of Akber's death the empire was divided into fifteen subahs or provinces, namely, Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajmeer, Guzerat, Behar, Bengal, Delhi, Cabool, Lahore, Moultan, Malwa, Berar, Candeish, and Ahmednuggur. Each had its own viceroy (*sepah sillar*),* who exercised complete control, civil and military, subject to the instructions of the king. Under him were the revenue functionaries, and also the *foujdars*, or military commanders, whose authority extended alike over the regular troops and local soldiery or militia within their districts. Justice was administered by a court composed of an officer named *meer adel* (lord justice) and a *cazi*. The police of considerable towns was under an officer called the *cutwal;* in smaller places, under the revenue officer; and in villages, under the internal authorities.†

The revenue system, by which Akber gained so much celebrity, had, in fact, been partially introduced during the brief reign of Sheer Shah. Its objects were—*First*, to obtain a correct measurement of the land, by the establishment of a uniform standard, to supersede the differing measures formerly employed even by public officers; and by the appointment of fit persons, provided with improved instruments of mensuration, to furnish accounts of all cultivable lands within the empire. *Second*, the land was divided into three classes, according to its fertility; the amount of each sort of produce that a begah‡ would yield was ascertained, the average of the three was assumed as the produce of a begah, and one-third of that produce formed the government demand. But any cultivator who thought the amount claimed too high might insist on an actual measurement and division of the crop. *Third*, the produce was to be converted into a money payment, taken on an average of the preceding nineteen years; but, as in the previous case, every husbandman was allowed to pay in kind if he thought the rate in specie fixed too high. All particulars respecting the classification and revenue of the land were annually recorded in the village registers; and as at the period of the introduction of this system Akber abolished a vast number of vexatious taxes and fees to officers, the pressure on individuals is said to have been lightened, though the profit to the state was increased. It should, however, be remembered that Akber claimed one-third of the produce, and Sheer Shah had professed to take but one-fourth.§ The farming of any branch of the revenue was not allowed, and the collectors were instructed to deal directly with individual cultivators, and not rely implicitly on the headman and accountant of the village.

The chief agent in these reforms was Rajah Todar Mul, whose zealous observance of the fasts and other requirements of the Brahminical religion, doubtless augmented his influence among his own nation. Thus, whether in military proceedings or civil government, Akber always gladly availed himself of the abilities of the Hindoos, of whose character he unquestionably formed a very high estimate,‖ and whose good will (notwithstanding the aggression on which his interference was grounded) he greatly conciliated by three important edicts, which involved concessions to human rights, of a description rarely made by oriental despots, to whose notions of government by the sword all freedom is essentially opposed. In 1561,

* This title was subsequently changed to *subahdar*, and an additional financial officer introduced, named the *dewan*, who was subordinate to the subahdar, but appointed by the king.

† The general tone of the instructions given to these functionaries appears as just and benevolent as could well be expected under a despotism; the question is, how far they were carried out in the right spirit. There are, however, some enactments which reflect little credit on the law-giver, such as the following: "Let him (the cutwal) see that butchers, those who wash dead bodies, and others who perform unclean offices, have their dwelling separate from other men, who should avoid the society of such stony-hearted, dark-minded wretches. Whosoever drinketh out of the same cup with an executioner, let one of his hands be cut off; or if he eateth out of his kettle, deprive him of one of his fingers."—Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*.

‡ An Indian measure, much above half-an-acre.

§ The ancient rulers of Hindoostan, Abul Fazil admits, claimed but one-sixth.—Vol. i., p. 278.

‖ Abul Fazil, who may be taken as a fair exponent of the feelings of his royal master (in the fortieth year of whose reign he wrote), thus expresses himself on this point:—"Summarily the Hindoos are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, cheerful, enamoured of knowledge, fond of inflicting austerities upon themselves, lovers of justice, given to retirement, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings. Their character shines brightest in adversity." He adds his conviction, from frequent discourses with learned Brahmins, that they "one and all believe in the unity of the Godhead; and although they hold images in high veneration, yet they are by no means idolaters," which latter assertion may be doubted as applied to the lower and less-informed professors of any religion which inculcates or suffers the "high veneration" of images. Lastly, he says, "they have no slaves among them," a remark to which we may have occasion to revert in a subsequent section.—*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii., pp. 294-'5.

a prohibition was issued against the making slaves of persons captured in war; an infamous practice, which had gained such a height that not only the innocent wives and children of garrisons taken by storm were sold into slavery, but even the peaceable inhabitants of a hostile country were seized for the same purpose. In 1563, the jezia or capitation-tax on infidels was abolished; and about the same time all taxes on pilgrims were removed, because, "although the tax fell on a vain superstition, yet, as all modes of worship were designed for one Great Being, it was wrong to throw an obstacle in the way of the devout, and to cut them off from their mode of intercourse with their Maker." (*Akber Namah, MS. translation.*)

The condition of the royal slaves* was ameliorated by Akber; but it does not appear that he made any attempt to restore liberty even to those from whom it had been ravished by the glaring injustice above described. Nor would any effort of a purely just and benevolent tendency have been consistent with the character of one whose ambition filled the mountain fortresses of Hindoostan with captives,† and who scrupled not to form minarets of human heads,‡ or give orders for the complete extermination of a flying foe.§

In the regulation of the army great alterations were made: the troops, wherever it was practicable, were paid in cash from the treasury, instead of by jaghires and assignments on the revenue; and the tricks played at the musters by means of servants and camp-followers, mounted for the day on borrowed horses, prevented, by written descriptions of every man's person, and the marking of each horse. But the organization of the army was never very complete. The king named the *munsubdars*‖ or officers, as he thought fit, commanders of from 10 to 10,000 men; but these numbers, in all but the lowest classes, were merely nominal, and only served to fix the rank and pay of the holders, whose actual force, often not a tenth of their figure on paper, when mustered, was paid from the treasury. Each munsubdar was obliged to keep half as many infantry as horsemen; and of the infantry, one-fourth were required to be matchlockmen, the rest might be archers. There were also a distinct body of horsemen, called *ahdis* (single men), whose pay depended upon their merits, but was always much higher than that of the ordinary cavalry. Into every branch of the imperial arrangements, domestic as well as public, the most careful method was introduced—the mint, treasury, and armoury—the harem, with its 5,000¶ inhabitants—the kitchens,** baths, perfume offices, fruiteries, and flower-gardens, alike manifested the order-loving mind of their ruler. The department which he appears to have superintended with especial pleasure, was that comprising the various descriptions of animals, whether belonging to the class peculiarly adapted for the use and benefit of man, or to that of the savage beasts who played a leading part in the barbarous fights and shows which formed the chief popular

* The king (says Abul Fazil) disliking the word slave, desired that of *chelah* (signifying one who relies upon another) to be applied in its place. "Of these unfortunate men there are several kinds: 1st. Those who are considered as common slaves, being infidels taken in battle; and they are bought and sold. 2nd. Those who of themselves submit to bondage. 3rd. The children born of slaves. 4th. A thief who becomes the slave of the owner of the stolen goods. 5th. He who is sold for the price of blood. The daily pay of a chelah is from one dam to one rupee; they are formed into divisions, and committed to the care of skilful persons, to be instructed in various arts and occupations."—Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 209.

† Among the prisoners who perished by violence in the fort of Gwalior, was the only son of the unhappy Kamran. The reason does not appear; but the execution is stated by Price, on the authority of Abul Fazil, as commanded by Akber some time after the death of Kamran; and Ferishta (also apparently quoting the *Akbernameh*) says that Behram Khan was accused of intending to intrigue with the unfortunate prince; a very unlikely supposition, considering the enmity which he had ever displayed towards his father.—Dow's *Hindoostan*, vol. ii., p. 324.

‡ Bird's *Gujarat*, p. 338.

§ "What with the examples made during the reign of my father," writes Jehangeer, "and subsequently during my own, there is scarcely a province in the empire in which, either in battle, or by the sword of the executioner, 500,000 or 600,000 human beings have not fallen victims to [what he terms] their fatal disposition to discontent and turbulence."—(p. 128.) Allowing the narrator to have had, as was doubtless the case, the larger share in this wholesale destruction, and supposing the numbers to be overstated, there yet remains ample evidence to indicate a terrible waste of human life on the part of both monarchs.

‖ None but the king's sons were munsubdars of more than 5,000; and this latter class, according to the *Ayeen Akbery*, comprised only thirty persons.

¶ Each of whom had an apartment and a monthly stipend, "equal to her merit," of from two to 1,610 rupees, that is, from four shillings to £161.

** The emperor took but one meal a-day, for which there being no fixed time, the cooks were ordered to keep 100 dishes always in readiness to set on table at an hour's notice. "What is required for the harem," adds Abul Fazil with sly sarcasm, "is going forward from morning till night."

diversions of the age. The elephants,* dromedaries, and camels; horses and mules; oxen, buffaloes, rhinoceroses, and tame deer; lions, tigers, and panthers; hunting-leopards, hounds, and hawks;—received as much attention as if their royal master had been a veterinary surgeon: while, in the matter of tame partridges and pigeons, no schoolboy could have been a greater adept than the mighty monarch, Akber Padshah.†

The town of Futtehpoor Sikri, near Agra, built and fortified by Akber, although now deserted, presents ample evidence of having been a place, both in magnificence and architectural beauty, adapted for the abode of one of the wealthiest sovereigns the world ever knew. Respecting the amount of the treasures seized from Moslem and Hindoo palaces and temples, we have no reliable information.‡ Jehangeer asserts, that of the paraphernalia and requisites for grandeur, accumulated by Akber, "whether in treasure or splendid furniture of any description, the invincible Timur, who subdued the world, and from whom my father was eighth in descent, did not possess one-tenth." He adds, that Akber, desirous to ascertain the contents of the treasury at Agra, had 400 pairs of scales kept at work, day and night, weighing gold and jewels only. At the expiration of *five months* the work was still far from being concluded; the emperor, from some cause or other, not choosing to have it continued, had the treasures safely secured, and was content to be the master of "untold gold." In this astounding statement there would seem to be either some great mistake on the part of the copyist,§ or gross exaggeration on that of the royal autobiographer. The latter is probably in fault; for although he frequently criminates himself by confessing the commission of crimes which other writers would scarcely have ventured to attribute to him (the murder of Abul Fazil, for instance), yet his credulity and tendency to "high colouring," render much sifting necessary before receiving his assertions, and greatly enhance the value of corroborative evidence. European travellers go far to establish the probability of otherwise incredible statements regarding the enormous wealth of the Great Moguls, by their descriptions of the magnificence of the court, and also of the steady influx of gold and silver still annually received in return for silk, cotton, spices, and various products, for which coin or bullion was the chief exchange, other commodities or manufactures being taken only in comparatively small quantities.

*Reign of Jehangeer.*—The bier of Akber was carried through the palace-gates of Agra by Selim and his three sons, Khosru, Khoorum, and Parvaez, and borne thence to its stately mausoleum‖ at Secundra (three miles distant), by the princes and chief

* According to Abul Fazil, Akber had between 5,000 and 6,000 elephants, of whom 101 were kept for his own riding. He delighted in the exercise; and, even when in their most excited state, would place his foot on the tusk of one of these enormous creatures, and mount in an instant; or spring upon its back, from a wall, as it rushed furiously past. A fine elephant cost a lac of rupees (£10,000), had five men and a boy allotted for its service, and a stated daily allowance of rice, sugar, milk, ghee, &c., besides 300 sugar-canes per diem, during the season. Every ten elephants were superintended by an officer, whose duty it was to report daily to the emperor their exact condition—whether they ate less food than usual, or were in any way indisposed.

† On a journey or march, the court was never accompanied by less than 20,000 pigeons, with *bearers* carrying their houses. Of the quality of these birds, Abul Fazil remarks, his majesty had discovered "infallible criterions," such as twisting their feet, slitting their eyelids, or opening their nostrils.

‡ In Mandelsloe's travels (Harris's *Voyages*, vol. iii., p. 762), an inventory is given of the treasure in jewels, bullion, coin, and other property belonging to Akber at the time of his death, which that traveller states to have been furnished him by "very knowing and worthy persons," in the reign of Shah Jehan, whom he describes as possessing "eight large vaults filled with gold, silver, and precious stones, the value of which is inestimable." The items are interesting—in certain sorts of money coined by the express order of Akber, in another description, called Akber rupees, and in "payses [pice], sixty whereof make a crown,"—total value = 199,173,333 crowns, or about £50,000,000 sterling. In jewels, 30,026,026 crowns; "statues of gold, of divers creatures," 9,503,370 c.; gold plate, dishes, cups, and household-stuff, 5,866,895 c.; porcelain and other earthen vessels, 1,255,873 c.; brocades—gold and silver stuffs, silks and muslins, 7,654,989 c.; tents, hangings, and tapestries, 4,962,772 c.; twenty-four thousand manuscripts, richly bound, 3,231,865 c.; artillery and ammunition, 4,287,985 c; small arms, swords, bucklers, pikes, bows, arrows, &c., 3,777,752 c.; saddles, bridles, and other gold and silver accoutrements, 1,262,824 c.; coverings for elephants and horses, embroidered with gold, silver, and pearls, 2,500,000 c.; woollen cloths, 251,626 c.; brass and copper utensils, 25,612 c.; making a total (coin included) of 274,113,793 c., or £68,528,448 sterling.

§ The Persian copy of Jehangeer's *Memoirs*, translated by Major Price, was unfortunately imperfect; that from which Mr. Gladwin has borrowed largely, is considered less defective.

‖ This superb structure, begun by Akber, was finished by his successor, who declared the total cost to have been about £1,800,000. The amiable mother of Akber, Hameida, afterwards termed Miriam Mekani, had been buried only two years before in Humayun's tomb at Delhi.

nobles. Owing to the exertions made by the late sovereign on his death-bed to prevent the threatened outbreak of domestic rivalry, and to the successful negotiations entered into with Rajah Maun Sing, and other leading persons, Selim was proclaimed emperor unopposed. With undisguised delight he mounted the jewelled throne, on which such enormous sums had been lavished, and placed on his brows the twelve-pointed crown.* The chief ameers were summoned from the different provinces to attend the gorgeous and prolonged ceremonial; for forty days and nights the *nukara*, or great state-drum, sounded triumphantly; odoriferous gums were kept burning in censers of rare workmanship, and immense candles of camphorated wax, in branches of gold and silver, illumined the hours of darkness.

Considering "universal conquest the peculiar vocation of sovereign princes," the new emperor, in the coinage struck upon his accession, assumed the title of Jehangeer (conqueror of the world), and expressed a hope so to acquit himself as to justify the assumption of this high-sounding epithet. His early measures† were of a more pacific and benevolent tendency than might have been expected either from this commencement, or his general character. He confirmed most of his father's old servants in their offices; issued orders remitting some vexatious duties which existed, notwithstanding the recent reformatory measures; and desiring to give access to all classes of people who might choose to appeal to him personally, caused a gold chain to be hung between a stone pillar near the Jumna and the walls of the citadel of Agra, communicating with a string of little bells suspended in his private apartments; so that the suitor, by following the chain, would be enabled to announce his presence to the emperor without any intermediary. For this invention, Jehangeer takes great credit, and also for the interdict placed by him on the use of wine, and the regulations for that of opium; but as his own habits of nightly intoxication were notorious,‡ the severe punishment with which he visited all other offenders against the laws of strict temperance, gives little evidence of the rigid justice so repeatedly put forward in his autobiography,§ as his leading principle of action. Among his first proceedings, was the release of all prisoners throughout the empire. "From the fortress of Gwalior alone," he says, "there were set at liberty no less than 7,000 individuals, some of whom had been in confinement for forty years. Of the number discharged altogether on this occasion, some conception may be formed, when it is mentioned, that within the limits of Hindoostan there are not less than 2,400 fortresses, of name and strength, exclusive of those in the kingdom of Bengal, which surpass all reckoning."—(*Memoirs*, p. 10.)

* The crown and throne, those favourite symbols of power, with which eastern kings have ever delighted to dazzle the eyes of their subjects, were of extraordinary magnificence and beauty. The former—made by the order of Akber, in the fashion of that worn by the Persian kings—had twelve points, each surmounted by a diamond of the purest water, while the central point terminated in a single pearl of extraordinary size; the whole (including many valuable rubies) being estimated at a cost equivalent to £2,070,000 sterling. The throne, so constructed as to be easily taken to pieces and put together again, was ascended by silver steps, on the top of which four silver lions supported a canopy of pure gold, the whole adorned with jewels, to an amount, which Price translates, as equal to £30,000,000 sterling.

† One of these, most creditable to Jehangeer, involves a terrible revelation of existing evils. He ordered the governor of Bengal to take decided measures for abolishing the infamous practice, long used in Silhet and other dependencies of Bengal, of compelling the people to sell their children, or else emasculate and deliver them up to the governors of those provinces in satisfaction for their rents,—by which means some thousand eunuchs had been made yearly.—Gladwin's *Jehangeer*, p. 104.

‡ Sir Thomas Roe was occasionally admitted to the evening entertainments, when the Great Mogul, seated on a low throne, threw off all restraint, and, together with most of his companions, drank himself into a state of maudlin intoxication. A courtier once indiscreetly alluded, in public, to a debauch of the previous night, upon which Jehangeer affected surprise, inquired what other persons had shared in this breach of the law, and ordered those named to be so severely bastinadoed that one of them died. In his *Memoirs*, he makes no secret of his habitual excesses, but says his usual allowance once reached twenty cups of spirits a-day, and that if he was a single hour without his beverage, his hands began to shake, and he was unable to sit at rest. After coming to the throne, he took for some time but five cups (little more than a quart), diluted with wine, and only after night-fall. Of opium, his daily dose, at forty-six years of age, was eight ruttees, or sixty-four grains.

§ This Autobiography resembles that of Timur in the manner in which the royal narrator boldly alleges good motives for his worst deeds, and after describing the torments and cruel deaths inflicted by him on thousands of unhappy beings, dwells, almost in the same page, on his own compassionate and loving nature, giving, as examples, the letting free of birds, deluded by the skilful murmuring of the Cashmerians into captivity; his regret for the death, by drowning, of a little boy who used to guide his elephant, and similar circumstances. In spite of its defects, the book is both valuable and interesting, as throwing much light on the customs and

Jehangeer was not long permitted to enjoy in peace his vast inheritance.* The partial reconciliation between him and Prince Khosru was little more than a temporary cessation of hostilities, marked by distrust and tyranny on the one side—sullenness and disaffection on the other. At length, some four months after his accession, the emperor was aroused at midnight with the tidings that his son had fled to Delhi, with a few attendants. A detachment was immediately sent in pursuit, and Jehangeer followed in the morning with all the force he could collect; but notwithstanding these prompt measures, Khosru succeeded in assembling upwards of 10,000 men (who subsisted by plunder), and obtained possession of Lahore. He was, however, defeated in a contest with a detachment of the royal troops; taken prisoner in a boat, which ran aground in the Hydaspes; and inless than a month, the whole rebellion was completely quashed. When brought in chains of gold into the presence of his father, Khosru, in reply to the reproaches and questions addressed to him, refused to criminate his advisers or abettors, entreating that his life might be deemed a sufficient penalty for the offences he had instigated. Jehangeer, always ready to take advantage of any plausible pretext for the exercise of his barbarous and cruel disposition, spared his son's life,† but wreaked an ample vengeance, by compelling him to witness the agonies of his friends and adherents. Some were sewn up in raw hides and exposed to a burning sun, to die in lingering tortures of several days' duration; others flayed alive; while no less than 700 were impaled in a line leading from the gate of Lahore, and so long as any of these unfortunates continued to breathe, the prince was brought daily to the spot, in mock state, mounted on an elephant and preceded by a mace-bearer, who called out to him to receive the salutations of his servants. Khosru passed three days and nights without tasting food, and long remained a prey to the deepest melancholy. At the expiration of a year, Jehangeer seemed disposed to lighten his captivity by suffering his chains to be struck off, but a conspiracy for his release being subsequently detected (or invented by the partisans of Prince Khoorum), he was confined as closely as before.

In 1607, an army was despatched, under Mohabet Khan (son of Sagurji, the recreant brother of Pertap), against Umra, Rana of Oudipoor, and another under the Khan Khanan, into the Deccan; but both were unsuccessful, and the latter especially received repeated defeats from Malek Amber, who retook Ahmednuggur; and uniting to his talents for war no less ability for civil government, introduced a new revenue system into the Deccan, and obtained there equal celebrity to that acquired by Rajah Todar Mul in Hindoostan.

During these proceedings, Jehangeer was privately occupied in the criminal intrigues which resulted in his marriage with the celebrated Nour Jehan. This clever, but unprincipled woman, was the daughter of a Persian adventurer,‡ who having succeeded in gaining admittance to the service of Akber, rose to a position of trust and honour. His wife frequently visited the royal harem with her young daughter, whose attractions speedily captivated the heir-apparent. Akber being made aware of what was passing, had Nour Jehan bestowed in marriage on Sheer Afghan, a young

opinions of the age, and on the demonology, alchemy, and various superstitions in which Jehangeer was as firm a believer as his royal compeer, James I., of England, whom he resembled in another point, namely, strong dislike to tobacco (then newly introduced by the Portuguese), against which he also issued a "counterblast," in the shape of a decree, forbidding its use in Hindoostan, as Shah Abbas had previously done throughout Persia.

* Besides the treasure accumulated by his father, he received the property (amounting, in jewels alone, to £4,500,000,) which Danial had contrived to amass in the Deccan, in great measure by open violence, or, as Jehangeer mildly phrases it, by compelling people to sell to him elephants and other property, and sometimes omitting to pay for them. The 300 ladies of the prince's harem were likewise sent to the emperor; who, being somewhat puzzled how to dispose of so large an addition to his family, gave them to understand that they were, one and all, free to bestow themselves and their dowries on any of the nobles who might desire them in marriage.

† There is a passage in the *Memoirs* which indicates pretty clearly that Jehangeer would have felt little scruple in following "the distinguished example" given by "the house of Othman, who, for the stability of their royal authority, of all their sons, preserve but one, considering it expedient to destroy all the rest."—(p. 66.)

‡ Gheias was a man well born, but reduced to poverty, and driven to seek subsistence by emigrating with his wife and children to India. Directly after reaching Candahar, Nour Jehan was born; and, being worn down with fatigue and want, the miserable parents exposed the infant on a spot by which the caravan was to pass. The expedient succeeded: a rich merchant saw and took compassion on the child, relieved the distress of its parents, and, perceiving the father and eldest son to be persons of education and ability, procured for them suitable employment.

Persian, distinguished for his bravery, to whom he gave a jaghire in Bengal, whither he proceeded, accompanied by his young bride. But the matter did not end here; for Jehangeer, about a year after his accession, took occasion to intimate to Kootb-oo-deen, the viceroy of Bengal (his foster-brother), his desire to obtain possession of the object of his unhallowed passion. Endeavours were made to sound Sheer Afghan on the subject; but the high-spirited chief, at the first intimation of the designs entertained against his honour, threw up his command, and left off wearing arms, as a sign that he was no longer in the king's service. After this, repeated attempts were made to assassinate him, until at length, at a compulsory interview with Kootb-oo-deen, perceiving himself entrapped, he resolved to sell his life dearly—slew the viceroy and several other officers, and at last fell himself, covered with wounds. Nour Jehan was seized and sent to court, but, either from some temporary aversion on her part to the murderer of her husband, or (for the tale is differently told) from some equally short-lived compunction on his, she was allowed to remain in the seraglio unnoticed for above four years. The passion of the emperor at length reviving, he made her his wife; bestowed on her, by an imperial edict, the title of empress; and styled her first, Nour Mahal (*the light of the harem*), and afterwards Nour Jehan (*the light of the world*.) Her influence became unbounded: beginning by a feminine desire for splendid jewels,* she soon manifested her capacity for coveting and exercising arbitrary dominion, and evinced as much energy and ambition, and as little principle as could be paralleled in many (so called) "great men." Honours never before enjoyed by the consort of any Indian potentate were lavished upon her, even to the conjunction of her name on the coin with that of Jehangeer; her father, Mirza Gheias, was made prime minister; her brother, Asuf Khan, placed in a high station; and, on every affair in which she took an interest, her will was law.

The legislative ability of Mirza Gheias produced beneficial effects in public affairs; and his modest, yet manly bearing, conciliated the nobility, who soon learned to appreciate the value of the control which he exercised over the ill-regulated mind of the emperor. Nour Jehan found employment in superintending the construction of public edifices and gardens; and by skilful management, increased the magnificence of the court and lessened the expenditure. The mode of preparing the famous otto of roses is generally attributed, in India, either to her or to her mother.

Soon after this marriage, the disturbances in Bengal, which had prevailed throughout the previous years of Jehangeer's reign, were brought to a close A.D. 1612. Malek Amber's Mahratta-like mode of warfare proved increasingly successful in the Deccan, and the imperial forces were decidedly worsted; but in Mewar, Prince Khoorum, at the head of 20,000 men, obtained the submission of Rana Umra Sing, who, after sustaining seventeen pitched battles, was at length compelled to bow to the Moguls "the crimson banner" which, for more than 800 years, had waved in proud independence over the heads of the Gehlotes. Prince Khoorum (the son of a Rajpootni) evinced affectionate respect towards his brave foe;†

* Jehangeer states that he assigned for her dowry an amount equal to £7,200,000 sterling, "which sum she requested as indispensable for the purchase of jewels, and I granted it without a murmur."—(p. 271.) He also gave her a pearl necklace, comprising forty beads, each one of great worth. These statements must, of course, be taken *quantum valeat*, and are only cited to enable the reader to form some idea of the numerous and costly jewels worn at the period: the accumulation of which had been for ages the favourite employment of the Hindoo princes, from whom they had been plundered. In evidence of the excessive desire for splendid jewels, may be noticed the testimony of Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain—that one of the courtiers purchased from a merchant a large pear-shaped pearl, which he had brought with him from England, for the sum of £1,200.

† The Rajpoots have been fortunate in having had Tod for a chronicler; but they still need a Walter Scott to popularize their deeds of love and war in the eyes of those who care not to look on truth unmixed with fiction. Yet Rajpoot annals, even in the sober page of the historian, are fraught with romance and chivalry. Take one instance. During the war with Jehangeer, an opportunity occurred to recover some frontier lands in the plains, and Umra, with all his chiefs, assembled for the purpose. Two rival clans (whose feuds largely contributed to the ruin of Mewar) disputed the privilege of forming the *herole* or vanguard, and the sword would have decided the question but for the tact of the prince, who exclaimed, "The herole to the clan that first enters Ontala." Ontala was a frontier fortress, about eighteen miles east of Oudipoor, situated on rising ground, with a stream flowing beneath its massy walls, round towers at intervals, and but one gate. Some hours before day-break the clans moved off to the attack; the Suktawuts arrived first, and made directly for the gateway; the Chondawuts, less skilled in topography, traversed a swamp, which retarded them; but they brought ladders, and, on arriving, their chief at once commenced the escalade. A ball struck him back lifeless among his vassals. Meanwhile, the Suktawuts were also checked; for the elephant on which

and Jehangeer himself, delighted at having obtained, by means of the valour of his favourite son, the homage of a prince whose ancestors, intrenched in their mountain strongholds, "had never beheld a king of Hindoostan, or made submission to any one," sent to the rana a friendly firman, with the "impress of his five fingers," and desired Khoorum, "by any means by which it could be brought about, to treat this illustrious one according to his own heart's wishes."* The personal attendance of Umra at the Mogul court was excused, and a similar exemption extended to the future reigning sovereigns of Mewar, the heir-apparent being received as their representative. Prince Kurrun, the son and successor of Umra, was most honourably welcomed by Jehangeer, who placed him on his right hand, above every other noble, and declared that "his countenance carried the impression of his illustrious extraction."† Nour Jehan likewise loaded him with gifts and dignities; but the prince, feeling his newly-forged chains none the lighter for the flowers with which they were wreathed, still remained sad and humiliated, though courteous in his bearing. Umra was yet further from being reconciled to become a fief-holder of the empire. To receive the imperial firman outside his capital was the only concession demanded from him, in return for which Khoorum offered to withdraw every Moslem from Mewar. But he could not be brought to submit to the humiliation; therefore, assembling the chiefs, he made the *teeka* (the ancient symbol of sovereignty) on his son's forehead, and forthwith quitted the capital, and secluded himself in a neighbouring palace, on the borders of a lake. The stately form of Umra, "the tallest and strongest of the princes of Mewar," never again crossed the threshold until it was borne, as dust and ashes, to be deposited in the sepulchre of his fathers; but Prince Khoorum visited him, as a friend, in his retirement, and, in after years, had abundant reason to rejoice in the sympathy which he had manifested towards the Rajpoot princes of Oudipoor.

In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe arrived at court, then held at Ajmeer, as ambassador from James I. His journey from Surat, by Boorhanpoor and Chittore, lay through the Deccan, where war was raging; and the rana's country, where it had just ceased; yet he met with no obstruction or cause for alarm, except from mountaineers, who took advantage of the disturbed state of the times to molest travellers. The emperor received him favourably, notwithstanding the opposition and intrigues of the Portuguese Jesuits, and the contrast afforded by the unpretending character of his presents‡ and retinue to the magnificent ceremonial which he daily witnessed, and in which he was permitted to take part without performing the humiliating prostration which Jehangeer, like Akber, demanded from those who approached him, despite the belief of all zealous Mohammedans, that such homage could be fitly offered to the Deity alone.

The greatest displays took place on the

their leader rode, and on whose strength he depended to force the gate, was deterred from approaching by its projecting spikes. His men were falling thick about him, when a shout from the rival clan inspired a desperate resolve. Springing to the ground, he covered the spikes with his own body, and bade the driver, on pain of instant death, propel the elephant against him. The gates gave way, and over the dead body of their chief the clan rushed on to the combat, and, fighting with resistless energy, slaughtered the Moguls, and planted on the castle the standard of Mewar. But the herole was not for them; for the next in rank and kin, and heir to the Chondawut leader, had caught the lifeless body as it fell, and, true to his title (the mad chief of Deogurh), wrapped it in his scarf, slung it on his back, and, scaling the wall, cleared the way with his lance, until he was able to fling his burden over the parapet, shouting—"the herole to the Chondawuts! we are first in!"

* Colonel Tod mentions having seen the identical firman in the rana of Oudipoor's archives. The hand being immersed in a compost of sandal-wood, is applied to the paper, to which the impression of the palm and five fingers is thus clearly, and even lastingly affixed.—*Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 362.

† *Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 364. Tod had probably a more perfect copy of *Jehangeer's Memoirs* than that translated by Price, as he cites passages not to be found in the English version.

‡ The most acceptable of these seems to have been a coach, a mode of conveyance then newly used in England. Jehangeer had it taken to pieces by native workmen, who, having built another with more costly materials, reconstructed the pattern-one, substituting double-gilt silver nails for the originals of brass, and a lining of silver brocade instead of Chinese velvet. Some pictures, likewise, proved suitable gifts; and one of them was so accurately copied by native artists, that Roe being shown the original and five copies by candle-light, could not, without some difficulty, distinguish that which he had brought from England. Once, being much pressed for some offering wherewith to gratify Jehangeer's insatiable covetousness, he presented to him a book of maps (*Mercator's Cosmography*), with which the emperor was at first excessively delighted; but, on examination, finding the independent kingdoms there delineated somewhat too numerous to accord with his grandiloquent title, he returned the volume, saying that he should not like to deprive the ambassador of so great a treasure.—*A Voyage to East India*, by Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain. London, 1665.

emperor's birth-day, when there was a general fair and many processions and ceremonies, among which the most striking was the weighing of the royal person twelve times, in golden scales, against gold, silver, perfumes, and other substances, which were afterwards distributed among the spectators. The festivities lasted several days, during which time the king's usual place was in a sumptuous tent, shaded by rich awnings, while the ground, for the space of at least two acres, was spread with silken carpets and hangings, embroidered with gold, pearl, and precious stones. The nobility had similar pavilions, where they received visits from each other, and sometimes from the sovereign. But beneath the veil of splendour and outward decorum, all was hollow and unsound. The administration of the country was rapidly declining; the governments were farmed, and the governors exacting and tyrannical; though, occasionally, an appeal from some injured person brought upon the oppressor the vengeance of the emperor, from which neither ability nor station could purchase immunity. The highest officials were open to corruption; and Roe, finding the treaty he was sent to negotiate remained unaccomplished after two years' tarry, deemed it expedient to bribe Asuf Khan with a valuable pearl, after which he soon succeeded in procuring for the English a partial liberty of trade; and then joyfully took his leave. The military spirit of the Moslems had already evaporated in an atmosphere of sloth and sensuality; and the Rajpoots, Patans, and Beloochees were spoken of by cotemporary writers (Terry, Hawkins, Roe) as the only brave soldiers to be found. The language of the court was Persian, but all classes spoke Hindoostani. In the royal family, the succession was a matter of jealous discussion: Khosru was considered to have forfeited his prior claim by rebellion; and Parvaez, the next in age, being far inferior in ability to his younger brother, Khoorum, would, it was expected, be set aside to make way for the latter prince, who had married a niece of Nour Jehan, and was supported in his pretensions by her all-powerful influence.

In 1616, a great expedition was sent to the Deccan, of which the command was given to Khoorum, together with the title by which he was thenceforth known, of Shah Jehan (king of the world).* He succeeded in regaining Ahmednuggur and other places, captured by Malek Amber, who was compelled to make submission on the part of his nominal sovereign, Nizam Shah; but, in 1621, renewed the war. Shah Jehan was again dispatched to the Deccan; but, from some rising distrust, refused to march unless his unhappy brother, Prince Khosru (who, by the earnest mediation of Parvaez, had had his chains struck off, and some measure of liberty allowed him) were entrusted to his custody. This desire was complied with, and Khoorum proceeded to attack Malek Amber, whom he at length brought to risk a general action. The result was very favourable to the Moguls, who granted peace on condition of a further cession of land and a considerable sum of money. Soon after this success, Jehangeer was prostrated by a dangerous attack of asthma. At this critical juncture, Prince Khosru died suddenly, and his rival brother, to whose charge he had been entrusted, was accused of having incited his assassination. However caused, it is remarkable that this event, which seemed especially calculated to strengthen the pretensions of Shah Jehan to the succession, proved to be only the commencement of a long series of dangers and disasters. The emperor partially recovered, and ever after manifested distrust and aversion to his previously favourite child. He evidently shared the suspicions generally entertained regarding

* Jehangeer established himself at Ajmeer, in 1613, in readiness to support his son in his operations against the Rana of Oudipoor, and had held his court there ever since. He now proceeded to take up his residence at Mandu, in Malwa, for the similar reason of being nearer to the seat of war. Sir Thomas Roe was permitted to follow in the suite of the court. He describes the royal progress as resembling a triumphal procession on a scale of extreme magnificence. Jehangeer himself, before entering *his coach*, showed himself to the people, literally laden with jewels—from his rich turban, with its plume of heron feathers, whence "on one side hung a rubie unset, as bigge as a walnut, on the other side a diamond as great, in the middle an emerald like a heart, much bigger," down to his "embroidered buskins with pearle, the toes sharpe and turning up." Immediately after the king rode Nour Jehan, also in an English carriage. The Leskar, or imperial camp, was admirably arranged, and occupied a circumference of at least twenty miles; looking down from it from a height, it resembled a beautiful city of many-coloured tents; that of the emperor in the centre, with its gilded globes and pinnacles, forming a sort of castle, from whence diverged numerous streets, laid out without the least disorder, since every one, whether noble or shop-keeper, knew the precise spot on which he must place himself by its distance from, and situation with regard to, the royal pavilion.—(Murray's *Discoveries*, vol. ii. p. 153.)

Khosru's fate; besides which, the empress having recently affianced her daughter* by Sheer Afghan, to Prince Shehriar (Jehangeer's youngest son), attached herself to his interests, forseeing that, in the event of his accession to the throne, she might continue to exercise a degree of power, which, under the sway of his more able and determined brother, was not to be expected.

With a view of removing Shah Jehan from the scene of his power and triumphs, he was directed to attempt the recovery of Candahar from the Persians, by whom it had been recently seized. The prince, perceiving the object of this command, delayed compliance on one pretext or another, until discussions arose, which issued in his breaking out into open rebellion, A.D. 1623. The crisis was fraught with danger to all parties. The father of Nour Jehan, on whom both she and the emperor had implicitly relied, was dead; Asuf Khan, though he seemed to move like a puppet according to her will, naturally leant towards his son-in-law; Parvaez, though a brave soldier, needed as a general an able counsellor by his side; nor does Shehriar seem to have been calculated to take the lead in this fierce and prolonged feud.† At length Nour Jehan cast her eyes on Mohabet Khan, the most rising general of the time, but, heretofore, the especial opponent of her brother, Asuf Khan. To him, jointly with Parvaez, was entrusted the conduct of hostilities against Shah Jehan, who retreated to Boorhanpoor, but was driven from thence to Bengal, of which province, together with Behar, he gained possession, but was expelled, and obliged to seek refuge in the Deccan, where he was welcomed and supported by his former foe, Malek Amber. At the expiration of two years he proffered his submission, and surrendered to Jehangeer the forts of Rohtas in Behar, and Asserghur in the Deccan, together with his two sons (Dara and Aurungzebe), but he himself took refuge with the Rajpoots of Mewar.‡

Scarcely was this storm allayed, before a still more alarming one burst over the head of the emperor, provoked by his violent temper, and also by the domineering and suspicious conduct of Nour Jehan. The growing popularity of Mohabet Khan had, it would appear, excited jealousy, and he was summoned to answer, in person, various charges of oppression and embezzlement adduced against him during the time of his occupation of Bengal. He set out for court, attended by a body of 5,000 Rajpoots, whom he had contrived to attach to his service. Before his arrival, Jehangeer, learning that he had ventured to betroth his daughter without the customary form of asking the royal sanction, sent for the bridegroom, a young nobleman named Berkhordar, caused him to be stripped naked, and beaten with thorns in his own presence; seized on the dowry he had received from Mohabet, and sequestrated all his other property. On approaching the camp, Mohabet was informed of what occurred, and also that the emperor would not see him; upon which he resolved, while the means remained at his command, to make a bold stroke for life and liberty. Jehangeer was at this time preparing to cross the Hydaspes, by a bridge of boats, on his way to Cabool; the troops had passed, and he intended to follow at leisure, when Mohabet, by a sudden attack, just before day-break, gained possession of the bridge, and surprised the royal tent, where the emperor, scarcely recovered from the effects of the last night's debauch, was awakened by the rush of armed men. Mohabet pretended to have been driven to this extremity by the enemies who had poisoned the mind of his master against him, and Jehangeer, after the first burst of rage, thought it best to conciliate his captor by affecting to believe this statement, and agreed to accompany him, in public, under the guardianship of a body of Rajpoots. Nour Jehan, on learning that the emperor had been carried to the tents of Mohabet Khan, put on a disguise, and succeeded in reaching the royal camp on the opposite side of the river, where she set on foot immediate preparations for a forcible rescue. Jehangeer, afraid of what might happen to himself in the confusion, sent a messenger with his signet, to desire that no attack might be made; but she treated the message as a trick of Mohabet Khan's, and, at the head of the army, began to ford the river, the bridge having been, in the interim, burned by the Rajpoots. Rockets, balls,

* Della Valle states, that Nour Jehan had previously desired to marry her daughter to Khosru, offering, on that condition, to obtain his release; but he steadily refused, from strong affection to the wife he had already married, and who, after vainly urging him to comply with the proffered terms, continued as heretofore the patient companion of his long and sad captivity.—(*London translation of* 1665, p. 30.)

† According to Gladwin, this war "so deluged the empire with blood, that there was hardly a family but shared in the calamity."—*Hindoostan*, vol. i. p. 45.

‡ Shah Jehan was warmly befriended in Oudi-

and arrows were discharged upon the troops, as they strove to make good their passage over a dangerous shoal, full of pools, with deep water on either side; and, on setting foot on the beach, they were fiercely opposed by the Rajpoots, who drove them back into the water, sword in hand. The ford became choked with horses and elephants, and a frightful sacrifice of life ensued. The empress* was among those who succeeded in effecting a landing, and at once became the special object of attack. The elephant on which she rode was speedily surrounded, the guards cut to pieces, and, among the balls and arrows which fell thick round her howdah, one wounded the infant daughter of Shehriar, who was seated in her lap, and another killed her driver. The elephant having received a severe cut on the proboscis, dashed into the river, and was carried along by the current; but, after several plunges, swam out, and safely reached the shore, where Nour Jehan was quickly surrounded by her attendants, who found her engaged in extracting the arrow, and binding up the wound of the terrified infant. The repulse was complete; for, although a portion of the royalists, under an officer named Fedai Khan, had, during the confusion of the battle, entered the enemy's camp at an unsuspected point, and penetrated so far that their balls and arrows fell within the tent where Jehangeer was seated, they were compelled to retire by the general defeat, and Fedai Khan, having lost most of his men, and being himself wounded, immediately took refuge in the neighbouring fort of Rohtas, of which he was governor.

Nour Jehan, perceiving the hopelessness of attempting the forcible rescue of her husband, determined to join him in his captivity; and her brother, with other leaders, were eventually obliged to surrender themselves to Mohabet Khan, who appeared to be completely triumphant, but whose position, nevertheless, demanded great circumspection. He had from the first affected to treat Jehangeer with much ceremonious deference; and the captive monarch, tutored by Nour Jehan, pretended to be completely reconciled to his position, and glad to be relieved from the thraldom of Asuf Khan. He even carried his duplicity so far as to warn Mohabet of the ambition and discontent of the empress, and acted his part so cleverly, as completely to deceive his gaoler. Meanwhile the army advanced to Cabool, and the Afghans in the neighbourhood showed every disposition to take part with the emperor, while the dissensions among the troops gave full employment to their general. Nour Jehan was too able an intriguante not to take advantage of such favourable circumstances. She employed agents to enlist fit men in scattered points at a distance, whence some were to straggle into the camp, as if in quest of service; while others were to remain at their positions, and await further orders. Jehangeer next suggested a muster of the troops of all the jaghiredars, of whom the empress formed an important member, holding large estates, and having been made a munsubdar of 30,000; commanders of that rank being, it will be remembered, only expected or even suffered to maintain a much smaller number. When summoned to produce her contingent, she expressed indignation at being placed on the level of an ordinary subject; but, on pretence of desiring to produce a respectable muster, increased her previous force, by gradually receiving the recruits from the country. Mohabet Khan began to suspect some plot, but suffered himself to be persuaded by Jehangeer to avoid personal risk, by forbearing to accompany him to the muster of Nour Jehan's contingent. The emperor advanced alone to the review, and had no sooner got to the centre of the line, than the troops closed in on him, cut off the Rajpoot horse, by whom he was guarded, and, being speedily joined by their confederates, placed his person beyond the reach of recapture. Mohabet Khan, perceiving himself completely duped, withdrew to a distance with his troops, and, after some attempts at negotiation, came to an open rupture, and entered into alliance with Shah Jehan. This prince had endeavoured to take advantage of his father's captivity to renew hostilities, by marching from the Deccan to Ajmeer at the head of little more than 1,000 men; but the death of his chief adherent, Rajah Kishen Sing, deprived him of at least half his followers, and he was compelled to fly across the desert to

poor, where a sumptuous edifice was raised for his use, adorned with a lofty dome crowned with a crescent; the interior richly decorated with mosaic in onyx, cornelian, jasper and agates, rich Turkey carpets, &c.; and that nothing of state might be wanting to the royal refugee, a throne was sculptured from a single block of serpentine, supported by quadriform female caryatidæ: in the court a little chapel was erected to the Moslem-Saint, Madar.

* Nour Jehan was a true Amazon: Jehangeer records with much pride her having, on a hunting party, killed four tigers with a matchlock from her elephant.

Sinde. Thence he purposed proceeding to Persia, but, being delayed by sickness, remained there until affairs took a more promising turn. Parvaez died at Boorhanpoor, according to the general account, of epilepsy, brought on by excessive drinking, though Tod asserts him to have been slain at the instigation of Shah Jehan, who proceeded to the Deccan, where he was joined by Mohabet Khan.

Jehangeer, shortly after his restoration to liberty, quitted Cabool for his residence at Lahore, and from thence set off on his annual visit to "the blooming saffron meads" of Cashmere. But the autumn was unusually cold, and the clear pure air of the lovely valley proved too keen for the broken constitution of the emperor. A severe attack of asthma came on, and an attempt was made to carry him back to the warmer climate of Lahore. The motion and passage of the mountains increased the complaint, and before a third of the journey was accomplished he expired, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

His character was full of contradictions. Though cruel and rapacious, he yet, in many ways, evinced a sort of paternal interest in the welfare of his subjects, and a desire for the impartial administration of justice between rich and poor—Moslem and Hindoo. He occasionally quitted the palace, and went abroad on nocturnal expeditions, mingling freely with the lower classes, without any fear of assassination, although his person, from his daily appearance in public, must have been well known. His easy and familiar manners rendered him popular, notwithstanding the frightful torments inflicted on real or alleged criminals by his express orders. Many of his proceedings favour the idea that he had inherited from his mother a taint of madness, which his excesses in wine and opium sometimes brought into action. He was probably as complete a deist as his father, but superstition had laid much heavier chains on his weak and wayward mind; and some of the tales gravely recorded by him might find a fit place in the *Arabian Nights*. Unfortunately, his autobiography ceases about the middle of his reign. Long before its conclusion, the whole tone and spirit changes; and instead of exulting over his immense possessions, the royal writer dwells bitterly on the unceasing anxiety attendant on sovereign power, declaring that the jewels formerly coveted had become worthless in his sight, and that satiety had utterly extinguished the delight he had once taken in contemplating the graces of youth and beauty. Like a far wiser monarch—even Solomon—he had discovered that all was vanity and vexation of spirit, but knew not, or cared not to search out the antidote.

With Jehangeer all the schemes of Nour Jehan perished. On her attempting to assert the claims of the absent Shehriar, her own brother, probably weary of the tyranny to which he had been so long subjected, placed her under restraint; but, on being released, she was treated with respect, and allowed a yearly stipend of a quarter of a million sterling. Throughout her widowhood she lived very quietly; abstained from all entertainments; wore no colour but white; and at her death, in 1646, was buried in a tomb she had herself erected, close to that of the emperor, at Lahore.

*Reign of Shah Jehan.*—On the death of Jehangeer, Asuf Khan immediately sent a messenger to fetch his son-in-law, whose cause he had resolved to support, although (according to Dow), by the will of the late emperor, the throne had been expressly bequeathed to Shehriar. Pending the arrival of Shah Jehan, the vizier, desirous to sanction his own proceedings by the semblance of legal authority, released Prince Dawir, the son of Khosru, from prison, and proclaimed him king. Shehriar, who had been at Lahore some weeks, on learning his father's death, seized the royal treasure, took command of the troops—whose favour he gained by extravagant largesses—and set free the two sons of Prince Danial from the species of honourable captivity in which they had been detained by Jehangeer ever since their father's death, in accordance with the cruel policy of oriental despotism. The confederate princes were defeated and captured by Asuf Khan. Meanwhile, the Rajpoot allies of Shah Jehan, delighted at the prospect of his rising fortunes, sent an escort to Surat to accompany him thence to Oudipoor, and there, within the hospitable walls which had sheltered him in exile, the now triumphant prince was first formally hailed Emperor of Hindoostan. Rana Kurrun did not live to witness the joyful return of the wanderer; he had died shortly before Jehangeer: his brother, Rajah Bheem, with many noble chiefs, had fallen in the cause; but their representative, Juggut Sing, received from the new emperor, on his departure, a ruby of inestimable value, the

restoration of five alienated provinces, and a most welcome permission to reconstruct the fortifications of Chittore. Other emotions besides those of gratitude were, however, at work within the breast of Shah Jehan. Resolved, by any means, to grasp the imperial sceptre, he sent to Asuf Khan a mandate for the execution of the puppet he had placed upon the throne, also of his brother Shehriar, the two sons of Danial, and another prince, the son of Khosru. The tyrannical command was obeyed.* Shah Jehan was proclaimed king at Agra, January, 1628, and not a male of the house of Timur remained to cause him present or future anxiety, save only his four sons, whose strife and rebellion were destined, by retributive justice, to scourge his crimes, to snatch the sceptre from his feeble hands, and immure him for long years the captive of a son, who, like himself, scrupled not to wade to a throne through the blood of near kindred.

But this is anticipating events; for Shah Jehan's reign lasted thirty years before its miserable termination. His first acts were evidently designed to obliterate from the public mind, and probably from his own, the means by which he had endeavoured to consolidate his authority. Following, to a limited extent, the example of his father, he opened the doors of the fortress of Gwalior to all state-prisoners, some of whom had been in confinement during the whole of the preceding reign—a measure which did more to procure him popularity than the magnificence of his festivals or the costly structures which he delighted in erecting. From these pursuits he was soon diverted by local disturbances. The Uzbeks invaded Cabool, but were driven out by Mohabet Khan. The Mogul arms were next directed against Narsing Deo, of Bundelcund (the destroyer of Abul Fazil), and the rajah, after long resistance, was eventually brought to submission.

As Shah Jehan considered it the bounden duty of every great prince to leave to his posterity a larger territorial sway than that which he had himseif inherited,† it is not surprising that abundant reason was soon found for invading the Deccan. At this period, the three remaining governments held by Moslems—Ahmednuggur, Beejapoor, and Golconda, had nearly recovered their ancient limits. Khan Jehan Lodi, an Afghan officer of rank, being left with undivided authority over the Moguls after the death of Prince Parvaez, had deemed it necessary or expedient, during the troubled state of affairs occasioned by the disputes regarding the succession, and the proceedings of Mohabet Khan, to surrender the remaining portion of Shah Jehan's conquests in the Deccan to the son of Malek Amber, who had succeeded his father in the Nizam Shahi government: but the fort of Ahmednuggur was still held by a Mogul garrison, who refused to obey Khan Jehan Lodi's command. When Shah Jehan set out to ascend the throne, Khan Jehan refused to join him. On learning the defeat and death of Shehriar and Dawir, he proffered allegiance, and was confirmed in his government by the new emperor, but soon removed thence to Malwa, Mohabet Khan taking his place in the Deccan. Having cooperated in the reduction of Narsing Deo, Khan Jehan was invited to court, whither he proceeded with his two sons, relying for safety both on the assurances given to him individually, and on the edict of indemnity proclaimed to all who had opposed the accession of the reigning sovereign. The usher of the court evinced a marked disrespect towards him—or so at least the proud Afghan considered—but the ceremonies of presentation were passed without any positive disturbance. His son, Azmut, a lad of sixteen, with all his father's high spirit and less discretion, was next introduced; and he, considering that he had been kept too long prostrate, sprang up before the signal was given. The usher struck him on the head with his rod; the youth aimed a blow in return; upon which a general confusion ensued, and Khan Jehan, with his sons, rushed from the palace

* According to Dow, all the five princes were murdered; but Elphinstone (on the authority of Olearius, *Ambassadors Travels*, p. 190) states that Dawir found means to escape to Persia, where he was seen by the Holstein ambassadors, in 1688. The conduct of Shah Jehan on this occasion strongly favours the general belief of his having instigated the assassination of his brother, Khosru, (see p. 124.) Mr. Elphinstone partially defends him, by remarking, "that we ought not readily to believe that a life not sullied by any other crime could be stained by one of so deep a dye" (vol. ii. p. 368.) But, in a subsequent page, he expressly states, that Shehriar "was afterwards put to death with the sons of Danial, by order of Shah Jehan" (vol. ii. p. 388.) He does not adopt Dow's statement of the bequeathing of the throne by Jehangeer to Shehriar; and, consequently, regards that prince and his nephews as having forfeited their lives by rebellion against the lawful authority of Shah Jehan, the eldest surviving son. By Mohammedan law, the children of Danial were cut off from the succession by the death of their father, before their grandfather.

† Dow's *History of Hindoostan*, vol. iii. p. 167.

to their own house, and there shut themselves up within the strong stone walls, with about 300 dependents. The emperor, not caring to order a siege so near his own abode, endeavoured to entice the refractory noble by fair words; but, not venturing to put faith in them, Khan Jehan assembled his troops by night, and marched out of Agra, with his kettle-drums beating.* Within two hours a strong detachment was sent in pursuit, and came up with the fugitives at the river Chumbul. A desperate encounter took place, especially between the Afghans and a body of Rajpoots, who dismounted and charged with lances, according to their national custom. Azmut was slain, after first killing with an arrow the Mogul usher, who had struck him at court; and Khan Jehan, being wounded in an encounter with Rajah Pirthi Sing, plunged into the stream, and succeeded in gaining the opposite bank, from whence, though hotly pursued by a much superior force, he made his way through Bundelcund into the wild and woody country of Gondwana, where he opened a friendly communication with the king of Ahmednuggur.

Towards the close of 1629, Shah Jehan marched to Boorhanpoor, at the head of a powerful armament, and sent on three detachments (estimated by Khafi Khan at 50,000 men each), to march into Ahmednuggur. Khan Jehan and his friends could make no head against this overwhelming force. The kings of Golconda and Beejapoor, as long as possible, kept aloof from the conflict, and Mortezza Nizam Shah, of Ahmednuggur, was himself obliged to seek protection in his forts. Khan Jehan was at length driven from the Deccan, and hunted from place to place. Being overtaken in Bundelcund, he made a desperate stand, and when defeated endeavoured to force his way into the hill-fort of Calinjer, but was repulsed with the loss of his last remaining son, and finally overtaken at a pool, where he had stopped from exhaustion. The few brave adherents who still followed him, he entreated to seek safety in flight, but they (to the number of about thirty) refused to forsake their brave leader, and were, with him, cut to pieces after a desperate struggle with the Rajpoots. The head of the unhappy chief was fixed on a pike, and carried in triumph, as a most acceptable gift, to Shah Jehan, A.D. 1630.

The hostilities against Ahmednuggur did not end with the life of the person whose conduct had formed the pretext for them, but were prosecuted in the ferocious spirit befitting an invader, who declared war to be an evil which compassion contributed to render permanent.† Time passed on; fire and the sword were freely used to ravage the country and dishearten its defenders; drought, famine, and pestilence, to a frightful extent, lent their aid, but still, in 1635, repeated murderous campaigns were found to have left the Deccan as far as ever from being subdued to the imperial yoke.‡

At one time, indeed, affairs had seemed more promising, owing to the internal feuds which wasted the strength of Ahmednuggur. Mortezza Nizam Shah (the king set up by Malek Amber) being, on the death of the vizier, inclined to act for himself, threw the eldest son of his patron, Futteh Khan, into prison; but, being pressed by foes without, and faction within, was soon glad to release him and place him in his father's position. Mohammed Adil Shah of Beejapoor, who had looked on from neutral ground, and left the neighbouring kingdom to maintain single-handed the contest with the Moguls, became alarmed at the probable consequence of the ruin of a monarchy, which, though at all times a rival, and often an inimical state, had nevertheless long formed a valuable bulwark against invasion from Hindoostan. He now, therefore, declared war

* The account given by Elphinstone and Dow, on the authority of native writers, differs greatly. According to the former, Khan Jehan was accompanied in his flight by his women on elephants, and by twelve of his sons. Dow alleges a fearful tragedy to have been previously enacted. Thinking it hopeless to attempt carrying away the inmates of his harem, and dishonourable to abandon them to the lust of his foes, Khan Jehan knew not what to do; when the women, learning his perplexity, took the desperate resolve of destroying themselves, and thus removing all impediments to his escape. They did so, and their shrieks and groans reached the ears of Khan Jehan, who, after hastily performing the rites of sepulture, assembled his followers in the court-yard, threw open the gates and rushed out, maddened by rage and despair.—(Vol. iii., p. 133.)

† Dow's *History of Hindoostan*, vol. iii., p. 168.

‡ Azuf Khan "trod down the scanty harvest in the Deccan, and ravaged with fire and sword the kingdom of Beejapoor."—(Dow, vol. iii., p. 151.) The Hindoos, in despair, abandoned all attempts at cultivation, and prostrated themselves in crowds before the shrine of their gods, upon which, Shah Jehan issued an edict for breaking down their idols, and demolishing the temples. Many Brahmins were massacred; but the resistance offered was so determined, that the emperor was compelled to relinquish this species of persecution, and to adopt more gentle means of inducing them to till the ground.

against Shah Jehan; but the effect of the diversion intended to be created by this step, in favour of Mortezza Nizam Shah, failed in its effect, through the machinations of Futteh Khan, who, treacherously employing the power newly entrusted to him, to the ruin, instead of the protection of his royal master, caused him to be put to death, with his chief adherents. He then took the government into his own hands, and sent a large contribution, or rather bribe, to the Moguls, with offers of submission, and an open profession that the infant he had placed on the throne would hold his dignity in subordination to the emperor. Shah Jehan doubtless considered it as necessary, in the contingencies of war, to overlook perfidy and uphold its perpetrators, as to set aside the pleadings of compassion; and this is not to be wondered at; for justice and mercy, rightly understood—

> "Are twin-born sisters; and so mix their eyes,
> As if you sever one, the other dies."

Futteh Khan's proposals were immediately accepted; but having no intention of fulfilling his promise to any further extent than that which his own narrow views of expediency might dictate, he no sooner saw the whole Mogul force directed against Beejapoor, than he violated his engagements, and being consequently attacked by the Moguls, once more made common cause with the king of Beejapoor.

Shah Jehan returned to Agra in 1632, after Mohammed Adil Shah had been ineffectually besieged in his capital, leaving Mohabet Khan in command. The operations under that general led to Futteh Khan's being shut up in the fort of Doulatabad, where he was besieged, and at length forced or induced to surrender. Notwithstanding all his treachery, he was received into the Mogul army,* while the unhappy child, whom he had styled king, was sent to languish in the lately emptied fort of Gwalior. Ahmednuggur was, however, not yet conquered. Shahjee Bhonslay, an officer who had played a conspicuous part in the recent war, and whose family were afterwards the founders of the Mahratta power, asserted the rights of a new claimant to the throne, and gradually conquered all the districts of that kingdom, from the sea to the capital.

The king of Beejapoor, after the capture of Doulatabad, made overtures of negotiation, but these being unfavourably received, continued to defend himself bravely, until, having vainly invested Purinda, Mohabet Khan was compelled to fall back upon Boorhanpoor, and to desist from aggressive operations. On learning the ill success of his deputies, Shah Jehan resolved to take the field in person, and dividing his troops as before, sent them first into Ahmednuggur to attack Shahjee, whom having driven from the open country, they proceeded to assault Beejapoor. Adil Shah was, however, a bold and determined prince; he laid waste the country for twenty miles around, destroyed every particle of food or forage, choked the wells, drained the reservoirs, and rendered it impossible for any army to invest the city. Peace was at length granted, the king of Beejapoor agreeing to pay £200,000 a-year to Shah Jehan, who conferred upon him, in return, a share of the Nizam Shahi dominions. Shahjee held out for some time longer, but at length submitted, gave up the person of the pretended king, and entered into the service of Adil Shah, by the permission of the emperor. The king of Golconda had not ventured to contest Shah Jehan's claim to supremacy and tribute, which he had recognised at the commencement of this expedition, and the emperor returned in triumph, the kingdom of Ahmednuggur being now extinguished.

While these prolonged hostilities were carried on in the Deccan, contests of less magnitude were taking place in Little Thibet, Hooghly, Cutch Behar, and elsewhere.† During his rebellion, Shah Jehan had applied to the Portuguese at Hooghly for aid, and had received a refusal (couched, it is alleged, in terms of reproach for his undutiful conduct), which he only waited a convenient opportunity to revenge. His late wife,‡ Mumtaz Mahal, daughter to Asuf Khan, had also conceived an especial dislike to "the European idolaters," on account of the images before which they worshipped.

* He afterwards became mad, and died from the effects of an old wound in the head.

† In 1634 and 1636, a portion of the troops on the eastern frontier completed the settlement of Little Thibet; another detachment was defeated, and almost destroyed, in an attempt to conquer Srinagar in 1634; and a third, after subduing the petty state of Cutch Behar from Bengal, in 1637, was compelled to retire by the unhealthiness of the climate.—(Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 401.)

‡ This lady died in 1631. She had been married twenty years, and had borne nearly as many children. Shah Jehan erected to her memory a structure of extraordinary beauty and magnificence (called, by a corruption of her name, Taj Mahal), which forms one of the most interesting monuments of Agra.

These circumstances lent weight to a representation which arrived from the governor of Bengal, complaining of the insolent and aggressive conduct of the Portuguese,* and he received from the emperor the laconic command—"expel these idolaters from my dominions." Hooghly was carried by storm, after a siege of three months and a-half, involving a terrible destruction of life on the side of the Portuguese, whose fleet (including sixty-four large vessels) was almost entirely destroyed. The principal ship, in which about 2,000 men, women, and children had taken refuge, with all their treasure, was blown up by its captain, sooner than yield to the Moguls; and the example was followed in many other vessels. From the prisoners, 500 young persons, of both sexes, were selected, with some of the priests, and sent to Agra; the girls were distributed among the harems of the emperor and chief nobles, and the boys circumcised. The Jesuits and other friars were vainly threatened with severe punishment if they persisted in rejecting the Koran; but, after some months' confinement, were liberated and sent to Goa. The pictures and images, which had excited the displeasure of the queen, were all destroyed, and Hooghly became the royal port of Bengal, A.D. 1632.

In 1637, the Persian governor of Candahar, incited by the tyranny of his sovereign, surrendered this important frontier post to Shah Jehan, who appointed him to various high positions (including, at different times, the governments of Cashmere and Cabool), and made him leader of several important expeditions, the first of which was the invasion of Balkh and Badakshan, in 1644. The pretext for hostilities was Shah Jehan's desire to assert the dormant rights of his family; the inducement, the revolt of the son of the reigning Uzbek sovereign, Nazir Mohammed, and the consequent unfitness of the state to resist foreign invasion. After a large expenditure of blood and treasure, and the display of extraordinary valour on the part of a body of 14,000 Rajpoots, commanded by Rajah Juggut Sing,† who encountered the hardships of the rigorous climate as unshrinkingly as the fierce onsets of the Uzbeks, Balkh was at length captured. In this war the princes Morad and Aurungzebe were both employed; and Shah Jehan twice repaired to Cabool, to support their efforts. But all endeavours to restore order into the conquered territory were rendered ineffectual by the marauding incursions of Uzbeks from the other side of the Oxus, headed by Abdool Aziz, the prince whose turbulence had stimulated the Mogul invasion. Shah Jehan, despairing of being able to keep what it had cost so much to gain, re-instated Nazir Mohammed on his throne, on condition of receiving a small annual tribute; and after restoring the places of which he had got possession, left him to maintain the contest against his rebellious son as best he might.‡

In 1647, Candahar was taken by Shah Abbas II. in person. In 1649 and 1652, it was invested by Aurungzebe; and, in 1653, by Dara Sheko, the acknowledged heir to the throne—Shah Jehan, on each occasion, accompanying the army as far as Cabool. Dara made a fierce and determined attack; for the jealousy already springing up between the royal brothers, rendered him especially desirous to conquer where Aurungzebe had been twice defeated. Besides natural means, he had recourse to magicians and astrologers, who promised great things, but could not prevent the failure of his last desperate assault, in which, though the troops at one time gained the summit of the rampart, they were eventually repulsed, and Dara compelled to raise the siege, after losing the flower of his army in its prosecution. No after-endeavour was made by the Moguls to recover Candahar, of which they had held but precarious possession since its first conquest by Baber.

Two years of nearly undisturbed tranquillity followed, during which, Shah Jehan having completed a revenue survey of his Deccani dominions, gave orders for the adoption of the system of assessment and collection, introduced by Todar Mul, in Bengal. This period is likewise memorable for the death of Saad Ullah Khan, who had succeeded Asuf Khan§ as vizier. In him Shah Jehan lost a wise and upright minister,

* Among other accusations, the governor asserted, that the Portuguese were in the habit of kidnapping or purchasing children, and sending them as slaves to other parts of India.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 240.)

† Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 402. This chief would appear to have been the son of Mokund Sing, Rajah of Kotah, a branch of the Oudipoor family.

‡ Upon this war, according to Dow, six million were expended out of the imperial treasury, besides estates granted to the value of one million more.

§ Asuf Khan died in 1641, leaving several children; but as the emperor loved money, and might possibly avail himself of the law which constituted the sovereign heir to all his officers, the prudent vizier

whose ability had made amends for the decreasing energy consequent on the criminal excesses in which the emperor had indulged after the death of his favourite wife.

Towards the close of 1655, a pretext was found for renewing the war in the Deccan. Abdullah Kootb Shah, of Golconda, had taken for his chief minister, Meer Jumla, originally a Persian adventurer, who had gradually acquired great wealth as a diamond merchant. During the absence of this officer, in command of an army in the eastern part of the kingdom, his son, Mohammed Ameen, a dissolute and violent young man, seated himself on the musnud, in a fit of intoxication; for which offence he was severely reprimanded, and forbidden to appear in the presence of the sultan. Meer Jumla, either from distrust of his sovereign, or, as is more probable, from some previous understanding with Aurungzebe, to whom he was personally known, took occasion to solicit the assistance of that prince. Such conduct was inexcusably disloyal; for it does not appear that either the life or liberty of the offender were in danger; and Abdullah, by the regular payment of the stipulated tribute since the last pacification, had left no plea for Mogul interference. Nevertheless, Shah Jehan was induced to send to the sultan a peremptory order for the discharge of both father and son, for whom the same envoy bore commissions in the imperial service as munsubdars, respectively of 5,000 and 2,000 horse. Before the arrival of the ambassador, Abdullah having learned his approach and mission, threw Mohammed Ameen into prison, and confiscated the property of his father. Shah Jehan then authorised Aurungzebe to carry his command into effect by force of arms, which the wily prince proceeded to do after his own treacherous and manœuvring fashion, by despatching a chosen force, under pretence of escorting his son, Sultan Mohammed, to Bengal,* there to espouse his cousin, the daughter of Prince Shuja, the viceroy of that province. Abdullah Shah was preparing an entertainment for the reception of the supposed bridegroom, when he suddenly advanced as an enemy, and took the sultan so entirely by surprise, that he had only time to fly to the neighbouring hill-fort of Golconda, while Hyderabad fell into the hands of the Moguls, and was plundered and half-burned before the soldiery could be brought into order. Abdullah Shah released Mohammed Ameen, restored the confiscated property, and did all in his power to enter into an accommodation on reasonable terms, but Aurungzebe persisted in investing Golconda, and Meer Jumla drew near with re-inforcements, in readiness to turn his unfortunate master's troops against himself.

After repeated unsuccessful attempts to obtain aid from Beejapoor, and to raise the siege by force, Abdullah Shah was compelled to submit to the severe terms imposed upon him of giving his daughter in marriage to Sultan Mohammed, with a large dowry in land and money, and paying a crore of rupees (£1,000,000 sterling) as the first instalment of a yearly tribute; in which, however, a considerable remission was afterwards made by Shah Jehan.

When these matters were settled, the kingdom of Beejapoor was invaded by Aurungzebe on a plea as hollow as that used for the attack on Golconda. Mohammed Adil Shah died in November, 1656, and was succeeded by his son Ali, a youth of nineteen. A large portion of the Beejapoor army was employed at a distance, in wars with the petty Hindoo princes of the Carnatic; and Aurungzebe, having obtained his father's approval of his nefarious project, asserted the right of the emperor to decide upon the succession, denied that the minor was the real issue of the late sovereign, advanced upon the capital, and by sudden and treacherous† proceedings, left the new king no resource but to sue for peace on any terms. Even this overture was rejected by Aurungzebe, who would probably have speedily obtained complete possession of the kingdom, had not his attention been suddenly diverted by the startling intelligence, that his father's disgraceful indulgences had brought on an attack of paralysis and strangury, which threatened to terminate fatally.

At this time, the children of Shah Jehan, by Mumtaz Mahal, were six in number. Dara Sheko, the eldest, then in his forty-second year, was a high-spirited prince, dignified in his manners, and generous to his adherents,

thought it best to distribute a certain portion of his wealth, amounting to £375,000, among his children and servants, leaving the remainder (nearly £4,000,000 stg.) to his grandson, Dara Sheko. His landed estates, of course, reverted to the crown.

* In the road from Aurungabad to Bengal, a circuit is made to avoid the forests of Gondwana, and thus the prince was enabled to come within a short distance of Hyderabad, without creating suspicion.

† He succeeded in corrupting Ali's prime minister.

but obstinate in the extreme, and impatient of advice, even from counsellors on whose judgment and ability he might be expected to place most reliance. Shuja was brave, and not devoid of capacity, but given up to wine and pleasure. Aurungzebe, the third brother, was a man of extraordinary ability. His talents for war and intrigue had been repeatedly manifested, and Dara appears to have fully appreciated the depth of ambitious resolve which lay hidden beneath the veil of extreme humility of deportment and an affected indifference to all worldly distinction.*

Zeal for the religion of Mohammed was the ostensible motive of Aurungzebe's conduct through life; how far felt or how far feigned, can scarcely be decided, owing to the profound and habitual dissimulation which marked his whole career. A creed to be unceasingly promulgated by any and every means, was, in either case, a convenient political weapon; and Aurungzebe used it skilfully and without scruple. Frugal and abstemious almost to asceticism, he seemed resolved to follow in the steps of the early caliphs, and drew the attention of the more zealous Moslems, by his studious fulfilment of every ordinance, until he became looked up to as the champion of Islam, in contradistinction to Dara, who openly professed many of the tenets of Akber, and had written a book to reconcile the Hindoo and Mohammedan doctrines. Shuja, the viceroy of Bengal, was unpopular with the orthodox party, on account of his attachment to the Persian sect of the Sheiahs. Morad, the youngest prince, the governor of Guzerat, was brave and generous, but presumptuous and self-willed, with little intellect, and addicted to sensual gratifications. Padshah Begum, the elder of the two daughters, was richly endowed with beauty and talent. She exercised unbounded influence over her father, and was a great support to her favourite brother Dara. Roushenara, the younger princess, though less gifted with personal or mental attractions, possessed considerable aptitude for intrigue; and having made common cause with Aurungzebe, served him materially, by forwarding reliable information respecting the state of affairs at court at critical periods.

Dara endeavoured to keep the illness of the emperor a profound secret until the crisis should be past, by intercepting correspondence and detaining travellers likely to spread the news throughout the provinces; but all in vain: the absent princes soon learned what had occurred, and at once prepared to struggle for life and empire. Shuja assembled the troops of Bengal, and marched forthwith into Behar, on his way to the capital. Morad seized the money in the district treasuries of Guzerat, and laid siege to Surat, where there was a governor independent of his authority. Aurungzebe prepared his forces, but made no open declaration of war, until orders came from Dara, in the name of the emperor, directing Meer Jumla and other commanders to quit his standard. This injunction carried considerable weight in the case of the above-named general. On joining the Moguls, he had been appointed to the highest offices at court, but through the solicitations of Dara, was sent back to the Deccan. His family remained at Agra: he therefore feared the consequences of disobeying the imperial mandate. The subtlety of Aurungzebe soon suggested an expedient. Meer Jumla was seized with pretended violence, and placed in the fort of Doulatabad, while his chief officers continued secretly to obey his commands. Dara and Shuja, Aurungzebe knew, might be safely left to fight out their own quarrel; in Morad, he calculated, with reason, upon finding a useful tool, as well as an easy dupe. He addressed him a letter in the most adulatory strain, proffering his zealous co-operation against the infidel Dara, and declaring, that after aiding his worthy brother to mount the throne, he should renounce the world, and devote his life to praying for his welfare in the holy retirement of Mecca. Morad, completely deceived, joyfully accepted the offer, and Aurungzebe marched to join him in Malwa, whither Rajah Jeswunt Sing had been already sent to oppose them; but he, from sheer fool-hardiness, is alleged to have permitted the junction of the princes. Meanwhile, Shah Jehan had sufficiently recovered to resume the general control of the government. The tender solicitude of Dara, during his illness, had rendered

* One of our best authorities for this period is Bernier, an intelligent French traveller, who having been reduced to a state of penury "by various adventures with robbers, and by the heavy expenses incurred on a journey of near seven weeks from Surat to Agra and Delhi," was glad to accept a salary from Shah Jehan in the capacity of physician, and also from Danechmund Khan, a distinguished noble of the Mogul court to which Bernier was attached for eight years.

this son more dear to him than ever, and he resented with energy the misconduct of the other princes. To Shuja he wrote, commanding him in imperative terms to return immediately to his government; but instead of obeying, the prince affected to consider the order dictated by Dara, and continued his progress until he encountered Soliman Sheko, the son of Dara, in the neighbourhood of Benares, by whom he was defeated and compelled to retreat into Bengal. This battle occurred at the close of 1657: in the spring of the following year, a fierce conflict took place between the forces of the confederate princes and Rajah Jeswunt Sing, who had encamped on the river Sipra, near Oojein. The Rajpoots fought bravely, but were ill-supported, for most of the Moguls deserted to the enemy. The rajah retired in disorder to his own country, and Morad, whose gallantry had been very conspicuous throughout the sanguinary conflict, which had lasted from morning to sunset, was hailed as sole victor, Aurungzebe still acting in conformity with the solemn oath of fidelity and allegiance he had voluntarily taken at their first meeting. Shah Jehan now determined to take the field in person against his turbulent sons. Had he persevered in this resolve, much bloodshed would probably have been spared, as the soldiers of the rebel camp were known to be well-disposed towards him personally, and would doubtless have rallied round his standard. But Dara did not comprehend the extent of the danger; regard for his father's infirm state, united perhaps to a more selfish desire of keeping the authority in his own hands, rendered him averse to this proposition, and Shah Jehan reluctantly gave way. Confident in his superior numbers, Dara refused even to wait for Soliman, then on his victorious march from Benares with the flower of the troops, and proceeded single-handed to meet the advancing foe.*

The hostile armies came in sight of each other at Samaghar, one march from Agra, in the beginning of June, 1658. The battle which ensued was long and bloody, the three brothers fighting with desperation. Morad was attacked by 3,000 Uzbek archers, who showered their arrows upon his howdah until they resembled the bristling quills of a porcupine, and the frightened elephant would have rushed from the field, had he not ordered its feet to be chained, thus (although wounded in several places) cutting off his own power of retreat. Aurungzebe saw his brother's danger, but was fully occupied in opposing Dara, who having, by a third fierce charge of cavalry, broken through the guns chained together in front of the enemy's line, now carried all before him, and, though again checked, would probably have eventually prevailed, had not a rocket struck the elephant on which he rode, while pressing forward and cheering on his troops by voice and action. The terrified animal became perfectly ungovernable. Dara threw himself from its back and sprang upon a horse; but an attendant, while fastening on his quiver, was killed by a shot. The momentary confusion which occurred among those immediately around him, added to the effect of his previous disappearance from the view of the more distant troops, occasioned a general panic. With him the sole object of the war was supposed to have perished; and the confederate princes perceiving their advantage, pressed forward and drove the now disordered foe, including Dara himself, before them, in irremediable disorder. Rajah Chutter-sal, of Boondi, with his vassals, formed the vanguard of the unfortunate prince, and made a devoted but unavailing effort to stem the torrent. The rajah himself, clad in saffron robes, with a chaplet of pearls on his head, was true to these ensigns of victory or death. Leaping from the back of his wounded elephant, which he could not restrain from joining in the general flight, he mounted his horse, and forming his men in a dense mass, led them to attack Morad, against whom he was about hurling his lance, when a cannon-ball laid him dead at his feet. The brave band were soon hemmed in, and the heads of every Hara clan, including six princes of the blood-royal of Boondi, perished, maintaining inviolate their oath of allegiance to Shah Jehan. When the issue of the day was evident, Aurungzebe fell on his knees and returned thanks for the victory granted to Morad, whom he saluted, and affecting lively emotion at the sight of his wounds, wiped the blood from his face, and warmly congratulated him on the acquisition of a kingdom. While this hypocritical scene was being enacted, the unhappy Dara pur-

* Khafi Khan states the imperial force at above 70,000 horse, with innumerable elephants and guns. (Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 423.) Bernier, at 100,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 80 pieces of cannon. He reckons the opposing army as not exceeding "40,000 men of all arms."—(Brock's *Translation*, vol. i., p. 50.)

sued his flight to Agra, with about 2,000 men, most of them wounded; and feeling ashamed to present himself before the indulgent father, whose counsels he had disregarded, proceeded to Delhi, accompanied by his wife and two children, and was subsequently joined by 5,000 horse, sent by Shah Jehan to his assistance. Three days after the battle, Aurungzebe encamped before the walls of Agra, took immediate possession of the city, but did not attempt to enter by force the royal residence, contenting himself for some days longer by sending messages to his father, pleading the necessity of the case, and requesting to be forgiven and admitted to his presence. It is probable that he really desired to conciliate the aged monarch, and would have preferred carrying on the government in his name, at least until all rivalry should be completely crushed; but Shah Jehan resented his protestations of filial affection as an additional insult, and did not swerve from his attachment to Dara. Aurungzebe, therefore, sent his son, Mohammed Sultan* to take possession of the citadel, and prevent all communication between the emperor and every one beyond its walls. This appears to have been done without difficulty; for there is no record of a single effort being made to assert the rights of the monarch, who remained in a sort of honourable captivity, until his death, seven years after, aged seventy-four. During the long reign thus abruptly closed, the internal administration of affairs had been conducted with more rectitude and ability than, perhaps, under any other Mogul ruler. Khafi Khan (the best historian of those times) asserts, that although Akber was pre-eminent as a conqueror and a law-giver, yet, in territorial and financial arrangements, he could bear no comparison with his grandson. Although a staunch Mussulman, Shah Jehan was warmly attached to the Hindoos, who, as we have seen, had spent their best blood freely in his behalf, and his foreign wars did not interrupt the tranquillity which prevailed, almost without interruption, throughout his dominions. Wealth, both public and private, increased in a remarkable degree, and the annual revenue is supposed to have exceeded thirty-two million sterling. A new city was built at Delhi,† on a regular plan, far surpassing the old one in magnificence; and the imperial establishments, retinue, and appurtenances‡ all exceeded in pomp those of previous reigns. Yet, notwithstanding the costly wars in which he engaged, the maintenance of a large regular army (including 200,000 horse), and the erection of many splendid structures, Shah Jehan left a treasure estimated at twenty-four million sterling, besides vast accumulations in wrought gold and silver, and in jewels.

After deposing his father, the next step of Aurungzebe was to get rid of Morad, whom he continued to delude, by submissive behaviour and unremitting attentions, till they had marched from Agra in pursuit of Dara. Taking advantage of Morad's addiction to pleasure, Aurungzebe invited him to supper, and, waving his own scruples (if

* The circumstances connected with this interesting period are differently told. According to Bernier (whose account Dow appears to have followed), Shah Jehan was tempted to encounter Aurungzebe with his own weapons, and hoping to secure his person, consented to listen to his excuses. The wily prince affected extreme delight at this concession, but alleged, that although he had perfect confidence in his father's good faith, he dreaded the intrigues of his elder sister, and dared not trust the garrison, unless he were permitted to introduce, for his protection, some troops under his son, Mohammed Sultan. Shah Jehan, desirous to get him within reach at all hazards, consented, relying for aid on his daughter, who posted some strong Tartar women belonging to the harem in readiness to seize the prince. Mohammed was suffered to take possession of the citadel in anticipation of the arrival of Aurungzebe, when intelligence came that he had suddenly ordered his cavalcade to change their course, and was gone to offer up his prayers at the tomb of Akber. Shah Jehan, enraged beyond measure, asked Mohammed what he had come for, if not to guard his father. The curt reply was, "to take charge of the citadel." The insulted monarch pointed to the imperial crown which was suspended above his head, and taking the Koran in his hand, swore that if Mohammed would release him, he would make him emperor, to the exclusion of all his own sons. The prince, from policy or principle, refused the offer, and quitted the presence of his grandfather —little dreaming how soon a stronger temptation would lead him to take the course from which he now turned.—(Bernier, vol. i., p. 72.) Khafi Khan, whose father was an actor in the turbulent scenes of this period, makes no mention of this plot and counter-plot.—(Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 427.)

† *Tavernier's Travels* in various parts of the empire; Mandelsloe's in Guzerat; Graaf and Bruton's (*Murray's Asiatic Discoveries*) in Bengal, Behar and Orissa; afford forcible evidence of the grandeur of the Indian cities of this period, including those situated in remote provinces; and also to the richly-cultivated state of the surrounding country.

‡ The famous throne, of which the chief ornament was a peacock, with its tail spread, represented in its natural colours by various gems, was constructed for Shah Jehan; and a vine was commenced, with leaves and fruit of precious stones, whose rays were reflected from mirrors set in large pearls.

he really had any), induced him, by the two-fold temptation of wine and feminine seductions, to separate himself from his companions, some of whom appear to have warned him against placing such implicit trust in his brother's professions. While stretched on a couch, sleeping off the stupor of intoxication, Morad was seized, fettered, and sent off, before day-break, on an elephant, to Selimghur, a portion of the citadel of Delhi, while three other elephants were dispatched with similar escorts, in different directions, to mislead people as to the actual place of confinement, which was afterwards changed to Gwalior, the Bastille of Hindoostan. The frankness and bravery of the unfortunate prince had rendered him popular with the army, but the suddenness of his seizure seems to have paralysed every effort on his behalf. His chief adherents were brought into the presence of Aurungzebe, who, after receiving their oaths of allegiance, proceeded to Delhi, where he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and assumed the title of Alumgeer (the Conqueror of the Universe), by which he is designated in local histories and documents.

The *Reign of Aurungzebe* had lasted a twelvemonth before his name was stamped on the coin, or the ceremonial of coronation performed. More pressing affairs claimed his whole attention during the interim. At the time of the fatal battle, Soliman, a brave prince of five-and-twenty, was marching to the aid of his father. Rajah Jey Sing, of Amber, who, like most of the Rajpoot leaders, had taken part with the lawful heir, was associated with the prince in the command; but the promises of the usurper, under whom he had served in Balkh, tempted him to abandon Soliman on a very flimsy pretext, as did also another general, named Dileer Khan. Deprived of the strength of his army, and scarcely able to retain any authority over the remainder, the prince endeavoured to avoid an encounter with the troops of Aurungzebe by taking the road under the mountains to join Dara; but being intercepted near Hurdwar, his soldiers lost heart, and all, except 500 horse, deserted. With this remnant Soliman proceeded to Sireenuggur, near Kumaon, where a new trial awaited him. The rajah refused to admit him, unless he would first dismiss his faithful followers; and to this proposition he was ultimately compelled to submit, after making an unavailing attempt to return to the fort of Allahabad, in which more than half of his little band perished. On entering the fort of Sireenuggur, with five or six attendants, he was courteously received, but soon found himself, in effect, a prisoner.

Meanwhile, Aurungzebe continued, in person, to pursue Dara. Having, during the early part of his flight, procured some troops at Delhi, the prince marched thence to Lahore, and finding a large sum of money in the royal treasury, began to raise an army. Shah Jehan had written urgently in his favour to the viceroy of Cabool, Mohabet Khan (son of the great general), and Dara, had he proceeded thither, would probably have found valuable auxiliaries in the troops of the province, or, in case of need, a ready refuge among the Afghan tribes, and an easy exit to the territories of the Uzbeks or the Persians. These views, even if entertained, were disconcerted by the prompt measures of Aurungzebe; and Dara, unable to resist the force by which he was threatened, left Lahore with three or four thousand men, on his way to Sinde. The emperor followed him nearly to Moultan; but before reaching that city he learned that Shuja was marching in force from Bengal; therefore, sending a detachment to follow Dara, he hastened to Delhi, and from thence set out to arrest the progress of the advancing army, comprising 25,000 horse and a numerous train of artillery. The brothers met at Cujwa, thirty miles north of Allahabad, and drew up their forces, neither caring to begin the conflict. On this occasion, Aurungzebe was nearly worsted by arts similar to those he himself delighted to employ. Rajah Jeswunt Sing, after his unsuccessful efforts in favour of Dara, had received a message from the victor, with assurances of pardon, and a command to join the army then forming against Shuja. He feigned obedience, but it would appear only for the sake of watching an opportunity to serve the cause of the rightful heir, and his angry feelings were increased by the withholding of the rank to which he considered himself entitled. Having communicated his intentions to Shuja, Jeswunt Sing, one morning before day-break, attacked the rear-ward of the imperial camp with his Rahtore cavaliers; and, during the onset made shortly afterwards by the prince's army in front, the rajah deliberately loaded his camels with plunder, and marched off to Agra, leaving the brothers to a contest which he heartily wished might involve the destruction of both. Notwithstanding

this inauspicious commencement, the self-possession and valour of Aurungzebe gained the day. The battle began by a cannonade, followed by a close action, in which he was repeatedly in imminent danger; but the centre of Shuja's troops was at length broken, and they fled, leaving 114 pieces of cannon and many elephants on the field. Mohammed Sultan and Meer Jumla (whose mock imprisonment had ceased so soon as his family were set free by the flight of Dara) were sent with a strong force to Bengal, while the emperor proceeded to Agra. The governor of this city, Shaista Khan, had just been relieved from great alarm; for the triumphant approach of Jeswunt Sing, added to discouraging reports from the field of battle, and various signs of popular feeling in favour of Shah Jehan, had so perplexed him that he would have swallowed poison, but for the timely interposition of his wife. Had Jeswunt at once attacked the citadel, the garrison would probably have surrendered, and the aged monarch been set at liberty; but the attempt was fraught with hazard; for besides the danger of shutting up his troops within the precincts of the capital, it would prevent his forming a junction with Dara, whom he had instructed to hasten to the scene of action. Aurungzebe, on returning to Agra, had consequently the satisfaction of learning that Jeswunt had departed to his own territories in Marwar, whither he sent 10,000 men to seize his person and reclaim the spoils now safely housed within the castle of Joda. But this open hostility was soon changed for a policy more congenial to the character of the wily monarch. The affairs of Dara had taken an unlooked-for turn,—after being compelled, by the desertion of his followers and the death of his carriage-cattle, to relinquish his designs upon Sinde, the fugitive had, through the loyalty of the governor of Guzerat (Shah Nawaz Khan, father-in-law to both Aurungzebe and Morad), obtained possession of the whole province, including Surat and Baroach. The territories of Jeswunt Sing extended from Guzerat to Ajmeer: to prevent his forming the projected coalition with Dara, was, therefore, of the highest importance to Aurungzebe, who, laying aside his plans of vengeance for a more convenient season, instead of soldiers and musketry, sent the rajah a letter in his own hand-writing, full of flattery and blandishments, conceding the rank and office, the withholding of which had previously been a cause of irritation. This politic conduct, added to the delay of Dara, made Jeswunt falter in his resolve, and by the mediation of Jey Sing, Aurungzebe succeeded in persuading him to rely on his good faith, and keep aloof from a cause which could only end in the ruin of its object and all connected with him. Dara, disappointed of the expected co-operation, fortified a commanding position on the hills near Ajmeer, and there awaited the approach of his brother. Three days' cannonading was followed by a general assault, in which, after the lapse of many hours, Shah Nawaz fell just as a party of the imperial troops mounted the ramparts. The prince fled precipitately, attended by the females of his family and a small body of horse, and reached the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad, after eight days* and nights of almost incessant marching, rendered nearly intolerable by the heat and dust of a scorching season, to which were latterly added the merciless attacks of the hill Coolies, who stripped or massacred every man separated from his companions. When within a march of Ahmedabad, Dara was informed that the gates were shut against him, and he must seek shelter elsewhere. Amid tears and lamentations the weary cavalcade resumed its toilsome progress; and after much loss of life in the desert, through hunger, thirst, and fatigue, at length reached the small territory of Joon, on the eastern frontier of Sinde. The chief of Joon,† apparently an Afghan, had been twice condemned to death for murder and treason, but saved from the vengeance of Shah Jehan by the intercession of Dara, who now relied upon his gratitude, notwithstanding the warnings and entreaties of his adherents. His wife (the daughter of Prince Parvaez), who had been wounded in the late battle, and was fast sinking under suffering and fatigue, implored him to leave her, and prosecute without delay his journey to Persia. But the

* On the fourth day, Dara was met by Bernier, who was on his way to Delhi, unconscious of passing events. The sultana had been wounded, and there was no physician among the little band. The profession of the traveller being discovered, he was obliged to join Dara, and would have been taken on to Sinde, but that neither threats nor entreaties could procure a single horse, ox, or camel for his use. Having beheld the hapless prince and his family depart, Bernier, after a week's detention, succeeded in persuading the Coolies, "by a grand display of professional skill," to attach a bullock to his carriage and conduct him to Ahmedabad. (Vol. i. p. 106.)

† Called Jihon Khan in Brock's *Bernier*.

prince could not be prevailed upon to forsake his faithful companion in the trying hour of death, and after she had expired in his arms, he sent a portion of his small force, with two confidential servants, to attend her remains to Lahore. When the period of mourning permitted, he set out towards the Indus, accompanied by a brother of the chief of Joon and a body of troops, under pretence of escorting him to the frontier; but suddenly, the signal being given, Dara and his son, Seper Sheko, were seized and carried prisoners to Aurungzebe, who was then engaged in celebrating the anniversary of his accession. Loaded with chains, habited in coarse and dirty raiment, and mounted on a sorry elephant without housings, the royal captives were conducted through the most populous streets of the capital, amid the tears and groans of the people. No attempt at a rescue was made; but the next day the chief of Joon being recognised on his way to court, was nearly torn to pieces by the populace.* The leader of the tumult was executed; and shortly after, a mock consultation having been held by the chief counsellors and lawyers, Dara was pronounced worthy of death as an apostate Mohammedan. Aurungzebe gave his consent with affected reluctance, and selected a personal enemy of his brother's to carry the sentence into effect. When the assassins entered the prison, Dara and his son were occupied in preparing some lentils, the only food they would touch for fear of poison. Seizing a small kitchen knife, the sole weapon in his possession, Dara defended himself to the last; but being overwhelmed by numbers, was thrown down and decapitated. His body was exhibited to the populace on an elephant, and his head carried to Aurungzebe, who, having satisfied himself of its identity by washing the blood from the distorted features, affected to weep, and directed its interment in the tomb of Humayun. Seper Sheko was sent to the dreary fortress of Gwalior, whose gates soon afterwards opened to receive no less a person than Mohammed Sultan, the eldest son and acknowledged heir of Aurungzebe.

This prince had been betrothed to his cousin, the daughter of Shuja, but the marriage was broken off by the outburst of civil war. Seeing the critical position of her father, the princess addressed a communication to Mohammed, reminding him of their engagement; this appeal, added to his restless disposition and jealousy of Meer Jumla, who was associated with him in the command of the army, induced him to go over to his uncle, a step which he probably thought would be followed by the majority of the imperial army. Any such movement was prevented by the zeal and influence of Meer Jumla, and hostilities were recommenced at the conclusion of the rainy season. Shuja received his nephew with honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage; but either from the machinations of Aurungzebe,† or some other cause not satisfactorily explained, distrust sprang up between them, and the prince again deserted his party, and threw himself upon the mercy of his father, who immediately sent him to Gwalior. After a series of unsuccessful struggles, Shuja retreated to Dacca, and being hotly pursued by Meer Jumla, fled, with a few attendants, to Arracan. The remainder of his history is very imperfectly known. A difference is said to have arisen between him and the rajah, whose avarice was roused by the sight of the wealth of the prince, and, on one pretext or another, he was prevented from hiring vessels in which to proceed to Mokha, *en route* for Mecca. Shuja, irritated by this treatment, entered into a plot with the Mussulmans of the country to overturn the existing government; but, being detected, was seized by the rajah's emissaries, and put to death. Of his wife and family, no certain particulars were ever made public in Hindoostan; but it is probable they all perished by violence about the same time.‡

* When returning to his own country, laden with the price of blood, he was waylaid and assassinated.

† Dow asserts (but without giving his authority, who is evidently neither Khafi Khan nor Bernier) that Aurungzebe wrote a letter to his son, as if in answer to an appeal for forgiveness, and caused it to fall into the hands of Shuja, who, thereupon, dismissed his son-in-law and daughter from the camp, not crediting their protestations of innocence.

‡ Bernier, vol. i., p. 124. According to Dow, Shuja and his son, after bravely defending the mountain passes while endeavouring to make good their retreat to Pegu, were overpowered by means of stones hurled upon them from the adjoining rocks. Shuja was drowned (the doom of royal criminals in Arracan) in sight of his wife and daughters, who, in despair, flung themselves headlong into the river, but were rescued and carried to the palace. Of these four unhappy ladies, three perished by their own hands; the fourth was married to the rajah, but did not long survive her sufferings and disgrace. The elder son of Shuja and his infant brother were both put to death. Shah Jehan, on learning the melancholy intelligence, exclaimed, "Alas! could not the rajah of Arracan leave one son to Shuja to revenge his grandfather?"—(*Hindoostan*, vol. iii. p. 390.)

At the commencement of 1661, Aurungzebe obtained possession of the person of Dara's eldest son, Soliman; the Rajah of Sireenuggur, after prolonged negotiations, having been at length persuaded, by the arguments of Jey Sing, to deliver up the prince to the imperial officers. He was paraded through the city on an elephant, and then brought into the presence of his uncle in golden fetters. Bernier, who was present, describes his manly bearing as having affected many of the courtiers to tears; and when he implored that his life might be taken at once, rather than that his strength and reason should be undermined by the hateful opium draught* (which he evidently believed to be the common fate of captive princes), even Aurungzebe seemed touched with compassion, and assured him of safety and good treatment.

It is not likely that this pledge was redeemed; for Soliman, together with his brother, Seper Sheko, and the young son of Morad, all died in Gwalior within a short space of time, while the emperor's own son, Mohammed, lived several years, and was eventually restored to comparative freedom. The doom of Morad was less easily decided; for it was necessary to Aurungzebe's views that his death should be well known; and the convenient method of poisoning him in prison might leave a doubt regarding his fate on the public mind, which, in the event of a political crisis, would be eagerly seized by agitators or pretenders. The prince was popular, despite (or probably on account of) his misfortunes: he had endeavoured to escape by means of a rope let down from the battlements;† and Aurungzebe felt that there was no time to lose in compassing his destruction. The son of a man who had been arbitrarily put to death by the prince, while viceroy of Guzerat, was incited to complain against him as a murderer; and, after the formality of a trial and sentence, the last act of this family tragedy closed with the execution of Prince Morad, in prison. The three brothers of Aurungzebe and their brave sons had now all fallen victims to his ambition and their own, goaded on by the hateful policy which too often leaves to eastern princes little choice beyond a throne or a grave. Their aged parent, by a terrible retribution, sickened with horror as the tidings of one catastrophe after another slowly reached him within the walls of his palace-prison. He execrated the name of the son whose crimes had thus cast his own into the shade, and would not suffer his presence. Aurungzebe made repeated overtures of reconciliation by affecting to seek his advice on various affairs of state, and ventured to proffer two requests—the first on behalf of his third son, Prince Akber, for the hand of the daughter of Dara, then under the protection of her aunt Jehanara; the second, for some of the jewels retained by Shah Jehan, for the decoration of the throne. The deposed monarch indignantly rejected both demands, declaring that his granddaughter should never, with his consent, be thus degraded; and the maiden, on her part, avowed her purpose of self-destruction, should force be attempted to ally her with the son of her father's murderer. With regard to the jewels, Shah Jehan sternly bade his son make wisdom and equity the ornaments of his throne, and use no importunity to obtain the coveted gems, since the hammers were in readiness which should, in that case, crush them to powder. Aurungzebe prudently gave way, and his father, gratified by this submission, and by the ample provision made for his expenditure, afterwards sent him various articles more especially connected with the insignia of royalty.

The early measures of the new emperor were well calculated to obliterate from the minds of his subjects the monstrous iniquities above detailed. In the Deccan he had gained a high character for justice as well as austerity; and on grasping the reins of government, he evinced a determination to make the welfare of the people his leading object. In marching to battle against Dara, Aurungzebe had strenuously restrained his soldiers from plundering the countries through which they passed, and had even given compensation for the damage unavoidably occasioned. During a terrible famine which prevailed over different parts of India, resulting from the combined effects of drought and civil war, he made great exertions for the relief of the wretched sufferers, by remitting the taxes, and spending large sums from the treasury in the pur-

* Bernier calls it pousta, and says it was simply a strong infusion of poppy-heads, which the intended victims were compelled to drink daily until they became torpid and senseless, and so died.

† Khafi Khan, quoted by Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 451. It is to be regretted that no complete translation has been made of the works of this author, whose real name was Mohammed Hashem Khan. He was brought up in the service of Aurungzebe, by whom both he and his father (also an historian) were employed in various important military and diplomatic positions.

chase and conveyance of grain, from Bengal and the Punjaub, to the chief seats of distress. This calamity having passed over, the emperor found leisure to plan the extension of his dominions, resting the justification, alike of past and future aggression, on the duty of propagating the Koran by all and every means. One quality, essential to the character of a statesman, or even a successful general, he wanted—namely, confidence in his fellow-men. It was the fitting curse of this arch-hypocrite, that suspicion should lie like the canker-worm at the root of his best-laid plans, occasioning the harassing distrust, or at least the want of cordial support to which the reverses of his generals may be for the most part attributed.

Towards the end of 1661, a successful expedition was despatched against the Rajah of Bikaneer; and early in the following year, Meer Jumla, whose talents were at once the dread and admiration of his distrustful master, was sent to attempt the subjugation of Assam. Having obtained possession of the capital, the victor boastfully declared his intention of pursuing his conquests, and opening the way to China. The rainy season brought with it a change of affairs. The rich plains on either side the Burrampootra were flooded; the cavalry could not march or even forage; and when the floods subsided, a pestilence broke out among the troops, so that Meer Jumla was glad to make terms with the rajah, renounce his magnificent projects, and withdraw his army. Before reaching Dacca he expired (January 7, 1663), stung by disappointment, and worn down by the fatigues which, despite the burden of advanced age, he had shared in common with the humblest soldier. His son, Mohammed Ameen, was immediately raised to the rank enjoyed by the deceased. Aurungzebe himself had recently received a forcible warning of the precarious tenure by which emperors and peasants alike hold, not merely worldly possessions, but life itself. A dangerous attack of fever completely prostrated him, and his tongue became so palsied as to deprive him almost entirely of the power of speech. Intrigues regarding the succession arose immediately; but Aurungzebe clung to political even more tenaciously than to physical existence, and during the crisis of his disorder, caused himself to be carried into the diurnal assembly of the nobles. Some days after, when scarcely recovered from a swoon (so long and deep that his death was generally reported), he sent for Rajah Jey Sing, and two or three other chief omrahs, to convince them that he lived; and in their presence, being still unable to articulate, wrote an order for the great seal, which had been placed in the charge of the Princess Roushenara, enclosed in a bag, and impressed with the signet which had remained fastened to his arm. These manifestations of a strong will triumphing over bodily weakness, inspired fear and admiration in the beholders, and had the desired effect of preventing any plots for the rescue of Shah Jehan, or conspiracies for less worthy ends. When convalescent, Aurungzebe sought repose and change of scene in Cashmere, little thinking of the fierce and prolonged strife about to burst forth in the Deccan, mainly in consequence of his own insidious policy. By gradually undermining the strength of the two remaining Mohammedan kingdoms of the south, he had anticipated their reduction to a state of enfeeblement and disorganisation, which must render them an easy conquest so soon as he should find leisure to take the field in person at the head of an extensive and powerful army. Meanwhile, he cared not to trust Jey Sing, Jeswunt Sing, Dileer Khan, or any other general, much less his own son, Mauzim, with a sufficient force for the reduction of these kingdoms, lest he should furnish weapons against himself: the troops placed under their command were, therefore, skilfully calculated as sufficient to maintain a distressing and desultory warfare, but nothing more. The imperial schemer had not a suspicion that in thus, as it were, drawing the claws of the Moslem rulers of Beejapoor and Golconda, he could possibly be serving the interest of a third party, as intriguing and hardly less bigotted than himself, though in a precisely opposite direction.

*Rise of Mahratta power.*—It will be remembered, that in sketching the ancient condition of India, the Mahrattas have been mentioned as inhabiting the territory lying between the range of mountains which stretches along the south of the Nerbudda, parallel to the Vindya chain; and a line drawn from Goa, on the sea-coast, through Beder to Chanda on the Wurda; that river being the eastern, and the sea the western boundary. This singular country will be described in a subsequent section, as also its inhabitants, of whom it is here only necessary to remark, that the soldiery were small sturdy men, active and persevering, posses-

sing nothing of the chivalrous sentiments or dignified bearing of the Rajpoots, but a great deal more worldly wisdom. The chiefs, in the time of the Great Moguls, were the representatives of families who had for generations filled the old Hindoo offices of heads of villages, or functionaries of districts, under the names of *patels, desmookhs*, &c., and had often been employed as partisans under the governments of Ahmednuggur and Beejapoor. They were nearly all Soodras, of the same caste with their people, but some claimed to have Rajpoot blood in their veins. Though our present knowledge does not show that the Mahrattas formed at any time an united commonwealth, their strongly marked characteristics indicate a broad line of demarcation between them and the people of Carnara and Telingana, and also between the lower orders of Hindoostan; although the difference in this latter case is less striking. Mussulman writers, proverbially slow to recognise differences among infidels, scarcely notice the Mahrattas by this distinctive appellation until the beginning of the seventeenth century; although the surnames of chiefs, mentioned at earlier periods, prove their having belonged to that race. In the time of Malek Amber they first emerge into notice; and, under his government, the noblest of them, Lookjee* Jadu Rao, held a jaghire for the support of 10,000 men. Among his dependants was Malojee Bhoslay, a man of inferior rank, who, by a singular chain of circumstances,† obtained Jeejee Bye, the daughter of Jadu, in marriage for his son Shahjee, A.D. 1604; and the issue of this union was two children, of whom the younger was the famous Sevajee. Shahjee has been mentioned as an important actor in the concluding events of the Ahmednuggur state. He was subsequently employed by the king of Beejapoor on conquests to the southward, and obtained a considerable jaghire in the Mysore country, including the towns of Sera and Bangalore, in addition to that he had previously possessed, of which the chief place was Poona. Three years after the birth of Sevajee (in 1627), a disagreement arose between his parents, on account of a second marriage being contracted by Shahjee, who took his elder son with him to the Mysore, leaving the younger with his mother at Poona.

As all Mahratta chiefs were wholly illiterate, they usually retained a number of Brahmins in their service, styled *Carcoons*, or clerks, who were necessarily entrusted with their most private affairs. One of this class, Dadajee Konedeo, a man of talent and integrity, was left by Shahjee in charge of the Poona jaghire; and from him and his mother, Sevajee imbibed a deep and bitter hatred against the Mohammedans. The exploits of the heroes of the Ramayana and Mahabarat, with other wild and fantastic legends, were the boy's delight; he performed with earnest zeal the numerous observances enjoined by his creed, and anxiously waited the time when he should be old enough and strong enough to assert the rights and dignity of the insulted gods of his country. These feelings, in part, supplied the want of a more enlightened and exalted patriotism; and they afforded to Sevajee an object and a rallying point, of which, in after years, he learned the value. Like the mail-clad barons of old England, Shahjee deemed all book-learning undignified, if not degrading drudgery; and his son could never so much as write his name. In horsemanship, and the use of warlike weapons, he was unrivalled.

Poona is situated at the junction of the hilly country with the plains; hence Sevajee, in the hunting parties and military exercises, which formed his chief occupations, constantly associated with the soldiery in his father's service, and the plundering highlanders of the neighbouring Ghauts. The Bheels and Coolies, to the north of Poona—the Ramoosees to the south—viewed with admiration the young chief, to whom every glen and defile of their mountain recesses were well known; but his earliest adherents were the Mahrattas, called Mawulees, from the appellation of the valleys which they

* *Jee* is the Mahratta adjunct of respect, equivalent to our Mr. *Bye*, signifies lady.—(Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 121.)

† When Shahjee was about five years old, he was taken by his father to the house of Jadu Rao, where a large number of Hindoos of all castes had assembled to celebrate a religious festival. Pleased with the boy's bearing, Jadu merrily asked his daughter, a pretty child of three years' old, whether she would take her play-fellow for a husband; and the little maiden, by throwing at him some of the red colour at hand, in accordance with the usages of the festival, seemed to express assent. To the astonishment of all present, Malojee instantly started up, and desired the company to bear witness that Jeejee Bye and Shahjee were affianced. Jadu was exceedingly indignant at the advantage taken of him; but Malojee persisted in his claim, and being an active partisan, rose gradually in the service of the state of Ahmednuggur, and by the intercession of the king himself, eventually obtained the fulfilment of his long-cherished desire.

inhabited immediately to the west of Poona. Before he was sixteen, Sevajee began to talk of becoming an independent poligar, to the serious alarm of Dadajee, who endeavoured to wean him from his lawless associates by confiding much of the affairs of the jaghire to his superintendence, and tried earnestly to convince him that a much more brilliant destiny might be expected to await him, as a steady adherent of the Ahmednuggur government, than as a rebel. But the twig was already bent, and would grow only in one direction; and, in spite of the popularity gained by the courteous and winning manner of Sevajee among the respectable Mahrattas in the neighbourhood, it was whispered that he was a sharer in the profits of several extensive gang-robberies committed in the Concan.

The hill-forts possessed by Beejapoor, like most others under Moslem rule, were much neglected. Being remote and unhealthy, they were sometimes occupied by a single foreign commander, with a small garrison of ill-paid local troops; or, in other cases, left in charge of the nearest desmookh, or other revenue-officer. Our adventurer saw the opportunity afforded by this state of things for his plans of gradual and insidious aggression; and by some means, not precisely known, succeeded in getting possession of Torna, a hill-fortress, twenty miles S.W. of Poona, A.D. 1646. He immediately sent ambassadors to Beejapoor, representing his conduct in the most favourable light, and, by dint of arguments and bribery, was suffered to retain possession unmolested for several years, until it became known that he had built a stronghold on a neighbouring hill, by the aid of a golden treasure supposed to have been miraculously discovered to him, among some ruins at Torna, by the goddess Bhavani. A serious remonstrance was addressed to Shahjee, who wrote in strong terms to Dadajee and his son, reminding them of the danger to which he was exposed by their encroachments, and bidding them desist from all such attempts. Dadajee once more essayed to change the settled purpose of his young master; but soon afterwards, when about to expire, worn out with age and anxiety, he bestowed on him a parting benediction; and instead of further dissuasion, bade him protect Brahmins, kine and cultivators, preserve the temples of the Hindoos from violation, and—follow the fortune which lay before him.

These injunctions were obeyed to the letter. Under pretence of the poverty of the country and its increasing expenditure, Sevajee withheld the revenue from his father, and proceeded step by step, by manœuvring and bribery, to gain fort after fort; until at length, as before stated (p. 130), he had gained possession of the whole tract between the Chakun and the Neera, without bloodshed or any disturbance. "The manner in which he established himself," says Grant Duff, "watching and crouching like the wily tiger of his own mountain valleys, until he had stolen into a situation from whence he could at once spring upon his prey, accounts both for the difficulty found in tracing his early rise, and the astonishing rapidity with which he extended his power when his progress had attracted notice, and longer concealment was impossible." In 1648, Sevajee thought fit to throw down the gauntlet of open rebellion, by attacking and pillaging a convoy of royal treasure on the road to Callian; and the news had scarcely reached Beejapoor, before it was followed by tidings, that five of the principal hill-forts in the Ghauts, and subsequently Callian, and the whole of the northern Concan, were in the occupation of the same insidious foe.

Shahjee was seized and brought before Mohammed Adil Shah, who, heedless of his assurances that his son was acting in his defiance, as much as in that of their mutual sovereign, imprisoned him in a stone dungeon, of which he caused the door to be walled up, declaring, that if the insurrection continued beyond a certain time, the remaining aperture should be likewise closed. Sevajee was extremely alarmed by this menace, and is alleged to have been only dissuaded from submission by the arguments of his wife, who urged that his father's liberty might more probably be wrung by necessity from the king of Beejapoor, than obtained by blind reliance on the promises of a power so notoriously treacherous. He therefore maintained his position, and made overtures to Shah Jehan, who received his application the more favourably, as the wily Mahratta, anxious to leave himself a resource in the event of being hard pressed by his own government, had carefully avoided inroads on Mogul territory. It was probably by the intercession of the emperor that Shahjee was released from his dungeon; but four years elapsed before he was permitted to leave Beejapoor: at the expiration of which

time his presence in the Carnatic became necessary to the interests of the government, on account of an extensive insurrection, in which his eldest son had been slain. The restoration of Shahjee to his jaghire was the signal for the renewal of Sevajee's plans of aggrandisement. During the previous interval, he had delayed entering the imperial service, by preferring an hereditary claim to certain dues on land in the Joonere and Ahmednuggur districts, which he affected to desire to see settled before proceeding to Delhi. His first step, on resuming open hostilities against the Beejapoor state, was to seize the hilly country south of Poona, whose rajah, having refused to co-operate with him, he had allowed to be removed by assassination. The arrival of Aurungzebe in the Deccan, in 1655, somewhat disconcerted Sevajee, who at first addressed the prince as his suzerain; but, on seeing him engaged in war with Golconda, thought to profit by the general confusion, and, for the first time, invaded the Mogul dominions. He surprised and plundered the town of Joonere; but a similar attempt upon Ahmednugger proved less successful: and, alarmed by the rapid conquests of the imperial troops, Sevajee sought, by excuses and promises, to obtain forgiveness for his recent proceedings. At this crisis the illness of Shah Jehan suddenly called off Aurungzebe to Delhi; and the Mahratta chief, taking advantage of his departure, immediately renewed his attacks on Beejapoor, where the king had been succeeded by his son, a minor. A large army was despatched, (A.D. 1659), under the command of a noble, named Afzool Khan, who, at his public audience of leave, boastfully declared that he would bring back the insignificant rebel, and cast him in chains under the footstool of the throne. Sevajee was informed of the vaunt of his opponent, with whose character he was acquainted, and concerted his measures accordingly. On the approach of the hostile force, he took up his residence in the hill-fort of Pertabghur, and sent offers of submission, couched in the humblest terms, to Afzool Khan, who deputed a Brahmin, high in his confidence, to complete the negotiation. This man, Sevajee, during a private interview by night, contrived to win over to his cause, which he affirmed to be that of the Hindoos and the Hindoo faith. By their joint artifice, the haughty Moslem was persuaded that Sevajee's excessive alarm could only be overcome by his personal assurances of mediation at the court of Beejapoor, and he readily consented to leave the army and advance to meet the repentant rebel. In compliance with the suggestion of the treacherous Brahmin, the 1,500 men, who had escorted their general to within a few hundred yards of the fort, were forbidden to proceed further, for fear of exciting the apprehensions of Sevajee. Accompanied by a single armed attendant, Afzool Khan advanced to the appointed place of meeting, and, descending from his palanquin, entered the open bungalow prepared for his reception, where, clad in thin white robes, with a straight sword in his hand, he impatiently awaited the arrival of Sevajee, whose figure (unpretending, from its diminutive size, and rendered ungainly by the extreme length of the arms) was seen descending the heights with slow and hesitating steps. His only follower carried two swords in his waistband, a common circumstance among the Mahrattas; but Sevajee himself was seemingly unprovided with any offensive or defensive weapon, although secretly prepared for deadly strife. The convenient axiom for evil-doers—that the end justifies the means—had induced the Mahratta chief to proceed on this occasion as if about to attempt an act of heroic self-devotion, instead of a treacherous assassination. After performing, with earnest solemnity, his morning devotions, he laid his head at the feet of his mother (Jeejee Bye), and having received her blessing, arose and equipped himself in a suit of chain armour, over which he placed his turban and a cotton tunic. His right sleeve concealed a crooked dagger, named from its form a "beechwa," or scorpion, and his left-hand held a small steel instrument, called a "wagnuck," or tiger-claw, on account of its three crooked blades, which are easily hidden by half-closed fingers. Thus provided, Sevajee approached the khan, and, at the moment of the embrace, struck the wagnuck into his body; then, instantly following up the blow, dispatched him with his dagger. The attendant of Afzool refused quarter, and fell vainly endeavouring to avenge his ill-fated master. The blast of a horn and the firing of five guns announced the unhallowed triumph of Sevajee to the Mawulees. They rushed from the different wooded recesses, where they had been posted, upon the Beejapoor troops, who, suddenly roused from fancied security, were slaughtered or dispersed almost without resistance. Numbers were driven by hunger into a sur-

render, after long wandering in the neighbouring wilds, and all were humanely received by Sevajee, who, throughout his whole career, was remarkable for gentle treatment of prisoners, always excepting such as were suspected of concealing treasure, in which case, like the Great Moguls, he resorted to torture without stint or scruple.

By this violent deed, Sevajee gained possession of the whole train of equipment which had been sent against him, and many of the Mahrattas were induced to enlist in his service; but the most distinguished captive of that nation having steadily refused to renounce his allegiance, was honourably dismissed with costly presents. From this period, up to the close of 1662, Sevajee was engaged in hostilities with the king of Beejapoor, who took the field against him in person; but, after recovering much territory, was compelled to turn his chief attention to a revolt in the Carnatic, upon which the Mahratta chief regained his former conquests, with usury, and succeeded, through Shahjee's mediation, in obtaining a peace, by which he was recognised as master of the whole coast-line of the Concan for 250 miles (between Goa and Callian), and extending above the Ghauts for more than 150 miles from the north of Poona to the south of Merich on the Kistna. The extreme breadth of this territory did not exceed 100 miles. The hardiness and predatory habits of his soldiery, enabled Sevajee to support an army of 7,000 horse and 50,000 foot (a much larger force than the size of his country would seem to warrant), and he soon prepared to take advantage of his truce with Beejapoor, by extending his dominion at the expense of the Moguls.

To put an end to these aggressions, Shaista Khan (viceroy of the Deccan, and the emperor's maternal uncle) marched from Aurungabad, drove the marauding force from the field, captured Poona and Chakun, and took up his position at the former place, within twelve miles of Singhur, the hill-fort to which Sevajee had retired. The house occupied by the viceroy had been originally built by Dadajee for Jeejee Bye, and her son resolved to take advantage of his perfect acquaintance with its every inlet and outlet, by surprising the intruder, notwithstanding his well-planned precautions. Leaving Singhur one evening after dark, and posting small bodies of infantry on the road to support him, Sevajee, attended by twenty-five Mawulees, proceeded to the town, into which he gained admission by joining a marriage procession, planned for the purpose. By the aid of a few pickaxes, the party succeeded in entering the mansion, but not without awakening some of the women of the family, who gave the alarm. Shaista Khan escaped from the window of his bedchamber, having first received a sword-cut, which severed two of his fingers, while letting himself down into the court below. His son, and most of his attendants, were cut to pieces in a moment, after which Sevajee retreated with all speed, and ascended Singhur amid a blaze of torches, in full view of the Mogul camp.

On the following morning, a body of the enemy's horse came galloping towards the fort, but were driven off in confusion; and on this occasion the Mahrattas, for the first time, pursued the Mogul cavalry. Shaista Khan, blinded by grief and mortification, instead of taking active measures against Sevajee, accused Jeswunt Sing (who had not long before arrived with re-inforcements) of treachery; and the dissensions of the leaders crippled the movements of the army, until Aurungzebe removed Shaista Khan to Bengal, and sent Prince Mauzim to command in conjunction with the rajah.

After a feeble attempt to invest Singhur, Jeswunt retired to Aurungabad; and Sevajee, glad to be released from the necessity of standing on the defensive, having spread several false reports of his intentions, set off with 4,000 horse, surprised the rich and defenceless city of Surat, and, after six days of systematic plunder, leisurely proceeded to Raighur, a newly-erected fort in the Concan, which became thenceforth the seat of his government. The booty acquired at Surat was very considerable, and would have been greater, but for the determined defence made at the English and Dutch factories, where some of the native chiefs had taken refuge. The English, especially, gained much favour with Aurungzebe, who granted them a perpetual exemption from a portion of the customs exacted from the traders of other nations at Surat.*

At Raighur, Sevajee learned the death of Shahjee, who, although of a great age, con-

* It seemed necessary to notice this circumstance here; but the progress of European power, until the close of the reign of Aurungzebe, so little affected the general state of India, that I have thought it best, for the sake of clearness, to reserve an account of it for a brief separate sketch.

tinued to pursue his favourite diversion of hunting, until he was killed by a fall from his horse, A.D. 1664. He had restored his jaghire to perfect order, and extended his dominions to the southward, with the tacit permission of the king of Beejapoor, until they comprehended the country near Madras, and the principality of Tanjore. Sevajee now assumed the title of rajah, struck coins in his own name, and carried on hostilities alternately against the Beejapoor and imperial authorities. He collected a fleet, took many Mogul ships, and exacted ransoms from all the rich pilgrims proceeding therein towards Mecca. On one occasion he embarked with a force of 4,000 men, in eighty-seven vessels, and made an unexpected descent on the wealthy town of Barcelore, about 130 miles below Goa, plundered all the adjacent territory, and returned in triumph to his mountain capital. His homeward voyage was, however, prolonged for many days by adverse winds, which, with several other unfavourable circumstances, were interpreted as indications of the displeasure of the goddess Bhavani, at this the only naval enterprise in which Sevajee ever in person engaged. Alarming intelligence awaited his return. Aurungzebe at length resolved to punish the sacrilegious conduct of "the mountain rat," as he contemptuously styled the Mahratta chief; had sent a powerful force against him under Jey Sing and Dileer Khan, with orders, after his subjugation, to proceed against Beejapoor. Sevajee, for once taken by surprise (in consequence of the neglect or treachery of one of his own commanders), held out for some time, and then opened a negotiation with Jey Sing, who assured him, "on the honour of a Rajpoot," of safety, and even favour, on the part of the emperor, in return for entire submission and co-operation. This guarantee, even Sevajee deemed sufficient; and he proceeded, with a few attendants, to the Mogul camp, and agreed to deliver up twenty of the forts which he possessed, together with the territories attached thereto. Raighur and eleven others, with the dependent country, he was to hold as a jaghire from Aurungzebe, in whose service his son, Sumbajee—a boy, seven years old—was to receive the rank of a munsubdar of 5,000; and, probably in lieu of the alleged hereditary claims which he had so pertinaciously asserted, Sevajee stipulated for certain assignments (Chout and Surdeshmooki) on the revenue of each district under Beejapoor; an arrangement which laid the foundation of the ill-defined claims of the Mahrattas in after-times.

No mention is made of this condition in the letter written by Aurungzebe to Sevajee, in which he distinctly confirmed every other article of the treaty; nor in the subsequent communications, in which he highly commended the conduct of Sevajee and his 10,000 followers during the invasion of Beejapoor by Jey Sing, and invited him to court, with a promise of returning at pleasure to the Deccan.

The wily Mahratta was, in this instance, duped by the equally wily Mogul, and, at the termination of the campaign, set off for Delhi, accompanied by his son, and escorted by 1,500 men. Aurungzebe thought his foe secure within his grasp; and instead of acting as Akber would have done, by surpassing in courtesy and generosity the expectations he had raised, and binding to him the now submissive chief by the ties of self-interest, at least, if not of gratitude,—he broke every pledge, received him with marked disrespect, and caused him to be placed among the commanders of the third rank, in the very position promised to his child. Overpowered by rage and mortification, Sevajee sank to the ground in a swoon, and, on recovering his senses, bitterly reproached Ram Sing with the breach of his father Jey Sing's plighted faith; and then, declaring that life was valueless to him without honour, abruptly quitted the imperial presence.

Aurungzebe, astounded by this unexpected display of vehemence, refused again to receive the Mahratta, who requested permission to return to the Deccan, but, not obtaining it, affected to be quite cast down, and begged that his followers at least might be suffered to depart, as the air and water of Delhi injured their health. This solicitation was gladly complied with, and Sevajee seemed completely at the mercy of his foes. But Ram Sing, feeling his father's honour compromised by the conduct of Aurungzebe, connived at the escape of the captive, who, having taken to his bed on pretence of sickness, caused himself and his son to be conveyed by night out of the house and city in two large hampers, which the guards suffered to pass without examination, having been purposely accustomed to see similar baskets sent to and fro, filled with sweetmeats, flowers, &c., as presents to the Brahmins and physicians. His couch was occupied by a servant, and his flight remained undiscovered till a late hour on the following

day. In the meantime, Sevajee repaired to an obscure spot, where a swift horse had been posted in readiness, and rode off with his son behind him. At Muttra he shaved off his hair and whiskers, assumed the disguise of a Gosaen, or Hindoo religious mendicant, and leaving Sumbajee under the charge of a Brahmin, pursued his journey by the most obscure and circuitous roads, arriving at Raighur in December, 1666, after an absence of nine months. Tidings of his recovered liberty reached the Deccan long before his arrival; and the English factors at Carwar, in the Concan, wrote, September 29th—"If it be true that Sevajee has escaped, Aurungzebe will quickly hear of him to his sorrow."

Shah Jehan died about this time, and his favourite child, Padshah Begum, or Jehanara, was formally reconciled to her brother, whose fortunes were then in the zenith of prosperity. Tranquillity prevailed throughout his territories, the limits of which had been extended by the acquisition of Little Thibet, to the north, and Chittagong, on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. Some questions of etiquette had arisen with Shah Abbas II., of Persia, which threatened to involve a war with India, and preparations were being made, but set aside in consequence of the death of the Shah. The sole drawback on the general success of the empire was the ill-fortune of its army at Beejapoor, where the king had resorted to the old plan of defence, by reducing the surrounding country to a desert. Jey Sing, after investing the capital, was compelled to withdraw with loss to Aurungabad. Being soon after recalled, he died on the road to Delhi, having (according to Tod) been poisoned by his second son, at the instigation of Aurungzebe, who promised that he should succeed to the raj (or kingdom) of Mewar, to the prejudice of his elder brother, Ram Sing; but, when the crime was committed, withheld the promised reward, giving the parricide only the district of Kamah,* and offering no opposition to the claims of the rightful heir. Jeswunt Sing was now associated in command of the troops with Prince Manzim and Dileer Khan—an arrangement which proved very advantageous to Sevajee; for Jeswunt exercised great ascendancy over the mind of the prince, and was secretly better disposed towards the Hindoos than to the government he served. By his mediation a treaty was concluded, A.D. 1667, on highly favourable terms for Sevajee, to whom a considerable portion of territory was restored, a new jaghire granted in Berar, and his title of rajah recognised. Aurungzebe confirmed these extraordinary concessions in the hope of deluding Sevajee again into his power: with this view the Mogul leaders were enjoined to keep up a constant intercourse with him, and even directed to feign disaffection to their own government, and a disposition to enter into a separate alliance with the Mahrattas. The emperor long patiently waited the result of his scheme; but at length discovering or suspecting the truth—namely, that his intended victim had turned his weapons against himself, by conciliating both the prince and rajah by bribes and gifts—he renewed hostilities by giving orders for an open attempt to seize his person, A.D. 1670. During the preceding prolonged truce, Sevajee, after obtaining from Beejapoor and Golconda the promise of an annual tribute, had laid aside his sword, and diligently employed himself in giving a regular form to his government. His great and varied talents were never displayed in a more forcible light than when exerted in domestic administration; and his rules were rigorously enforced, whether framed to check oppression of the cultivators† or fraud against the government. In the arrangement of the army, the most careful attention to method and economy was manifest. Both troops and officers received high pay, but were obliged to give up their plunder of every description to the state, or to retain it at a fixed price.

The trump of war again sounded in the ears of the miserable inhabitants of the Deccan. Sevajee recovered Singhur near Poona, plundered Surat anew, carried his ravages over Candeish, and levied the famous "chout," which, like the black mail of Scottish border warfare, exempted from plunder the districts in which it was regularly paid. He equipped a powerful fleet, and resumed his attacks on the Abyssinians of Jinjeera, which induced them to seek the protection of the Moguls. These successes were, in great measure, attributable to the inadequacy of the opposing force. Aurungzebe at length convinced of this, sent 40,000 men, under Mohabet Khan, to the scene of action, but quite independent of the authority of Prince

* *Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. ii., p. 355.

† Sevajee's assessments were made on the actual state of the crop, of which he is alleged to have taken two-fifths.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 231.)

Mauzim, whose fidelity he doubted, and with whom he left Dileer Khan, but recalled Jeswunt Sing. The consequence of this divided command was the total defeat of 20,000 Moguls, A.D. 1672, in a field-action with the Mahrattas. Mauzim and Mohabet were recalled, and Khan Jehan Bahadur, the viceroy of Guzerat, sent to take their place; but active hostilities were soon dropped by mutual consent, the energies of both Aurungzebe and Sevajee* being fully employed in other quarters.

The emperor's attention was drawn off by the increasing importance of a war which had been going on for some time with the north-eastern Afghans, including the Eusofzies. In 1670, an army under Ameen Khan, the governor of Cabool, had been totally destroyed; and, about the same time, a king was set up by the Afghans, who is represented by European writers as an impostor, assuming to be the murdered Prince Shuja; but is described, by Indian authorities, as an Afghan chief. In 1673, the emperor proceeded to direct, in person, the military operations of his troops, accompanied by his son, Mohammed Sultan, who was now released from prison; but, at the close of two years of unsatisfactory effort, he returned to Delhi, and a very imperfect settlement was afterwards arranged with the Afghans.

In 1676, an insurrection of an extraordinary character broke out near the capital, originating in the disorderly conduct of some soldiers of the police, who had mobbed and beaten a Hindoo devotee of the sect of quietists, called Sadhs or Satnamis, in consequence of a quarrel between him and one of their comrades. The Satnamis came to the rescue, several lives were lost, and the affray increased until the numbers of both parties became considerable. The devotees took possession of the town of Narnol, and maintained it, defeating two separate detachments sent against them from Delhi. The idea gained ground that they were endowed with supernatural powers; that swords would not cut, nor bullets pierce them, while their weapons dealt death at every blow. From standing on the defensive, they took an aggressive part, and were joined by several of the neighbouring zemindars. The growing belief in their invincibility seemed likely to justify its assertion; for no troops could be induced to face them; and, on learning their approach to Delhi, Aurungzebe found it necessary to order his tents to be prepared to take the field, and, with his own hand, wrote extracts from the Koran, to be fastened to the standards as a protection against enchantment. The royal force made a stand, and the insurgents were defeated and dispersed with great loss. But the previous success had tempted many of the Hindoo inhabitants of Ajmeer and Agra to take up arms, and it was with difficulty that order could be restored in these provinces. Instead of the conciliatory measures which were imperatively needed, Aurungzebe, chafed by recent occurrences, took the only step necessary for the complete alienation of the minds of his Hindoo subjects, by reviving the jezia (capitation tax on infidels) abolished by Akber. In vain the populace assembled in crowds round the palace; no notice was taken of their tears and complaints. Determined that their appeal should be no longer ignored, they intercepted the emperor on his way in procession to the mosque; but the stern command was given to force a path, and many of the suppliants were trampled under the feet of the horses and elephants. The tax was submitted to without further demur, but the good-will of the Hindoos was gone for ever: in the Deccan every one of them became at heart a partisan of the Mahrattas; and the little fanning needed to blow into a flame the long-smouldering discontent of the Rajpoots was given within a few months of the imposition of the hated jezia.

Rajah Jeswunt Sing died at Cabool, and his widow immediately set out for India, without waiting the permission of Aurungzebe, who made this insubordination a pretext for endeavouring to seize her two infant sons.† By the ingenuity of Durga Das, the Hindoo leader, the rani and her children were enabled to escape to Marwar, over which principality the elder of the boys, Ajeet Sing, lived to enjoy a long reign, and became a formidable enemy to the Great Mogul.‡ Ram Sing, of Jeypoor or Amber, remained faithful to the master who had so

* Sevajee is said to have given a large sum of money to Khan Jehan, part privately, and part publicly: the Mogul styled the latter, tribute; but the Hindoo called it "oil-cake given to his milch cow."

† The three eldest sons of Jeswunt Sing had perished: two, it is alleged, in consequence of the inclement climate of Cabool. The third, a youth of great promise, expired suddenly at Delhi in extreme torture, owing to a poisoned robe of honour bestowed on him by the perfidious emperor.—(*Rajast'han.*)

‡ Another female and two infants were captured by Aurungzebe, the Rajpoots sacrificing their lives freely, as if the supposititious family had been really the widow and orphans of the deceased rajah.

little deserved such loyalty; but Raj Sing,* the rana of Oudipoor, entered heartily into the cause of the children of Jeswunt Sing, and refused to agree to the jezia. A long and tedious contest commenced with the year 1679, and was carried on by Aurungzebe in a spirit of the most barbarous intolerance. His orders to the two princes, Mauzim and Akber, were "to make the enemy feel all the evils of war in their utmost severity;"† and the Rajpoots, having at length caught something of the intolerant spirit of their foes, plundered the mosques, burned the Koran, and insulted the Moollahs. A strange turn was given to affairs by the conduct of Prince Akber, then only twenty-three, who was induced to join the Rajpoots, on condition of being proclaimed emperor, in lieu of his father. This rebellious attempt proved unsuccessful; and after being deserted by every Mohammedan follower, Akber resolved to take refuge with the Mahrattas, and, under the escort of Durga Das and 500 Rajpoots, arrived safely in the Concan, A.D. 1681. Great changes had taken place in the affairs of the Deccan since the withdrawal of the flower of the Mogul troops to the north-eastern frontier, in 1672. Sevajee having turned his arms against Beejapoor, had, in the course of the year 1673, become master of the whole of the southern Concan (excepting the points held by the English, Abyssinians, and Portuguese), and of a tract above the Ghauts, extending to the east beyond the upper course of the Kistna. In 1675 he crossed the Nerbudda, and began to invade the Mogul territory. In the next four years he formed separate alliances with the kings of Golconda and Beejapoor against the Moguls, now under the command of Dileer Khan; and, in return for his co-operation, received valuable cessions of territory, including the jaghire in Mysore, which had been suffered to descend to his half-brother, Venkajee.

One singular feature in this period of the history of Sevajee, is the flight of Sumbajee, the elder of his two sons, who had been imprisoned in a hill-fort for attempting to violate the wife of a Brahmin. This young man, of his father's better qualities, seems to have only inherited personal daring. He succeeded in making his escape, and took refuge with Dileer Khan, who welcomed him gladly, but on learning that Aurungzebe was treacherously disposed, connived at his quitting the imperial camp. Sumbajee then threw himself upon the mercy of his father, who sent him back to the fort of Panalla. From thence he was speedily released by an unexpected event. Sevajee, shortly after dictating a letter to Venkajee, in which he bade him "arouse and be doing," for the present was the time for great deeds, was seized with a painful swelling in the knee-joint, which threw him into a fever, and in a few days cut short his extraordinary career, in the fifty-third year of his age, A.D. 1680.

The emperor expected, that deprived of their leader, the Mahrattas would sink into insignificance. But he was mistaken. Sevajee well knew the character of his countrymen, and had carefully used that knowledge in laying down rules for their government. The Brahminical creed could not be used as a weapon of persecution, but its mingled tolerance and exclusiveness made it a powerful instrument for concentrating the religious feelings of the Hindoos, and directing their full force against the cruel and bigotted oppression commanded by the Koran, and practised by Aurungzebe. Sevajee made it his mainstay, scarcely less when the boy-chief of a band of half-naked and superstitious mountaineers, than when these had become the nucleus of a powerful army, and he the crowned king of a state (under Providence) of his own creation, with yearly-increasing territory and revenue. It is

* About this time Aurungzebe had sent a body of 2,000 horse to escort to his court a princess of Roopnagurh, a younger branch of the Marwar house, whom he demanded in marriage. The maiden, indignant at the thought of wedding the enemy of her race, sent a message to Raj Sing by her preceptor (the family priest), entreating him to come to her rescue. "Is the swan," she asked, "to be the mate of the stork; a Rajpootni, pure in blood, to be wife to the monkey-faced barbarian?" The rana accepted the challenge, appeared suddenly before Roopnagurh, cut off the imperial guard, and carried away the princess in triumph to Oudipoor.

† Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 498. The same paragraph states, "their orders were to employ part of their troops to cut off all supplies from the fugitives in the hills; and with the rest to lay waste the country, burn and destroy the villages, cut down the fruit-trees, and *carry off the women and children*," of course as slaves, or for the services of the harem and its degraded eunuch guards. This barbarity contrasts with the practice of the Hindoos, whether Rajpoot or Mahratta. Sevajee himself decreed, that "cows, cultivators, and women were never to be molested; nor were any but rich Mohammedans, or Hindoos in their service, who could pay a ransom, to be made prisoners" (Duff, vol. i., p. 230); and Elphinstone remarks, that "his enemies bear witness to his anxiety to mitigate the evils of it [war] by humane regulations, which were strictly enforced."

not wonderful that the memory of the man whose well-digested plans "raised the despised Hindoos to sovereignty, and brought about their own accomplishment, when the hand that had framed them was low in the dust," should be gratefully remembered by his countrymen; but it affords melancholy evidence of the darkness of heathenism to be told, that the murder of Afzool Khan is spoken of as a "commendable exploit," and its perpetrator "as an incarnation of the Deity setting an example of wisdom, fortitude, and piety."*

Impartial judges admit that Sevajee possessed qualities which, in an unenlightened Hindoo, may be termed admirable. Prepared for every emergency, peril could not daunt, nor success intoxicate him. Frugal even to parsimony in his habits, courteous and endearing in manner though passionate in disposition, he continued to the last to move freely about among the people, inspiring them with his own spirit of determined opposition to the Mohammedans. Intent on following every turn and winding of Aurungzebe's snake-like policy, he also practised treacherous wiles; but the use of these unworthy weapons did not detract from his personal courage. To have seen him charge, was the favourite boast of the troops engaged in the Deccani wars; and his famous sword (a Genoa blade of the finest temper, named after his tutelary goddess, Bhavani) was preserved and regarded with nothing short of idolatrous veneration.

On the death of Sevajee, one of his surviving widows burned herself with his body. The other, Soyera Bye, endeavoured to place her son, Rajah Ram, a boy of ten years old, on the throne, to the exclusion of Sumbajee, whose mother had died during his infancy. The attempt failed, and Sumbajee was proclaimed king. He caused Soyera Bye to be put to a painful and lingering death; imprisoned her son; threw the leading Brahmin ministers into irons; and slew such of his other enemies as were not protected by the sanctity of their caste. Prince Akber reached the Deccan in June, 1681, and was honourably received by Sumbajee, who acknowledged him as emperor, but showed no intention of supporting his pretensions; devoting such time as he could spare from drinking and debauchery to making war upon the Abyssinians of Jinjeera and the Portuguese. The vast treasure accumulated by his father was soon dissipated; the people were harassed by oppressive taxes; and the troops, being left in arrears of pay, began to appropriate the plunder taken on expeditions for their own use, and to degenerate from comparatively regular bands into hordes of rapacious and destructive freebooters.

Such was the state of things when Aurungzebe, in 1683, arrived at the head of the whole force of the empire. Sumbajee awoke from his stupor; and ably seconded by his father's trained troops, cut off the greater part of the army sent under Prince Mauzim to overrun the Concan, in 1684;† and, in the following year, retaliated this invasion by taking advantage of the march of the emperor against Ahmednuggur, to sack and burn the great city of Boorhanpoor. In 1685, the Moguls being again drawn off to the south, Sumbajee made another bold inroad into the territory in their rear, and plundered Baroach with the adjacent part of Guzerat. About this time he entered into a defensive alliance with the king of Golconda, which Aurungzebe resenting, sent an army against that state, then weakened by internal dissension. Its sovereign, Abool Hussun, though indolent and voluptuous, was popular, and his government and finances were ably managed by Maduna Punt, an active and upright Brahmin, in whom he placed full confidence, thereby exciting the discontent of the Mussulmans, especially of Ibrahim Khan, the commander-in-chief, who, on the approach of the imperial force, under Prince Mauzim, deserted to him with the greater part of the army. The obnoxious minister was murdered; the king fled to

* *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 297. The above account of Sevajee is almost exclusively derived from the able and interesting narrative of Grant Duff, whose labour of love has rendered him as eminently the historian of the Mahrattas, as Colonel Tod of the Rajpoots.

† Dileer Khan died in this year. He was, perhaps, the ablest officer in the service of Aurungzebe, whose battles he fought for six-and-twenty years; but he, like Jey Sing and Jeswunt Sing, found, in the suspicion and neglect of his crafty master, fit punishment for treachery to the brave and unfortunate Dara. The emperor confiscated the property of the deceased, and being disappointed in its value, vainly strove to extort, by torture, from his secretary, a confession of the manner in which the supposed surplus had been employed. The relatives of Dileer Khan were not, however, more unfortunate than those of Khan Jehan Bahadur, foster-brother to the emperor, who visited his death-bed, but appropriated his property, giving the usual order to seek for hidden deposits, and recover all out-standing debts.

the hill-fort of Golconda; and Hyderabad was captured and plundered for three days by the Mogul soldiery, notwithstanding the efforts of the prince to check this breach of discipline, which his suspicious father attributed to his connivance, as a means of embezzlement for ambitious purposes.

By a large pecuniary payment, Abool Hussun purchased a brief respite from Aurungzebe, who then moved in person against Beejapoor. The army of this monarchy had been so reduced by prolonged warfare, that the city, although surrounded by walls six miles in circumference, was soon completely invested. The Patan garrison seemed determined to perish sword in hand, and were therefore suffered to capitulate after a practicable breach had been made, through which Aurungzebe entered the place on a portable throne. The state was extinguished, A.D. 1686; and Beejapoor, after attaining a grandeur quite disproportioned to the extent of the kingdom of which it formed the capital, sunk rapidly into the deserted condition in which it now stands. The young king, after three years' close imprisonment in the Mogul camp, perished suddenly, it is said by violence, the fears of his imperial gaoler having been raised by a popular commotion in his favour.

Golconda, the last independent Mohammedan state, was next destroyed, after a duration of 175 years. Abool Hussun strove by costly gifts to deprecate the ambition of Aurungzebe, who, while receiving these offerings, was secretly occupied in intrigues with the ministers and troops of the unhappy king; and at length, his plans being matured, denounced him as a protector of infidels, and laid siege to Golconda. Roused by this treachery, Abool Hussun, though deserted on all sides, defended the fort for seven months, but was eventually betrayed into the hands of his merciless foe, by whom he was sent to end his days in the fortress of Doulatabad. His fate and treatment awakened the compassion of Prince Mauzim, whose mediation he solicited; and the prince, touched by the dignity and resignation with which the monarch bore his misfortunes, or rather injuries, made an earnest appeal in his favour. The result was his own imprisonment for nearly seven years, after which he was released and sent as governor to Cabool. All the territories which had been acquired by Beejapoor and Golconda were annexed to the empire, as well as many of Sevajee's conquests; Venkajee was deprived of the Mysore jaghire, and confined to Tanjore; and Sumbajee seemed to have sunk into a state of inertia, and become heedless of passing events. Prince Akber, dreading to fall into his father's hands, fled to Persia, where he remained till his death, about eighteen years afterwards.

Aurungzebe had now reached the culminating point of success; neither humanity nor policy had stayed his covetous grasp: he stood alone, the sole Moslem ruler in India—the despotic master of an unwieldy empire, over which the seeds of disorganisation and dissolution were sown broadcast. In Hindoostan, the finest provinces were, for the most part, entrusted to the care of incompetent and needy governors, chosen purposely from the lower ranks of the nobility. These men oppressed the people and neglected the troops—evils which Aurungzebe preferred to the risk of being supplanted by more able and influential officers. His policy in the Deccan was equally selfish and short-sighted. In the governments of Beejapoor and Golconda, he might have found valuable auxiliaries in keeping under the power of the Mahrattas; but, by their destruction, he threw down the chief barrier to lawless incursions, setting aside constituted authorities without supplying any efficient substitute.* Of the disbanded armies, the Patans and foreign mercenaries probably obtained service under the emperor; the remainder joined Sumbajee, or plundered on their own account; and amid the general anarchy and distress, the new-born feeling of religious opposition rapidly gained ground. Notwithstanding the inefficiency of their rajah, the Mahratta chiefs exerted themselves individually against the invader, and their energies were rather stimulated than enfeebled by the unexpected capture of Sumbajee, with his minister and favourite companion, a Brahmin named Kaloosha, who were surprised by a body of Moguls during a revel at a favourite pleasure-house in the Concan. It was sug-

* In all these countries Aurungzebe acquired little more than a military occupation. "The districts were farmed to the Desmookhs and other zemindars, and were governed by military leaders, who received twenty-five per cent. for the expense of collecting; and sent up the balance, after paying their troops, to the emperor; unless, as often happened, assignments were made for a period of years on fixed districts for the payment of other chiefs."—(Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii., p. 522.)

gested, that Sumbajee might be used as a tool to obtain possession of the Mahratta strongholds; and with this view, he was offered life on condition of becoming a Mussulman. But misfortune had awakened in him a sense of degradation, and the only reply was a sarcastic message to Aurungzebe, and an invective on the False Prophet, for which offence a cruel punishment was decreed. His eyes were destroyed by a red-hot iron, his tongue cut out, and he was at last beheaded in the camp bazaar, together with Kaloosha, A.D. 1689.

Sumbajee had neither deserved nor obtained the confidence of his subjects; but they were deeply mortified by his ignominious fate. The chiefs assembled at Raighur, acknowledged the infant son of the deceased as his successor, and nominated his uncle, Rajah Ram, regent. Raighur was invested by a Mogul force, and taken in 1690, after a siege of several months, through the treachery of a Mawulee leader. The young rajah and his mother fell into the hands of Aurungzebe, who treated them with unusual kindness.* Rajah Ram remaining at liberty, proceeded to the distant fortress of Jinjee, in the Carnatic, and assumed the sovereignty. He did not attempt more than the general direction of affairs, sending two able leaders to create a diversion in his own country, and leaving independent commanders to carry on desultory operations against the Moguls, with whom a tedious and harassing struggle commenced, in which the advantage lay on the side of the apparently weaker party.

Yet Aurungzebe was indefatigable. Although far advanced in years, he superintended every hostile operation, and besieged in person the chief places.† His immense armies were marshalled forth in splendid array. The nobles went to battle in quilted cotton tunics, covered with chain or plate armour, and rode on chargers, whose huge saddles, housings of cloth or velvet, satin streamers, bells, chains, and other ornaments of gold and silver, with the frequent addition of pairs of the bushy ox-tails of Tibet hanging down on either side, were better adapted for a triumphal procession, than for warfare with mountaineers in their own country. The common soldiers imitated their superiors in their cumbersome attire, and likewise in sloth and effeminacy: the result was a total relaxation of discipline. The Mahrattas, on the contrary, were mounted on horses, small, strong, and active as themselves, with a pad for a saddle, and a black blanket folded over it for nightly covering during their expeditions, when each man slept on the ground, with his spear stuck by him, and his bridle tied to his arm, ready for any emergency. A led horse, with bags to contain the expected plunder, formed the remainder of their camp equipage. Their common food was a cake of millet, with perhaps an onion; their dress, a small turban, a fold of which was frequently passed under the chin,‡ a quilted cotton tunic, tight drawers descending to the knee, and a scarf or sash rolled round the waist. Some carried a sword and shield; a certain proportion were armed with matchlocks, or bow and arrows; but the prevailing weapon was a bamboo spear, thirteen or fourteen feet long, which they wielded with extraordinary skill. Thus armed and habited, they wisely adhered to the desultory warfare which could alone be successfully waged against the heavily-attired legions of the Mogul.§ Then, as now, their only name for a victory was, "to plunder the enemy," this being, in their eyes, the chief object as well as sole irrefragable evidence and measure of conquest.

Fort after fort was captured by the imperial army; but the Mahrattas meanwhile issued from their lurking-places and overspread the newly-acquired territories, as

* Begum Sahib, the emperor's daughter, evinced unremitting kindness to both mother and child during their long captivity. The boy, being much with her, attracted the notice of Aurungzebe, who jestingly applied to him the nick-name of Sahoo or Shao, a word signifying the opposite of thief, robber, and similar terms, by which he habitually designated Sumbajee and Sevajee.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i.)

† The traveller, Gemelli Carreri, who saw Aurungzebe at Beejapoor, in 1695, describes him as slender and of low stature, with a smiling aspect, bright eyes, a long nose, and a beard whose silvery whiteness contrasted with an olive-coloured skin. His dress was of plain white muslin, with one large emerald in the turban. He stood amid his omrahs leaning on a staff or crozier (like those used by the fakeers); received petitions, read them without spectacles, and endorsed them with his own hand. In youth, says Manouchi, he was pale even to ghastliness.

‡ The Mahratta description of a very fierce-looking person, includes a turban tied beneath the chin, and mustachios "as thick as my arm." Their national flag, swallow-tailed and of a deep orange colour, is emblematic of the followers of Mahdeo.

§ The Mawulees were famous for sword-in-hand combat; the Hetkurees (Concan mountaineers) used a species of firelock, and excelled as marksmen: both parties could, with ease, scale rocks and mount precipices, which the Moguls would have found certain destruction in attempting.

well as Berar, Candeish, and Malwa. Detachments were sent against them in various directions, but to little avail; for, on perceiving their approach, the wily mountaineers dispersed at once, without attempting to stand a charge; and after leading the Moguls a weary, and generally fruitless chase, were themselves ready to follow the retreating track of their disheartened pursuers, and take advantage of any opening or confusion in the ranks, occasioned by accident or exhaustion. Fighting such foes was like beating the air, and even worse; for while their number and power were rapidly increasing by the alliance of the zemindars of the countries which they overran, the troops of Aurungzebe, thinned by long and sanguinary sieges, required frequent recruitment from Hindoostan, whence also supplies of money had to be drawn.

Rajah Ram died A.D. 1700, and was succeeded by his infant son, Sivajee, under the regency of Tara Bye, mother of the young rajah. This change had little effect on the war. Aurungzebe went on taking forts, until, by the close of the next five years, all the principal Mahratta strongholds had fallen before him; but then the tide turned, and the rapidly-multiplying foe themselves became besiegers, and regained many fortresses, at the same time intercepting several convoys, and thus depriving the emperor of the means of paying his army.* No writer has delineated the condition of the agricultural population of the Deccan; but their sufferings from these prolonged and desolating wars must have been frightful. From them the circle of distress spread gradually but surely, until scarcity of food began to be felt even in the imperial camp, and was aggravated by the devastating effects of heavy rains. On one occasion, a sudden flood of the Beema inundated the imperial cantonment during the night, and caused the destruction of 12,000 persons, with horses, cattle, and stores beyond calculation.

The contempt with which the Moguls once regarded the Mahrattas had long given place to dread; while the Mahrattas, on their part, began to see the emptiness of the pomp which surrounded the Great Mogul, and mocked the Mussulmans, by pretending to ejaculate devout aspirations for the prolonged life of their best patron, Aurungzebe. The news from Hindoostan was of an increasingly-disheartening character; the Rajpoots were, for the most part, in open hostility, and their example had been followed by the Jats (a Hindoo people of the Soodra class), near Agra: against these, as also against a body of Sikhs at Muttra, it had been necessary to send a force under a prince of the blood. Zulfikar Khan, the chief Mogul general, being treated with irritating distrust by his sovereign, seems to have grown dilatory and indifferent, if, indeed, the dark clouds which were gathering over the political horizon did not induce him, like other nobles, designedly to temporize with the foe. The princes—now favoured, now disgraced—turned pale when summoned to the presence of their father;† while he, remembering the fate of Shah Jehan, trembled yet more at the semblance of overstrained humility than at open insubordination.

At length overtures of peace were made to the Mahrattas, and Aurungzebe was brought to consent to the liberation of Shao, the son of Sumbajee, and to the payment of ten per cent. of the whole revenues of the six soubahs of the Deccan (as Surdeshmooki), on condition of the maintenance of a body of horse to keep order; but the negotiation was broken off by the exorbitant demands and overbearing conduct of the Mahrattas. Disgusted and unhappy, with dispirited troops and exhausted cattle, the aged emperor retreated from Beejapoor to Ahmednuggur, harassed all the way by the enemy, who succeeded in dispersing and destroying a portion of the grand army; and, had they chosen to hazard a general attack, would probably have captured the person of their inveterate foe. That no such attempt was made is a subject of fervent exultation with Mussulman writers. Aurungzebe gained Ahmednuggur in safety; and, when pitching his camp on the same spot whence it had marched in so much pomp and power twenty years before, he sorrowfully remarked, that his campaigns were ended—his last earthly journey completed. He had now entered the fiftieth year of his reign, and the eighty-ninth of his age; but the extreme temperance and regularity which characterised his physical existence, had preserved his faculties in an

* Among the many letters extant, written by Aurungzebe, are several addressed to Zulfikar Khan, desiring him to search for hidden treasures, and hunt out any that may have fallen into the hands of individuals, that means may be afforded to silence "the infernal foot-soldiers," who were croaking like the tenants of an invaded rookery.

† Khafi Khan.—(*Vide* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 544.)

extraordinary degree of perfection.* Yet to him, freedom from the imbecility frequently attendant on extreme age was rather a curse than a blessing. The few sands still remaining in his measure of life would, he feared, be rudely shaken by the ambition of his heirs, and, to avoid this danger, he made a last exertion of power by sending away his favourite son, Kaumbuksh, to Beejapoor, and preventing Mauzim (then in Cabool) or Azim (in Guzerat) from coming to Ahmednuggur. His own children could not be trusted to minister to their aged father, although, in this awful period, he seems to have had a newly-awakened yearning for human sympathy. Death was fast approaching; and what provision had he made for the stability of the empire, the welfare of the people, the salvation of his own soul? After his decease, which took place in February, 1707, a will† was found beneath his pillow, decreeing the division of the empire among his sons: but he probably foresaw the little attention which would be paid to it, and might reasonably have adopted the saying of another crooked politician, "*Après moi le déluge.*" His subjects—at least the Mussulman portion—he commends to the care of his sons, in his farewell letters, as a charge committed to them by God himself; and then proceeds to give vent, in disconnected sentences, to the terrible apprehensions before which his spirit shrank in dismay. "Wherever I look," writes the dying emperor, "I see nothing but the Divinity. I know nothing of myself—what I am—and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. Wherever I look, I see nothing but the Divinity. * * * I have committed many crimes; and know not with what punishments I may be seized. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Farewell! farewell! farewell!"‡

———

It has been shown that, during the latter part of the reign of Aurungzebe, the empire was manifestly losing its coherent power. After his death, strife, luxury, and corruption in the court; disorganization in the camp, and discontent among the people;§

* Khafi Khan says, "none of his five senses were at all impaired, except his hearing in a small degree; but not so that others could perceive it." Aurungzebe possessed, in perfection, what Lytton Bulwer, following a French proverb, calls the twin secrets for wearing well—"a bad heart and a good digestion."

† A previous will contained directions for his funeral, the expense of which was to be defrayed by a sum, equal to ten shillings, saved from the price of caps which he had made and sold: 805 rupees, gained by copying the Koran, were to be distributed among the poor. (Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 551.)

‡ These remarkable and well-authenticated letters contain many characteristic and interesting passages: for instance, "the camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are like myself—full of affliction, restless as the quicksilver. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. * * * The fever has left me; but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. My back is bent with weakness; my feet have lost the power of motion. * * * The Begum [his daughter] appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts." To Kaumbuksh he says, "Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but everything has its appointed time."—(Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. i., pp. 8 and 9.) According to Tod, this lady was a princess, not of Oudipoor, but of Kishenghur, a minor division of Joudpoor.

§ As in the Deccan, so also throughout Hindoostan, we can only form an idea of the condition of the mass of the people by an incidental remark, scattered here and there, amid many weary pages filled with details of invasion and slaughter, pomp and intrigue. The Mussulman writers were usually pensioners of the monarch, whose deeds they chronicled; the Hindoo annalists were the bards of the leading families, of which they formed important and cherished members. Neither the one nor the other could be expected to rise above the class of mere annalists. To have given a true and lively picture of the actual state of the Indian population under Moslem rule, would have tasked to the utmost the intellect of a philosopher, the zeal of a philanthropist, the courage of a martyr. And to whom should an historian, thus richly gifted, have addressed himself? Would either the degraded Hindoo or the sensual Mohammedan have cared to trace "the practical operation of a despotic government, and rigorous and sanguinary laws, or the effect, upon the great body of the nation, of these injurious influences and agencies."—(Preface to Elliot's *Bibliographical Index of Historians of Mohammedan India.*) No; for to Christianity alone belongs the high prerogative of teaching men to appreciate justly their rights, duties, and responsibilities. Even with her teaching, the lesson is one which nations are slow to learn. Concerning the reign of Aurungzebe, we know less than of many of his predecessors; because he not only left no autobiography behind him, but even, for a considerable number of years, forbade the ordinary chronicling of events. Of the wretchedness prevailing among the people, and the indignation with which the imposition of the jezia was generally regarded, a forcible representation is given in a letter, addressed by Raj Sing of Oudipoor (wrongly attributed by Orme to Jeswunt Sing of Marwar) to Aurungzebe, in which he reminds him of the prosperity attendant on the mild conduct of Akber, Jehangeer, and Shah Jehan towards the Hindoos, and points out the opposite results of the present harsh measures, in the alienation of much territory, and the devastation and rapine which universally prevailed. "Your subjects," he says, "are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. * * * The soldiery are murmuring; the merchants complaining; the Mohammedans discontented; the Hin-

fostered by the imposition of the jezia and excessive imposts upon land, grew apace, and the power of the great Moguls crumbled into ruins, its decay being hastened by the rapid increase of the Mahratta nation; the struggles of the Rajpoots for independence; the irruption of the Sikhs; and the desolating invasion of the Persian monarch, Nadir Shah. The career of the successors of Aurungzebe need be but briefly narrated, since their reigns are not of sufficient interest to occupy space which can be ill-spared from more important matters; beside which, the leading events of the eighteenth century will again come into notice in sketching the marvellous rise of the English from humble traders to lords paramount of India.

———

*Bahadur Shah.**—Prince Mauzim, the rightful heir to the throne, on receiving tidings of his father's decease, assumed the crown at Cabool with the title of Bahadur Shah, and offered to confirm to his brothers the territorial possessions bequeathed to them by Aurungzebe: viz., to Azim—Agra, with all the country to the south and south-west; to Kaumbuksh—Beejapoor and Golconda. The generous and upright character of Bahadur Shah warranted belief in his good faith; but Azim, who, on the death of the emperor, had hastened to the camp, from which he was not far distant, and caused himself to be proclaimed sovereign of the whole empire, could not be prevailed upon to retract this unwarrantable pretension.

Despite the exhausted state of the kingdom, very large armies were assembled on both sides, and a sanguinary contest took place to the south of Agra, in which Prince Azim and his two grown-up sons were slain. The third, a child, was taken by the soldier who decapitated his father, as he lay senseless in his howdah, and carried into the presence of the emperor, together with the bloody trophy of victory, the head of Azim. Bahadur Shah burst into tears, and strove to pacify the weeping boy with caresses, promising to treat him as one of his own children, a pledge he faithfully redeemed, in spite of the jealous insinuations of his own sons. In this important battle the valour and ability of Monaim Khan, who had been Bahadur Shah's chief officer in Cabool, were very conspicuous. Concealing his own dangerous and painful wounds, he remained on the field till late at night to restore order and prevent plunder; and then, perfectly exhausted, was lifted from his elephant, and carried into the presence of the emperor, by whom he was appointed vizier. Zulfikar Khan and his father, Assud Khan, who had at first taken part with Prince Azim, quitted his camp, disgusted by his arrogance, before the late engagement, of which they had remained spectators. On presenting themselves with fettered hands before the emperor, they were gladly welcomed, and appointed to high positions.

Prince Kaumbuksh, a vain and flighty young man, persisted in refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of his elder brother, who, after repeated attempts at negotiation, which were rejected with scorn and defiance, marched against him to the Deccan, and was again victor in a battle near Hyderabad. Kaumbuksh died of his wounds the same day; his children fell into the hands of their uncle, by whom they were treated as kindly as their orphan cousin.† The next important event was a truce with the Mahrattas, among whom internal dissensions had arisen, owing to the release of Shao (by Prince Azim, immediately after his father's death), and the disputed succession between him and the son of Tara Bye, whose claims, although an idiot, were actively upheld by his ambitious mother. The ascendancy of Shao was recognised by the Mogul government, and the chout, or fourth, of the revenues of the Deccan conceded to him. The Rajpoots were likewise permitted to make peace on very favourable terms. The territory cap-

doos destitute; and multitudes of people, wretched even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day in want and destitution. How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved who employs his power in exacting tribute from a people thus miserably reduced?"—(Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, p. 252.) Aurungzebe's persecution of his Hindoo subjects consisted in pecuniary exactions and systematic discouragement: they were excluded from office, their fairs and festivals forbidden, and even some of their temples destroyed; but bodily suffering was rarely, if ever, inflicted from mere bigotry; and capital punishments, for any offence whatever, were infrequent.

* Sometimes entitled Alum Shah Bahadur.

† Eradut Khan, one of the many rebellious nobles, who, after the defeat of Azim, were freely pardoned, says, that the sons of the fallen princes were always permitted to appear fully armed before the emperor, to accompany him daily in the chase, and share in all his diversions. Seventeen princes—his sons, grandsons, and nephews, sat round his throne: the royal captives of Beejapoor and Golconda were likewise suffered to take their place immediately behind the royal princes; and a crowd of the high nobility daily thronged "the platform between the silver rails."—(Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 49.)

tured from the rana of Oudipoor was restored, and he became again independent in all but name. Ajeet Sing, the rajah of Marwar, and Jey Sing, of Jeypoor, appear to have obtained nearly similar advantages, but rather from necessity than good-will, since the emperor was about to advance against them, when his attention was diverted by intelligence of the capture of Sirhind by the Sikhs. These people, from an inoffensive, religious sect, founded about the end of the fifteenth century by a Hindoo named Nanuk,* had been changed by persecution into fanatical warriors. When driven from the neighbourhood of Lahore, which had been their original seat, they took refuge in the northern mountains, A.D. 1606, and there remained for nearly seventy years, until the accession of Guru Govind, the tenth spiritual chief from Nanuk. This leader conceived the idea of forming the Sikhs into a religious and military commonwealth. To increase their numbers, he abolished all distinction of caste, and all prohibitions regarding food or drink, except the slaughter of kine, which was strictly forbidden. Hindoo idols and Brahmins were to be respected, but the usual forms of worship were set aside. All converts were admitted to a perfect equality, and were expected to take a vow to fight for the cause, always to carry steel in some part of the person, to wear blue clothes, allow the head and beard to grow, and neither clip nor remove the hair on any part of the body.

The Sikhs fought desperately, but were too few in number to accomplish the plans of resistance and revenge planned by Guru Govind, who, after beholding his strongholds taken, his mother and children massacred, his followers slain, mutilated, or dispersed, was himself assassinated by a private enemy. To his spiritual authority, as Guru, no successor was appointed. The temporal command of the infuriated Sikhs was assumed by a Hindoo ascetic, named Bandu, under whose leadership they overran the east of the Punjaub, and, true to their vengeful motto of unceasing enmity to the Mohammedans, not only destroyed the mosques and slaughtered the moollahs, but massacred the population of whole towns, sparing neither age nor sex, and even disinterring the bodies of the dead, and exposing them as food for carrion. The chief seat of these atrocities was Sirhind, which they occupied after defeating the governor in a pitched battle: they subsequently retired to the country on the upper course of the Sutlej, whence they made marauding incursions, extending to the neighbourhood of Lahore on the one side, and of Delhi on the other.

Bahadur Shah marched against them in 1711, and soon obliged them to take refuge in the hills, where they long continued to struggle against the imperial force. Bandu was at last shut up in a fort, which was strictly blockaded; but the Sikhs continued the defence until large numbers perished of hunger, and then made a desperate sally, upon which the enemy took possession of the fort without further resistance; but Bandu escaped through the self-devotion of one of his followers, by whom he was personated.†

After this success, the emperor took his departure; but the Sikhs had received only a temporary check; and their power was again in the ascendant, when Bahadur Shah expired suddenly at Lahore (not without suspicion of poison), in the seventy-first (lunar) year of his age, and the fifth of his reign, A.D. 1712.

*Jehandar Shah.*—On the death of the emperor, a deadly conflict commenced between his four sons, in which three perished —the eldest ascending the throne, notwithstanding his well-known incapacity, by the aid of Zulfikar Khan, who had taken part with him from ambitious motives, hoping to govern absolutely under the name of vizier. All the princes of the blood, whose persons were within reach, were slain, to secure the authority of the new ruler. But this iniquity only served to heighten the hatred and disgust

* The beauty of Nanuk, when a mere boy, attracted the attention of a learned and wealthy Seyed, who caused him to be educated and instructed in the doctrines of Islam. As he grew up, Nanuk extended his reading, collected maxims alike from the Koran and the Vedas, and endeavoured to unite Mohammedan and Hindoo doctrines on the basis of the unity of God. Converts flocked around him, taking the name of Sikhs (*the instructed*), and giving to their preceptor the name and authority of Guru (*spiritual chief.*) The doctrines of the sect were gradually embodied in sacred volumes called *Grunths*, and the Sikhs silently increased; until, in 1606, the Moslem government took offence at their leading tenet—that the form of worship offered to the Deity was immaterial—and put to death their existing chief, whereupon the Sikhs took up arms under his son, Hur Govind.—(H. T. Prinsep's *Sikh Power*.)

† Though struck by the generosity of the impostor, Bahadur is said to have nevertheless sent him prisoner, in an iron cage, to Delhi, an act singularly at variance with his compassionate nature.

excited by the pride and tyranny of Zulfikar Khan, and the vices and follies of his imperial *protégé*, who lavished honours upon his favourite mistress (originally a public dancer), and promoted her relations, although, like herself, of a most discreditable class, to the highest dignities in the state. Dissatisfaction prevailed throughout the court, when tidings arrived that Feroksheer (the son of one of the fallen princes whom Jehandar had vainly striven to get into his power) had prevailed upon two Seyed* brothers, the governors of Behar and Allahabad, to espouse his cause; and having, by their aid, assembled an army, was now marching towards Agra. Jehandar and Zulfikar met the invaders, at the head of 70,000 men; but, being defeated, the emperor fled in disguise to Delhi, and took refuge in the house of Assud Khan. The treacherous old man made him a prisoner, and persuaded Zulfikar (who arrived soon after, with the remaining troops) to make terms with the conqueror, by the surrender of their unfortunate master. The father and son then presented themselves to Feroksheer, with fettered hands, as they had done to his grandfather, Bahadur Shah, some six years before, but with a very different result. Zulfikar and Jehandar were strangled with a leathern thong, after which their bodies were fastened to an elephant, and dragged through the leading thoroughfares of Delhi, followed by the wretched Assud Khan, and all the female members of his family, in covered carriages. Thus ended the nine months' sway of Jehandar Shah, A.D. 1713.

*Feroksheer's* first act of sovereignty was to appoint the Seyed brothers to the highest offices in the empire—the elder, Abdullah Khan, being made vizier; the younger, Hussein Ali, ameer ool omra, or commander-in-chief. He next proceeded to remove from his path, by the bow-string, such of the old nobility as might be disposed to combine against him; and the same instrument was freely used among the remaining members of the royal family, including even his own infant brothers. These cruelties were sure indications of a suspicious and cowardly nature; and, as might be expected, his distrust was soon excited against the very persons by whom he had been raised to the throne. The consequence was, that his whole reign was a continued, though long-disguised struggle with the two Seyeds, whose watchfulness and confidence in each other rendered them eventually victorious.† Feroksheer endeavoured to weaken, by dividing them; and, for this end, sent Hussein against Ajeet Sing, of Marwar, to whom a private intimation was forwarded, that the emperor would be well-pleased by the defeat and death of his own general. The plot failed; for the parties immediately concerned wisely consulted their mutual interest, by making a speedy peace, and Hussein returned to court, bearing with him the daughter of the rajah, to be the bride of his ungrateful sovereign. The nuptials were celebrated on a scale of extraordinary magnificence; but were no sooner terminated, than Hussein Ali was sent to the Deccan, ostensibly to prosecute hostilities against the Mahrattas. Daud Khan Panni, an Afghan commander, renowned for reckless courage, received orders to join Hussein, and, under pretence of co-operation, to take the first opportunity of effecting his destruction. But the agent selected to carry this nefarious scheme into execution was ill-chosen. Daud Khan, though well-disposed to revenge the death of his old patron, Zulfikar Khan,‡ would not stoop to stab in the dark; he therefore set the Seyed at defiance, engaged him as an open enemy, and, by the impetuosity of his charge, had nearly triumphed, when a ball pierced his brain, and at once changed the fortune of the day. Hussein Ali proceeded to execute his commission against the Mahrattas, without openly attributing

* Lineal descendants of Mohammed.

† The mother of Feroksheer had taken a leading part in persuading the Seyed brothers, for the sake of her husband who had befriended them, to uphold her son; and had sworn upon the Koran, that if they would do so, no plot should ever be formed against them, of which she, if cognizant, would not give them immediate information. This pledge was conscientiously redeemed, and her timely warning more than once preserved their lives.—*Vide* Col. Briggs' revised translation of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*—(Manners of the Moderns), a work comprising the history of the greater part of the eighteenth century, written in a very clear and interesting manner, by Mir Gholam Hussein, a Delhi noble. Mr. St. George Tucker, late chairman of the East India Company, who met him repeatedly at Gya Behar, in 1786–'7, alludes to him as "the finest specimen of a nobleman I had ever seen."—(*Tucker's Life and Correspondence*, edited by J. W. Kaye, vol. i., p. 40.)

‡ Zulfikar Khan, on receiving the appointment of viceroy of the Deccan, had been permitted to reside at court, leaving Daud Khan as his representative, or, as it was then termed, *naik subah-dar*, deputy viceroy. He was himself succeeded, in 1713, by Cheen Kilich Khan (afterwards well-known under the titles of Nizam-ool-Moolk and Asuf Jah), who was in turn removed by Hussein Ali.

to the emperor the opposition which he had encountered, and sent a strong detachment against a chief named Dabari, who had established a line of fortified villages in Candeish, and by his depredations on caravans, shut up the great road from Hindoostan and the Deccan to Surat. While one portion of the imperial troops was thus employed, another was dispatched against the Sikhs, who had renewed their ravages with increased fury. Bandu was defeated, captured, and put to death in a most barbarous manner, and a large number of his followers were slaughtered in cold blood.* Those who remained at large were hunted down like wild beasts, and a considerable time elapsed before they became again formidable. In the Deccan the Moguls were less successful: the Mahrattas practised their usual tactics of evacuating assaulted positions, and leading their foes, by the oft-repeated expedient of a pretended flight, among hilly and broken ground, where they were easily separated and defeated in detail, many being cut to pieces, and others stripped of their horses, arms, and even clothes. This inauspicious campaign was at length brought to a discreditable conclusion; for Hussein Ali, determined at any cost to rejoin his brother at Delhi, made a treaty with Rajah Shao, acknowledging his claim to the whole of the territory possessed by Sevajee, with the addition of later conquests, and authorising not only the levy of the chout, or fourth, over the whole of the Deccan, but also of surdeshmooki,† or one-tenth of the remaining revenue. In return, Shao was to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees; to furnish a contingent of 16,000 horse; to preserve the tranquillity of the country; and to be answerable for any loss occasioned by depredations, from whatever quarter.

As Shao was at this time engaged in civil war, it was manifest that he could but very imperfectly perform his part of this extraordinary agreement, since a considerable portion of the country recognised as his, was really in possession of the hostile party. Ferokshcer refused to ratify the treaty; but Hussein Ali gained his point, by returning to Delhi, where his presence was much needed by his brother, Abdullah Khan. This noble, though a man of talent, was indolent, and devoted to the pleasures of the seraglio; he therefore delegated the business of the vizierat almost wholly to his deputy, a Hindoo named Ruttun Chand, whose strict measures, arbitrary temper, and zeal for the Brahminical faith, aggravated the jealous feelings with which his administration was regarded by the Mussulman nobility. Of this state of affairs Ferokshcer endeavoured to take advantage, by forming a combination of the chief persons to whom the vizier was known to have given offence. Among these were Jey Sing, of Jeypoor,‡ Cheen Kilich Khan, and others of importance, who entered warmly into the matter; but the irresolution and timidity of the emperor, together with the continued preference which he evinced, even at this critical period, for incapable and profligate advisers, disgusted and disheartened the nobles who were inclined to take part with him, and all except Jey Sing deserted his cause,§ and made their peace with the vizier, from whom Cheen Kilich Khan re-

* The majority were executed on the field of battle; but 740 were sent to Delhi, and after being paraded through the streets on camels, were beheaded on seven successive days, having firmly rejected the offer of life, on condition of belying their religious opinions. Bandu was exhibited in an iron cage, clad in a robe of cloth-of-gold and a scarlet turban: around him were the heads of his followers, fixed on pikes; and even a dead cat was stuck up to indicate the extirpation of everything belonging to him. On his refusal to stab his own infant, the child was slaughtered before his eyes, and its heart forced into his mouth. The wretched father was then torn to pieces with hot irons, and died defying his persecutors, and exulting in the belief that he had been raised up to scourge the iniquity and oppression of the age.—(Scott's *History of the Deccan.*)

† The Desmookh, literally *chief of the district*, was an hereditary officer under the Hindoo government, who received a portion of the revenue in money or in kind; "and," says General Briggs, "in the local or modern appellations of Dessavi, Nat Gour, Natumkur, Naidu, Dessye, Desmookh, and Zemindar, we recognise the same person, from Ceylon to Cashmere, to the present day."—(Note to *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, p. 146.) It was as compensation for an hereditary claim of this description, *purchased* by Shahjee, that his son Sevajee stipulated with Aurungzebe for certain assignments on the Beejapoor revenue as early as 1666.—(Grant Duff, vol. i., p. 497.)

‡ This chieftain had been employed against the Jats, whom, after a long course of operations, he had succeeded in reducing to extremities; when the vizier opened a direct negotiation with them, in a manner considered very derogatory to the honour of the Rajpoot general. The cause of offence to Cheen Kilich Khan was his removal from the vice-royalty of the Deccan to the petty government of Moradabad.—(Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 580.)

§ In marching through Amber, Hussein Ali, to punish the fidelity of Jey Sing to the emperor, gave full scope to the rapacity of the soldiery, who ravaged the land and carried away many persons, of both sexes, into captivity.—(*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.*)

ceived large promises of increased rank and influence, in return for co-operation against Ferokshcer, whose doom was now sealed by the arrival of Hussein Ali, at the head of an army devoted to him, and strengthened by 10,000 Mahrattas. Hussein immediately demanded the dismissal of Jey Sing to his own principality. Ferokshcer complied, and strove to deprecate the vengeance of his enemies by the most abject submission, giving no encouragement to the few nobles who were still inclined to take part with him. All was gloom and uncertainty, when the townspeople suddenly rose against the Mahrattas, upon which the Seyeds, taking advantage of the disturbance, marched into the city, forcibly occupied the palace, and wrung by torture, from the women of the seraglio, a knowledge of the hiding-place of the unhappy emperor, who was seized, flung into a dark closet, and soon afterwards put to death in a cruel and insulting manner. The body was then buried in that general receptacle for the murdered princes of the house of Timur—the sepulchre of Humayun: but the people evinced an unlooked-for degree of grief; and of the needy multitude who followed the funeral procession, no one could be induced to accept the money brought for distribution, or partake of the victuals prepared in conformity to custom. Three days afterwards a number of poor persons assembled at the place where the corpse had been washed and perfumed, according to Mussulman rites, and having distributed a large quantity of food, sent for several readers of the Koran, with whom they passed the whole night in tears and lamentations, separating in the morning in an orderly manner.

"Oh, wonderful God!" exclaims Khafi Khan, in concluding the above narration, "how did thy Divine justice manifest itself in the several events of this revolution! Ferokshcer, in his days of power, had strangled his own brothers, yet in their tender years: he had murdered numbers of innocent persons, and blinded others; and he was, therefore, destined to suffer all these cruelties before he was permitted to die: he was doomed to experience, from the hands of strangers, all those agonies which others had suffered at his. Nor did the two brothers escape the day of retribution, or go themselves unpunished: in a little time they met with that same usage which they had inflicted on others."*

During their remaining tenure of prosperity, the Seyeds exercised unlimited power. Upon the deposition of Ferokshcer, a sickly prince of the blood-royal was brought forth from the seraglio, and crowned under the name of *Rafi-ed-derjut*. He died of consumption in little more than three months, and his younger brother, *Rafi-ed-dowlah*, being set up in his stead, fell a victim to the same disease in a still shorter period.

*Mohammed Shah* was the title bestowed by "the king-makers" on *Roshen-akhter*, grandson to Bahadur Shah, whom they raised to the throne on the death of Rafi-ed-dowlah. This prince, now in his eighteenth year, had been educated, like his predecessors, in enervating seclusion; but he possessed an able counsellor in his mother, who enjoined the most unhesitating acquiescence with the will of his imperious protectors, until the time should arrive when he might safely defy their anger. The desired opportunity was not long in presenting itself. The decease of the two pageant emperors so soon after the murder of Ferokshcer (although really not the interest of the Seyeds, but the reverse), had served to deepen the distrust and dislike with which they were generally regarded;† and in Allahabad, Boondi, and the Punjaub, efforts were made to take advantage of a government which was daily becoming weaker. In Cashmere, a furious contest took place between the Hindoos and Mussulmans, provoked by the persecuting and insulting conduct of the latter, in which some thousand lives and much property were destroyed before the authorities could restore tranquillity. But the most important event of this period was the revolt of Cheen Kilich Khan, the governor of Malwa. This chief, whose descendants were the famous Nizams‡ of the Deccan, is better known by his titles of Nizam-ool-Moolk or Asuf Jah, by which he will henceforth be indiscriminately

* Vide *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, vol. i., p. 193. From using such language respecting two Seyeds, Khafi Khan was evidently a Sonnite or Sunni (*see* note to p. 62); and disputes between this sect and the Sheiahs had risen to an alarming height during the late reign, a violent affray having taken place between them in the capital. In Ahmedabad, a still more serious contest, in which many lives were lost, had occurred between the Hindoos and the Mussulmans, in which the governor (Daud Khan Panni) took part with the former.

† *Rafi-ed-derjut* was said to have been poisoned for attempting to contravene the will of the Seyeds.

‡ Nizam-ool-Moolk, signifies *regulator of the state*. "the Nizam," though scarcely a correct expression, is commonly used by European writers to this day.

termed. His father, a Turk, had been a favourite officer with Aurungzebe, under whom he had himself served with distinction. The waywardness of Feroksheer had induced him to take part with the Seyeds, from whom he received the government of Malwa; but their evident weakness tempted his ambition, and induced him to levy troops, and attempt the establishment of an independent power in the Deccan. Marching to the Nerbudda, he obtained possession of the fortress of Aseerghur, by the simple expedient of furnishing the garrison their two years' arrears of pay; the citadel of Boorhanpoor was acquired in a somewhat similar manner; and many Deccani officers, both Mussulman and Mahratta, joined the invader. Two armies were dispatched against him from Malwa and Aurungabad; but Asuf Jah, knowing the impetuous character of one of the commanders (Dilawur Khan), drew him into an engagement before he could be supported by his colleague, Alum Ali (a nephew of the two Seyeds); and both forces were separately engaged and defeated, with the loss of their respective leaders.

Much alarm was created at Delhi by the tidings of these disasters; and a violent earthquake, which occurred about this time, deepened the gloom of the political horizon. The usurping brothers shared the general feeling; and the young emperor, though closely watched, began to form plans of deliverance from his wearisome tutelage, being aided in this perilous enterprise by a nobleman, named Mohammed Ameen Khan, with whom he conversed in Turki, a language unknown to the Indian Seyeds. A party was secretly formed, in which the second place was occupied by Sadut Khan, originally a merchant of Khorasan, who had risen to a military position, and eventually became the progenitor of the kings of Oude. These combinations were not unsuspected by the brothers, between whom it was at length resolved that the younger, Hussein Ali, should march against Asuf Jah, carrying with him the emperor and certain nobles, leaving Abdullah at Delhi to watch over their joint interests. Shortly after their separation, Hussein Ali was stabbed in his palanquin while reading a petition presented to him by the assassin (a Calmuck of rank), who immediately fell under the daggers of the attendants, A.D. 1720. Abdullah, on learning his brother's death, set up a new emperor, and hastily assembling a large but ill-disciplined force, marched against Mohammed Shah, who had now assumed the reins of government. Choraman, chief or rajah of the Jats (whose number and influence had thriven amid the general disorganisation), joined the vizier, while Jey Sing sent 4,000 men to reinforce Mohammed, who was further strengthened by some chiefs of the Rohilla Afghans, a tribe now rapidly rising into importance. The armies met between Delhi and Agra, a cruel signal being given for the commencement of the conflict. Ruttun Chand having been seized immediately after the murder of Hussein Ali, was severely beaten and kept in chains until the day dawned on which the decisive encounter was to take place. Then, when "the trumpets sounded and the heralds had published three times, as usual, that courage in war is safer than cowardice," the prisoner was decapitated, and his body fastened to the elephant on which Mahommed Shah sat, in the centre of his troops, throughout the whole of the ensuing day and night, which the contest occupied. Abdullah Khan was at length defeated and made prisoner, having received several severe wounds, of which he died in the course of a few months. Mohammed Shah entered Delhi in triumph: the empress-mother received him at the entrance of the haram, bearing a basin filled with gems and new coins, which she poured over his head, as a "wave-offering" of joy and thanksgiving. The puppet-prince, crowned by Abdullah Khan, was sent back to his former seclusion, happy in thus escaping punishment for the part which he had been made to bear in the late events. Mohammed Ameen Khan became vizier, but had scarcely entered upon the duties of his office, before he was taken ill, and died, after a few hours of extreme agony.* Asuf Jah was appointed as his

* He appears to have been poisoned; but popular belief assigned a different cause for his death. An impostor, named Nemud, had established himself at Delhi, and promulgated a new scripture, written in a language of his own invention, framed from those spoken in ancient Persia, and had founded a sect, of which the teachers were called Bekooks, and the disciples, Feraboods. The influence of the new pretender increased. His proceedings induced Ameen to issue orders for his apprehension; but before they could be executed, the vizier was taken ill, and his alarmed family, believing the wrath of Nemud to be the cause of this sudden attack, endeavoured, by gifts and entreaties, to avert his vengeance; but could obtain no other answer than—that the arrow being shot, could not be recalled. He was, nevertheless, left undisturbed, and died about three years after.—(*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.*)

successor,* it being hoped that his abilities might prop up the falling monarchy. He did not, however, choose to leave the Deccan until his arrangements with the Mahrattas should be placed on a satisfactory footing. Meanwhile Mohammed was left to make his own terms with Ajeet Sing, whom he had offended by breaking his secret pledge, that as the reward of the rajah's neutrality, with regard to the Seyeds, he should receive the government of Ajmeer, in addition to that of Guzerat, which he already possessed. But the hour of peril having passed, its engagements were forgotten; not only was Ajmeer withheld, but Ajeet Sing was removed from Guzerat, upon which, assembling a large army of Rajpoots, he occupied Ajmeer, plundered Narnol, and marched within fifty miles of Delhi, the emperor being at length glad to compromise the matter by confirming him in the possession of Ajmeer. This happened at the close of 1721: in the beginning of the following year, Asuf Jah arrived in Delhi, and beheld with dismay the shameless dissipation which prevailed there. Corruption and intrigue were venial sins, if not necessary expedients, in the sight of a diplomatist brought up at the court of Aurungzebe; but indolence and sensuality were vices of a class which Asuf Jah held in well-merited abhorrence. It would seem as if the emperor had by this time cast off the salutary influence of his mother, since, among the circumstances that excited the stern reprobation of the vizier, was that of the royal signet being entrusted to the care of a favourite mistress, who accumulated a large fortune by means of the petitions she was suffered to carry within the seraglio. The dissolute companions of the young monarch cordially reciprocated the dislike of the minister, and, from mimicking the antiquated dress and formal manners of "the old Deccani baboon," as they insolently termed him, soon began to form serious conspiracies, which, he perceiving, quitted Delhi on pretence of a hunting excursion, and then sent in his resignation of the vizierat. Returning to the Deccan, he assumed the full powers of an independent ruler; still, however, affecting to recognise the supremacy of Mohammed Shah, who, with equal duplicity, returned this empty compliment, by conferring on him the highest titles that could be held by a subject; but, at the same time, sent secret orders to Mubariz Khan, the local governor of Hyderabad, to endeavour to dispossess Asuf Jah, and assume the vice-royalty of the Deccan. Mubariz perished in the attempt; and Asuf Jah, not to be outdone in dissimulation, sent his head to the emperor, with presents and congratulations on the suppression of the rebellion. Then, fixing his abode at Hyderabad, he strove to secure himself against the aggression of the Mahrattas, by various manœuvres, alternately endeavouring to direct their efforts against the Delhi court, or fomenting their own internal divisions. Considerable changes had taken place since the reign of Bahadur Shah. The idiot son of Tara Bye died in 1712, and a party set up the claims of Sumba, a child of the younger widow of Rajah Ram. In the struggle between the cousins, Shao acquired the superiority by the favour of the Moguls, and maintained it through the abilities of his minister, Balajee Wiswanath (the founder of the Brahmin dynasty of Peishwas), who, shortly before his death, in 1720, obtained from Mohammed Shah a ratification of the treaty made with Hussein Ali Khan in 1717. Chout and surdeshmooki being thus made legal claims, Balajee demanded, on account of the former, one-fourth of the standard assessment fixed by Todar Mul and Malek Amber; but, as of this only a small portion could now be realised from the exhausted country, the best that could be done was to secure at least 25 per cent. of the actual receipts. The latter claim, styled the rajah's *wutun*, or inheritance, it suited both the foreign and domestic policy of the Mahrattas to keep undefined; "but," says Grant Duff, "one system in practice—that of exacting as much as they could, was as simple as it was invariable."† The revenue thus acquired was parcelled out by Balajee in assignments on various districts, and distributed among different chiefs, in such a manner as to give each an interest in the increase of the general stock, while to none was allotted a compact property calculated to tempt its holder into forming plans of independence. This was the general rule; but some Mahrattas were already landed proprietors, and others were occasionally permitted to become so. The complicated state of affairs which naturally resulted from the above arrangements, rendered the illiterate chiefs more than ever dependent on their carcoons, or Brahmin

* *Asuf Jah* signifies "in place and rank, as Asuf," who is supposed to have been Solomon's vizier.

† *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 454.

clerks.* The power of the peishwas grew with that of their caste; and from being second† in the counsels of the rajah, they became paramount even over their nominal master, to which result, the talents and energy of Bajee Rao, the son and successor of Balajee, greatly contributed. This remarkable man united to the enterprise and vigour of a Mahratta chief‡ the polished manners and address which frequently distinguish the Brahmins of the Concan. He saw clearly that the predatory hordes, so useful in an enemy's country, would prove ungovernable at home; and, therefore, urged their immediate employment in invading the northern provinces. Shao hesitated: brought up in a Mussulman seraglio, he had retained little of the restless spirit of his countrymen; but when Bajee Rao pointed out the weakness of the Mogul empire, adding, "now is our time to drive strangers from the land of the Hindoos—let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree, the branches must fall of themselves," the rajah, roused to enthusiasm by the prophecy that his standard should fly from the Kistna to the Attock, exclaimed—"You shall plant it on the Himalaya, noble son of a worthy father."§ These ambitious projects were materially forwarded by the disputes between the emperor and Asuf Jah. The latter, while vizier, had obtained possession of the government of Guzerat; but was deprived of it, as also of Malwa, after his return to the Deccan. In Guzerat, Hameed Khan (Asuf's uncle and deputy) resisted the occupation of the newly-appointed governor, Sirbuland Khan, and called in the aid of the Mahrattas (A.D. 1725), giving, in return, the chout and surdeshmooki of the country under him, which grant, Sirbuland Khan, though victorious over Hameed, was eventually obliged to confirm.‖ Bajee Rao, about the same time, made incursions into Malwa, entrusting the chief commands to the afterwards famous leaders, Puar, Holcar, and Sindia.¶

The nizam (Asuf Jah), beheld with alarm the growing power of the peishwa, which he strove to undermine in various ways. But secret plots and open hostility alike failed;** and fearing that the emperor might be disposed to revenge his insubordination, by transferring the viceroyalty to his powerful foe, he changed his policy, and made overtures to Bajee Rao, which produced the mutual good understanding necessary to the immediate plans of both parties.

The presence of the peishwa was now needed for the support of the Mahratta interest in Guzerat, the court of Delhi having refused to ratify the grant made by Sirbuland Khan, who had been dismissed from the government, and forcibly expelled by his successor, Abhi Sing, rajah of Joudpoor, the unnatural son of the brave Ajeet Sing.†† Pilajee Guicowar (the ancestor of the family still ruling in Guzerat) repre-

* "Bajee Rao," says Grant Duff, "had not leisure to attend to detail or arrangement; the minute divisions which were made of the revenues ceded by the Moguls, served to provide hundreds of Brahmin carcoons with bread; and every one interpreted the amount of his own or his master's claims to Surdeshmooki, Baptee, Mokassa, &c.; rather according to his power to enforce his demands, than his ability to prove their justice."—(Vol. i., p. 568.)

† The *prithee nidhee*, or representative of the rajah, took rank above the eight ministers or *purdhans*, of whom the peishwa was the chief; and Bajee Rao long found a troublesome rival in Sreeput Rao, the prithee nidhee, whose influence with the rajah frequently obliged the peishwa to return to Sattara while engaged in distant expeditions, lest his power should be undermined through prolonged absence.

‡ During his first campaign against Bajee Rao, the nizam, desiring to form an idea of the person of his opponent, desired a famous painter in his service to proceed to the hostile army, and take the likeness of its leader, in whatever attitude he might be first seen. The result was a sketch of the handsome figure of the peishwa, mounted, with the head and heel-ropes of his horse in its feeding-bag, his spear resting on his shoulder, and both hands employed in rubbing some ears of ripening grain (the common *joowaree*), which he ate as he rode.

§ Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 486.

‖ In 1729, he granted deeds, ceding ten per cent. (*surdeshmooki*) of the whole revenue, both on the land and customs, with the exception of the port of Surat and the district around it; together with one-fourth (*chout*) of the whole collections on the land and customs, excepting Surat; and five per cent. on the revenues of the city of Ahmedabad.—(Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 514.)

¶ Udajee Puar was a chief before his connection with the peishwa. Mulhar Rao Holcar was a shepherd on the Neera, south of Poona; and Sindia, though of a respectable family, near Sattara, had acted as a menial servant to Bajee Rao.

** The nizam first affected to doubt whether the money due from his revenues was to be paid to Shao or Sumba; but this question was decided by the treaty which the latter was compelled to sign, accepting, in lieu of all other claims, a tract of country round Kolapoor, bounded on the west by the sea. Asuf Jah next allied himself with a powerful leader, named Dhabari (the hereditary *senaputee*, or commander-in-chief), who had mainly assisted in the establishment of Mahratta power in Guzerat, and viewed with envy the paramount sway of Bajee Rao. Dhabari assembled an army of 35,000 men, and marched against the peishwa, by whom he was defeated and slain, A.D. 1731.

†† Ajeet Sing refusing to sanction the nefarious schemes of the two Seyeds, they sent for his son, and

sented the rights or claims of the Mahrattas in that district; and Abhi Sing, finding him a formidable adversary, procured his removal by assassination. This crime roused the indignation of the countrymen of the deceased: his son and brother appeared in great force; the hill tribes of Bheels and Coolies flocked round their standard; and, beside throwing the whole province into confusion, made a sudden irruption into the hereditary dominions of the Rajpoot governor, who, leaving a very inefficient deputy in Guzerat, withdrew to defend his own principality. In Malwa, the fortune of the Moguls was equally on the decline: Bajee Rao invaded it in person in 1732, and, taking advantage of the hostility between Mohammed Khan Bungush, the viceroy of Malwa and Allahabad,* and the rajah of Bundelcund, whose territory lay between those two provinces, made common cause with the latter, and succeeded in expelling the imperial governor. The Bundelcund rajah, in return for this co-operation, ceded the territory of Jansi, on the Jumna, to the peishwa, and, at his death, bequeathed to him certain rights in Bundelcund, which paved the way to the occupation of the whole of that country by the Mahrattas. Rajah Jey Sing II., of Amber, was now made viceroy of Malwa. This prince, so celebrated for munificence, learning, and love of science,† does not seem to have inherited the Rajpoot passion for war. He considered it hopeless to oppose the partition of the empire, and, therefore, surrendered the province to the peishwa (A.D. 1734), with the tacit concurrence of Mohammed Shah, on whose behalf it was still to be held. By this conduct, Jey Sing is said, by his own countrymen, "to have given the key of Hindoostan to the Southron;" but it is certain that he strove to curb the excesses of the Mahrattas, whose power and influence continued to increase during the two following years, at the expiration of which Bajee Rao, after a short interval spent in arranging the internal affairs of the Deccan, again took up the negotiation, and demanded, as the price of peace, a jaghire, comprising nothing less than the whole province of Malwa, and all the country south of the Chumbul, together with the holy cities of Muttra, Allahabad, and Benares. As the Mahrattas, like many other diplomatists, invariably began by demanding much more than they expected to obtain, the emperor tried to pacify them by minor concessions, including authority to levy tribute on the Rajpoots, and to increase that already legalised on the territories of Asuf Jah. This permission had the doubtless desired effect on the mind of the nizam. Becoming seriously alarmed by the rapid progress of his allies, he thought he had carried his policy of weakening the Moguls too far, and listened gladly to the solicitations of Mohammed Shah, who, overlooking his rebellious conduct, now earnestly desired his assistance. The courtiers, likewise, changing their tone, began to reckon upon the advice of the nizam as that of "an old wolf who had seen much bad weather." Asuf Jah was yet deliberating how to act, when Bajee Rao marched towards the capital, sending a detachment of light troops, under Holcar, to ravage the country beyond the Jumna. Sadut Khan, the governor of Oude, advanced to the defence of the adjoining province; and the check given by this spirited proceeding was magnified into a decided victory, the report of which occasioned excessive rejoicing at Delhi, and so galled Bajee Rao, that avoiding the army sent out to meet him, he advanced at the rate of forty miles daily, being resolved, as he said, to prove to the emperor that he had not been expelled from Hindoostan by showing him flames and Mahrattas at the gates of the capital.‡ As his object was,

informed him that the deposition and death of his father were the only means of averting the destruction of Marwar. By the offer of the independent sovereignty of Nagore, Abhi Sing prevailed on his younger brother, Bukht Sing, to murder their father, who was stabbed while sleeping. The mother of these parricidal sons burnt herself with her husband's body; and no less than eighty-four persons shared her fate; for, says Tod, "so much was Ajeet beloved, that even men devoted themselves on his pyre."—(*Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 745.)

* Mohammed Khan threw himself into a fort, and was almost driven to surrender at discretion, when his wife sent her veil (the strongest appeal to Afghan honour) to her countrymen in Rohilcund; and by means of the volunteers thus assembled, her husband was rescued and escorted to Allahabad. (Scott, vol. ii.)

† This prince occupied the *gadi*, or cushion of Amber, for forty-four years. When dismissed by Feroksheer (see p. 158), he retired to his hereditary dominions, devoting himself to the study of astronomy and history. He built the city of Jeypoor; erected observatories, furnished with instruments of his own invention, at Delhi, Jeypoor, Oojein, Benares, and Mat'hura, upon a scale of Asiatic grandeur; and caused *Euclid's Elements*, the *Treatises on Plain and Spherical Trigonometry*, and *Napier on the Construction and Use of Logarithms*, to be translated into Sanscrit.—(*Rajast'han*, vol. ii., p. 358.)

‡ Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 532.

however, to intimidate rather than provoke, he exerted every effort to prevent the devastation of the suburbs by his troops, and, for this purpose, drew off to some distance from the city. This movement being attributed to fear, induced the Moguls to make a sally; but they were driven back with heavy loss. The approach of the imperial forces, and also of Sadut Khan, warned Bajee Rao of the necessity of making good his retreat to the Deccan, which the nizam quitted some months later for Delhi, tempted by the promise not only of the vizierat, but also of the viceroyalty of Malwa and Guzerat, provided he could expel the Mahrattas.

With an army of about 34,000 men under his personal command, supported by a fine train of artillery and a reserve, the nizam advanced to Seronje against his formidable foes, while Bajee Rao crossed the Nerbudda at the head of a nominally-superior force. This circumstance, added perhaps to reliance on his artillery, led Asuf Jah, with characteristic caution, to establish himself in a strong position close to the fort of Bhopal, and there await the enemy. But he ought to have been better acquainted with Mahratta tactics. Seldom formidable in pitched battles, they gladly avoided a decisive encounter, and resorted to their usual plans of laying waste the surrounding country, intercepting all communication, and attacking every detachment that ventured beyond the lines. Dispirited by watching and privation, many of the nizam's troops were inclined to desert; but Bajee Rao gave them no encouragement, well knowing, that so long as the blockade could be secured, the greater the numbers the greater their straits. After the lapse of a month or six weeks, Asuf Jah, straitened for supplies, and completely cut off from the reserve force, attempted a retreat northward, under cover of his powerful artillery, but was so harassed by the Mahrattas as to be compelled to come to terms, and agree, on condition of being suffered to pursue his humiliating march unmolested, to give up Malwa, with the complete sovereignty of all the country from the Nerbudda to the Chumbul, solemnly engaging to use his best endeavours to procure from the emperor a confirmation of this cession, together with a payment of fifty lacs of rupees (£500,000), to defray the peishwa's expenses.* Bajee Rao proceeded to occupy the territory thus acquired; but before the decision of the emperor could be pronounced, an event occurred which, for the time, threw into the shade the internal dissension that mainly contributed to bring upon unhappy Hindoostan so terrible a visitation.

*Invasion of Nadir Shah.*—The last mention made of Persia was the circumstance of the intended hostilities between Shah Abbas II. and Aurungzebe being broken off by the death of the former monarch in 1666. Since then, great changes had occurred. The Saffavi, or Sophi dynasty, after a duration of two centuries, had fallen into a state of weakness and decay; and Shah Hussein, the last independent sovereign of that race, was defeated and deposed by Mahmood, the leader of the Afghan tribe of Ghiljeis, who usurped the throne of Persia, A.D. 1722. Two years (spent in the unsparing destruction of the wretched Persians, whose numerical superiority was their worst crime in the eyes of their barbarous conquerors) terminated the career of Mahmood: he died raving mad, and was succeeded by his nephew, Ashruf. The new king resisted successfully the assaults of the Russians and Turks, who entered into a confederacy for dismembering Persia, the western provinces of which were to be appropriated by the Porte; the northern, as far as the Araxes, by Peter the Great. The death of the czar relieved Ashruf from these difficulties; but a more formidable foe arose in the person of Prince Tahmasp, the fugitive son of Shah Hussein, whose claims were supported by a freebooting chief, already widely celebrated as a daring and successful leader, under the name of Nadir Kooli, *slave to the Wonderful.*† On entering the service of the prince, this designation was exchanged for that of Tahmasp Kooli Khan, *the lord who is slave to Tahmasp;* but when, after some severe struggles, the Afghans had been expelled,‡ this nominally-devoted adherent,

* "I tried hard," says Bajee Rao, in a letter to his brother, "to get something from the nabob himself; but this I scarcely expected. I recollected his unwillingness to part with money when I entered on an agreement to assist him;" alluding to their compact six years before.—(Duff, vol. i., p. 542.)

† *The Wonderful* being used as a title of the Divinity. The father of Nadir Kooli belonged to the Turki tribe of Afshar, and earned his livelihood by making coats and caps of sheep-skins: his famous son was born in Khorasan, in 1688. An uncle of Nadir Kooli's, who appears to have been at the head of a small branch of the Afshars, was governor of the fort of Kelat; but, having quarrelled with his turbulent nephew, fell a victim to his resentment, Nadir Kooli slaying him with his own hand.

‡ Ashruf was murdered by a Beloochee chief, between Kerman and Candahar, in 1729.

finding his master disposed to exercise the prerogatives of royalty, found means to depose him, and place his infant son on the throne, usurping the sole authority under the name of regent. Repeated victories over the Turks, ending in a treaty of peace with both Turkey and Russia, rendered this soldier of fortune so popular in Persia, that he felt the time had arrived to give free rein to ambition. The boy-king died opportunely at Ispahan; and Nadir, assembling the army and the leading persons in the empire, to the number of 100,000, in the spacious plain of Mogham, bade them choose a ruler. They named him unanimously; upon which he, after a hypocritical declaration that he looked upon the voice of the people as the voice of God, and would therefore abide by their decision, although it contravened his own intention in calling them together, accepted the crown, on condition of the general renunciation of the Sheiah doctrine and the establishment of that of the Sunnis, or Sonnites, throughout Persia. This proviso was evidently designed for the purpose of eradicating any lingering regret from the public mind regarding the Saffavis, who had ever been the champions of the Sheiah sect: but it proved unsuccessful; for the people secretly adhered to their former belief, and its prohibition, together with the strangling of the refractory chief moollah, or high-priest, only served to alienate them from their new ruler, who, on mounting the throne (A.D. 1736), assumed the title of Nadir Shah, *the Wonderful King.*

Hostilities with the Ghiljeis, from whom Candahar was captured after a close blockade of nearly a twelvemonth, brought Nadir Shah to the frontiers of the Mogul empire. He could not be ignorant of its weakness; and the prospect thus afforded of lucrative and congenial employment for the warlike tribes who owned his sway, offered temptations not to be resisted. In such cases, pretexts are seldom wanting; nor were they now. While besieging Candahar, Nadir Shah had applied to the court of Delhi for the seizure or expulsion of some Afghans who had fled into the country near Ghuznee; a demand to which the indolent and effete government, after a long interval, returned an ambiguous answer, being, it would appear, at once unable to comply with the request, and disinclined to acknowledge the title of the Persian sovereign. Nadir Shah advanced on Ghuznee and Cabool, and, from the latter place, which he captured with little difficulty, sent another messenger to Delhi, who failed in fulfilling his embassy, being cut off, with his escort, by the Afghans at Jellalabad.* This circumstance was set forth as warranting the invasion of India; and after spending some months in settling the affairs of the country round Cabool, Nadir marched to the eastward in October, 1738.† Even these proceedings failed to rouse the supine authorities at Delhi, or teach the necessity of merging internal strife in defensive operations against a common foe. They knew that Cabool was taken, but believed, or tried to believe, that the mountain tribes and guarded passes between that city and Peshawer would check the further advance of the invading force, although, in fact, even this barrier had been cast down by the peculation or misplaced economy of Khan Dowran, the ameer-ul-omra, who, by withholding the sum of twelve lacs of rupees, formerly sent every year for the payment of guards, had caused the breaking up of garrisons, until roads and defiles being all unwatched, marauding Afghans or invading Persians alike passed without obstruction. Its commencement being unopposed, the march of Nadir Shah was speedy and terrible. Having sacked Jellalabad, he passed through Peshawer, crossed the Attock in boats, and entered Moultan. The governor of Lahore made some show of opposition, over which Nadir triumphed with little difficulty; and, in fact, met with no serious opposition until, on approaching the Jumna, within 100 miles of Delhi, he found himself in the neighbourhood of the whole Indian army.

Mohammed Shah, at length thoroughly roused to a sense of the impending calamity, strove to meet the danger it was now too late to avert; and, being joined by Asuf Jah, moved to Kurnaul, where he occupied a fortified camp. Sadut Khan, the viceroy of Oude, arrived to join his sovereign; and Nadir Shah, by attempting to intercept

* Khan Dowran, and his supporters, treated the account of the intercepted embassy from Cabool as a report originated by Nizam-ool-Moolk and the Turani party at court, and jeeringly declared, that the houses of Delhi had very lofty roofs, from which the citizens might see Nadir Shah and his troopers from afar whenever they chose.—*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, p. 414.

† The number of his force is nowhere satisfactorily stated. Fraser, in one place (*History of Nadir Shah*, p. 155), gives the total, including armed followers, at 160,000; but, in a previous page, a more distinct enumeration, made by a Persian news-writer at the camp at Jellalabad, only shows 64,500 fighting-men and 4,000 followers.

him, commenced hostilities, which issued in a general engagement. In this battle it would appear, that few (if any) Rajpoot princes took part, no longer caring to shed their blood for a foreign dynasty, whose ingratitude they hated, and whose weakness they despised. Even in this emergency, disunion prevailed in the Indian camp. Asuf Jah, from some real or pretended misconception, took no part in the action. Khan Dowran, the commander-in-chief, was killed; Sadut Khan taken prisoner; and Mohammed Shah, seeing his troops completely routed, had no resource but to send Asuf Jah to offer his submission, and repair himself, with a few attendants, to the Persian camp. Nadir Shah, considering the affinity between himself, as of Turcoman race, (though the son of a cap-maker), and the defeated monarch (a lineal descendant of the house of Timur), received his unwilling visitor with every demonstration of respect, and would probably have accepted a ransom, and spared Delhi, but for the selfish intrigues of Sadut Khan and the nizam. The accounts recorded of this period differ materially;* but it is certain, that after some time spent in apparently fruitless negotiations, Nadir Shah marched into Delhi, established himself in the palace, distributed his troops throughout the city, and stationed detachments in different places for the protection of the inhabitants. During the first day strict discipline was maintained, and all was quiet, though, probably, the usurpers could as ill-disguise their exultation as the Indians their hatred and disgust; but on the second, a rumour spread of the death of Nadir Shah,† and the citizens immediately rising, slew all the Persians within reach, to the number of 700, including some of those who had been stationed for the protection of private dwellings. The tumult continued during the whole night: at day-break, Nadir Shah mounted his horse and sallied forth, believing that his presence would at once restore order by proving the falsity of the current report. Flights of stones, arrows, and fire-arms from the houses, soon undeceived him; and one of his chiefs, being killed at his side by a shot aimed at himself, he ordered his troops to retaliate, and not leave a soul alive wherever they should discover the corpse of a Persian. This command, which, of course, warranted nothing less than a general massacre, was eagerly obeyed: the soldiery entered the houses, and gave free loose to those hateful passions—covetousness, lust, revenge; the true "dogs of war." The streets of Delhi streamed with blood; many thoroughfares became blocked up with carcasses; flames burst forth in various places, where the wretched citizens, distracted by the thought of beholding their wives and children in the hands of the foe, had preferred sharing with them a fiery death; the shrieks and groans of the dying and the dishonoured pierced the air, overpowering at moments the fearful imprecations, or yet more fiendish scoffing of their persecutors; and from sunrise to broad noon these horrid sights and sounds continued unabated. Nadir Shah, it is said, after issuing the murderous order, went into the little mosque in the Great Bazaar, near the centre of the city, and there remained in gloomy silence until he was aroused by the entrance of Mohammed Shah, whose deep distress (for though weak and sensual, he was compassionate and gentle) obtained a command for the termination of the massacre. The prompt obedience of the troops, is quoted by historians as a remarkable proof of discipline; but these tigers in human form must have been weary of a slaughter, in which, according to the lowest trustworthy statement, 30,000 human beings were put to the sword.‡

* According to the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, Nadir Shah, at an interview with Asuf Jah (procured by the diplomacy of the captive, Sadut Khan), consented to conclude a peace, and return to his own dominions, on condition of receiving two crores of rupees (£2,000,000 sterling), a piece of intelligence which so delighted Mohammed Shah, that he instantly conferred the office of ameer-ul-omra on the successful mediator. Sadut Khan, enraged by the success of his rival, told Nadir Shah, that the ransom he had consented to receive was absurdly insufficient—that he himself could afford to pay it from his private fortune; and, by these treacherous representations, induced the invader to violate his pledge, enter the city, and pillage it without mercy.

† This rumour is said to have been spread by the proprietors of certain granaries, which had been forcibly opened, and the wheat sold at a low price.

‡ *Nadir-nameh*, translated from Persian into French, by Sir W. Jones (*Works*, vol. v.) Scott states the number at 8,000; but Mr. Elphinstone naturally remarks, that it is incredible so small a result should have been produced by a detachment of 20,000 men, employed for many hours in unresisted butchery (vol. ii., p. 630.) Fraser, who among much valuable authority, quotes the journal of a native Indian, secretary to Sirbuland Khan, writes—"of the citizens (great and small), 120,000 were slaughtered: others computed them at 150,000;" adding, in a note, "about 10,000 women threw themselves into wells, some of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three days."—(pp. 185-187.)

The wretched survivors seem to have wanted energy even to perform the funeral obsequies of the dead. "In several of the Hindoo houses," says Fraser, "where one of a family survived, he used to pile thirty or forty carcasses a-top of one another, and burn them: and so they did in the streets; notwithstanding which, there still remained so many, that for a considerable time, there was no such thing as passing any of those ways." After some days, the stench arising from the multitudes of unburied dead becoming intolerable, the bodies were dragged into the river, thrown into pits, or else collected together in heaps, without distinction of Mussulman or Hindoo, and burned with the rubbish of the ruined houses, until all were disposed of.

The sufferings of the wretched people of Delhi were not yet complete; the rapacity of Nadir afforded fresh cause for bloodshedding, aggravated by cruel tortures. The usurper sat on the imperial throne, receiving costly offerings from the humiliated monarch and his degraded courtiers. He now demanded, under the name of peisheush (*a gift*), a sum stated at from twenty-five to thirty million sterling,* exclusive of the jewels, gold-plate set with gems, and other articles already appropriated. How to provide this enormous ransom was a new difficulty; for Mohammed Shah was far from inheriting the wealth of his ancestors. The prolonged wars of Aurungzebe, and the continued struggles of his successors, had well nigh emptied the treasury; and the present emperor had neither striven to replenish it by legitimate methods, nor, to his credit, be it recorded, by injustice or oppression. The jezia had been formally abolished at the commencement of his reign; and he alone, of all the Great Moguls, had steadily refused to confiscate the property of deceased nobles, leaving, not a small portion, as a matter of favour, for the maintenance of their families, but suffering the appropriation of the whole as a matter of right. The result was, that Mohammed Shah had comparatively little to lose: even the famous peacock-throne, now seized by Nadir, had been deprived of its most costly ornaments; and other portions of the imperial regalia were proportionately diminished in value. During the administration of the Seyeds, large sums had been abstracted from the treasury; and even the gold and silver rails of the hall of audience had been coined into money. A large quantity of gold, silver, and jewels was found in vaults, sealed up long ago (probably by Shah Jehan), and immense sums were levied from the nobles. Neither the crafty nizam nor his treacherous rival, Sadut Khan, were exempted from furnishing their quota, the former being compelled to disgorge treasure exceeding in value a million and a-half sterling; the latter, above a million; while both were treated by the conqueror with undisguised contempt and distrust. Sadut Khan died suddenly, whether from the effects of disease, anger, or poison, is an open question: the old nizam lived on, waiting for the turn of the wheel destined to restore to him that political power which was the sole end and aim of his existence.† The means of exacting the required tribute grew severe in proportion to the difficulty of its obtainment. The property of the nobles, merchants—even of the smallest tradesmen—was subjected to an arbitrary assessment, which, being frequently much above the actual value, impelled numbers of all ranks to commit suicide, as a means of avoiding the disgrace and torture likely to follow their inability to furnish the amount required;‡ while others perished

* *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*; on the authority of Hazveen, an eye-witness; and Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 208.

† Dow's account of this period, though very interesting, is not deemed reliable; the rumours in circulation at the period, being too often suffered to usurp the place of carefully-sifted facts. This want of judgment is aggravated by the infrequency with which he gives authorities for particular statements. He describes Nadir Shah as having been invited to Hindoostan by Asuf Jah and Sadut Khan, and afterwards represents him as reproaching them for the treachery, by which he had gained the battle of Kurnaul, and spitting upon their beards. The nizam, seeing the fury of Sadut at this public disgrace, proposed that they should end their lives by poison, which being agreed to, they returned to their respective homes. Sadut, doubting the sincerity of his wily colleague, sent a messenger to his house to discover whether the oath had been carried into effect. Being made aware of the presence of the spy, the nizam swallowed an innoxious draught, and pretended to fall down dead. The trick succeeded; Sadut Khan took poison, and died, leaving his rival to exult over his wicked device.—(*Hindoostan*, vol. ii., p. 425.)

‡ The vakeel from Bengal, being ordered to send for seven crore of rupees, said, "so much would fill a string of waggons from Bengal to Delhi; for which, being roughly used, he went home, and murdered himself and family." (Fraser, p. 200.) The rough usage here alluded to was probably a severe bastinadoing; since that punishment was frequently inflicted on men of station and character, by the orders and in the presence of Nadir Shah, whose partiality for this species of discipline is strange enough, since, if the authorities quoted by Fraser may be relied on, he had been himself, in early youth, bastinadoed by the

under the tortures inflicted by the mercenary wretches to whom the power of extorting the tribute was farmed, and who made their own profit, or wreaked their private revenge unchecked, amid universal misery and desolation. "It was before a general massacre, but now the murder of individuals. In every chamber and house was heard the cry of affliction. Sleep and rest forsook the city." The pangs of hunger and sickness were not long absent; and "no morning passed that whole crowds, in every street and lane, did not die."* The citizens vainly strove to escape these multiplied calamities by flight; the roads were blocked up; and all such attempts punished by mutilation of the ears or nose; until at length—the dignity of human nature subdued by terror—the wretched sufferers slunk away into holes and corners, and cowered down before their oppressors like the frightened animals of the desert. The Persian horsemen sallied forth in different directions, seeking provisions and plunder; ravaging the fields, and killing all who offered resistance; but were occasionally attacked by the Jats, who had taken up arms. Intelligence of what was passing at Delhi had reached the Deccan: it was even reported that 100,000 Persians were advancing to the southward. Bajee Rao, undismayed, prepared to meet them, declaring, that domestic quarrels and the war with the Portuguese were to him as nought—there was now but one enemy in Hindoostan. "Hindoos and Mussulmans," he said, "the whole power of the Deccan must assemble; and I shall spread our Mahrattas from the Nerbudda to the Chumbul." Nadir, however, does not appear to have had any intention of risking his rich booty by exposing it to the chances of Mahratta warfare. He contented himself with inveighing bitterly against the insolence of the infidel "wretches of Deccan," in venturing to demand tribute from the dominions of a Mussulman emperor, and the weakness of the government by which it had been conceded; and then, having drained to the uttermost those very resources on which the means of resisting similar extortion depended, he prepared to quit the desolated city. Before departing, he caused a marriage to be celebrated between his son and a princess of the house of Timur, with a degree of regal magnificence sadly at variance with the gloom and desolation which prevailed throughout the once stately capital. Seating Mohammed Shah anew on his dishonoured throne (after severing from the Mogul empire the whole of Sinde and Cabool, together with some districts that had always been set apart for the pay of the garrisons of the latter province), he placed the crown upon his head, and bade him keep strict watch over the intrigues and corruption of his courtiers—especially of Asuf Jah, who was too cunning and ambitious for a subject. To this advice he added an assurance, that in the event of any cabals, an appeal from Mohammed Shah would bring him to his assistance, from Candahar, in forty days; and although this speech would, at first sight, appear only an additional insult, yet it is just possible, that it was dictated by a sort of compassionate feeling, which the misfortunes of the delicately-nurtured, indolent, and easy-tempered monarch had awakened in the breast of his victorious foe, whose mental characteristics contrasted no less forcibly than the extraordinary physical powers of his stalwart frame,† with the handsome but effeminate person and bearing of his victim. To the principal Hindoo leaders, including Jey Sing, Abhi Sing, Shao, and Bajee Rao, Nadir Shah issued circular-letters, bidding them "walk in the path of submission and obedience to our dear brother;" and threatening, in the event of their rebellion, to return and "blot them out of the pages of the book of creation."‡ On the 14th of April, 1739, the invader quitted Delhi, after a residence of fifty-eight days, bearing with him plunder in coin, bullion, gold and silver plate, brocades, and jewels (of which he was inordinately fond) to an incalculable extent. The money alone probably exceeded thirty million.§ Numerous elephants and camels were likewise carried away, as

order of Shah Hussein, "until his toe-nails dropt off." However, it is doubtless true, that in forming an opinion regarding the use of the rod, it makes all the difference which end falls to our share.

* Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 210. This description is quoted from a journal kept by an eye-witness, during this terrible epoch. The work somewhat resembles De Foe's masterpiece—the *Plague of London;* though the misery which it records is of a far more varied character.

† Fraser's description of a weather-beaten man, of fifty-five—above six foot high, very robust, with large black eyes and eyebrows—exactly coincides with the full-length picture of Nadir Shah preserved in the India-house. His voice was so strong, that he could, without straining it, give orders to the troops at above 100 yards' distance.—(Fraser, p. 227.)

‡ Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 215.

§ Scott, Fraser, and Hanway. The Nadir-nameh states it at only 15 million: but this is not probable.

also many hundreds of skilful workmen and artificers. Exactions were levied in the towns and villages through which the retreating army marched, until they reached Cabool, where the mountaineers threatened to attack them; and Nadir, considering that the soldiers had suffered much from the intense heat, and were heavily laden with booty, thought it best to purchase forbearance, and reached Herat in safety, where he proudly displayed the spoils of Hindoostan.*

*Reign of Mohammed Shah resumed.*—The Persian invasion had plunged the court and people of Delhi into a "slough of despond," from which it was long before they summoned sufficient resolution to attempt extricating themselves. The state of public affairs held forth no promise that future prosperity might make amends for past suffering; and the worst of all indications of the decadence of the empire, was the readiness with which the courtiers relapsed into the habits of sensuality and intrigue, that had rendered them impotent to resist the power of a foreign foe; while the lower classes, imitating their apathy, grew to regard the brutal excesses of the Persian soldiery, rather as a subject of coarse merriment than deep humiliation; and, in mimicking their dress and manners, gave vent to feelings no less different from what may be termed the natural dignity of uncivilised man, than from the magnanimous forgiveness of injuries, which is the very crown of Christian virtue.

The influence of Asuf Jah was now supreme at Delhi. He was supported by the vizier, Kamer-oo-deen, with whom he was connected by intermarriage, and by a few leading families, who being, like himself, of Turki descent, were called the Turani nobles. He was secretly opposed by a large number of malcontents, among whom the emperor was thought to be included; and thus the counsels of government were again weak and divided at a time when there was most need of energy and union. On the departure of Nadir Shah, Bajee Rao sent a letter to the emperor, expressive of submission and obedience, together with a *nuzur*, or offering of 101 gold mohurs, and received in return a splendid *khillut*,† accompanied by assurances of general good-will, but not by the expected *sunnud*, or grant of the government of Malwa, an omission which the peishwa naturally attributed to a breach of faith on the part of the nizam. Had Bajee Rao, on this, as on previous occasions, chosen to advance to the gates of the capital, and there insist on the confirmation of the agreement, he might have probably done so with impunity, so far as the Moguls were concerned; for Nadir Shah had ravaged the only provinces which the Mahrattas had left intact; the imperial army was broken up, and the treasury completely empty. But Bajee Rao was himself in a critical position: hostilities abroad, intrigue at home, crippled his ambitious plans, and surrounded him with debt and difficulty. His foreign foes were the Abyssinians of Jinjeera, and the turbulent sons of Kanhojee Angria, of Kolabah, a powerful chief, whose piracies (which he called levying chout on the sea) had rendered him a formidable enemy to the Portuguese and English.

After the death of Kanhojee, in 1728, a contest ensued between his sons. Bajee Rao took part with one of them, named Mannajee, whom the Portuguese also at first assisted; but, being disappointed of the expected reward, changed sides, and appeared in arms against him. For this inconstancy they paid dearly by the loss of their possessions in Salsette, Bassein, and the neighbouring parts of the Concan; and hostilities were still being carried on, when the tacit refusal of the Delhi government to recognise his claims, induced the peishwa to direct his chief attention to his old antagonist, the nizam. Before recommencing hostilities in this quarter, it was necessary to provide against the coalition of the prithee nidhee with other domestic foes (of whom the chief was Rugojee Bhonslay, of Berar,‡ and the next in importance, Dummajee

* A portable tent was constructed from the spoils; the outside covered with scarlet broad cloth, and the inside with violet-satin, on which birds and beasts, trees and flowers, were depicted in precious stones. On either side the peacock-throne a screen extended, adorned with the figures of two angels, also represented in various-coloured gems. Even the tent-poles were adorned with jewels, and the pins were of massy gold. The whole formed a load for seven elephants. This gorgeous trophy was broken up by Nadir Shah's nephew and successor, Adil Shah.—(*Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem*, a Cashmerian of distinction, in the service of Nadir Shah. Gladwin's translation, Calcutta, 1788, p. 28.)

† A *khillut* comprises a complete dress, or *sir-pa* (head to foot), with the addition of jewels, horse, elephant, and arms.

‡ Parsojee, the founder of the Bhonslay family, from whom sprang the rajahs of Berar, being one of the first to tender allegiance to Shao on his release at the death of Aurungzebe, was promoted from the rank of a private horseman to high position. Not-

Guicowar, of Guzerat), who, envying his power, were plotting its overthrow, under pretence of emancipating their mutual sovereign. This difficulty Bajee Rao met by engaging the Bhonslay chief in a remote expedition into the Carnatic; but another, of a different character, remained behind. The vast army he had kept up, and the necessity of giving high rates of pay, in order to outbid the nizam, and secure the best of the Deccan soldiery, had induced him to incur an expenditure which he had no means of meeting.* The troops were in arrears, and, consequently, clamorous and inclined to mutiny. His financial arrangements would appear to have been far inferior to those of Sevajee; and, as a nation, the Mahrattas, from various causes, no longer found war a profitable employment. Still, Bajee Rao persisted in endeavouring to carry out his ambitious designs, and taking advantage of the absence of the nizam, surrounded the camp of his second son, Nasir Jung, who had been left in charge of the viceroyalty. The defence was carried on with such unlooked-for vigour, that after some months of active hostility, the peishwa became convinced that his means were inadequate to the task he had undertaken, and entered into an accommodation with his young and energetic opponent. The prudence of the general triumphed over the rash valour of the soldier; yet it was a moment when many in his position would have been inclined to struggle on; for it would appear, that his retreat to court was cut off by the machinations which he had sought to circumvent by procuring the absence of Rugojee Bhonslay. Addressing his *mahapooroosh*, or spiritual adviser, he writes—"I am involved in difficulties, in debt, and in disappointments, and like a man ready to swallow poison: near the rajah are my enemies; and should I at this time go to Sattara, they will put their feet on my breast. I should be thankful if I could meet death."† After such an avowal, there is something strange and startling in the fact that Bajee Rao set off suddenly, with his army, towards Hindoostan, with what object is not known, but only lived to reach the Nerbudda, on whose banks he expired in April, 1740.‡

Rugojee Bhonslay, although about besieging Trichinopoly when he heard of the death of his rival, instantly hastened to Sattara; but being obliged to leave the greater part of his army behind him, had no sufficient force to cope with Balajee Bajee Rao, who asserted his hereditary claim to succeed to the office of his father; neither was Dummajee Guicowar ready to take the field. In this conjuncture, Rugojee proposed that Bappoojee Naik,§ a connection, but bitter foe (because a disappointed creditor of the late peishwa's), should be appointed to the vacant position; and very large sums were offered to Shao, on condition of his seconding the arrangement.

These attempts failed; and Balajee Bajee Rao was formally appointed by the rajah. Being answerable for his father's debts, he was immediately assailed by Bappoojee Naik with the harassing pertinacity frequently exercised by Mahratta creditors.|| From this persecution, his own efforts, ably seconded by the influence and credit of his *dewan* (treasurer, or high steward), relieved him; and, after more than a year spent in internal arrangements, he prepared to resist

withstanding the coincidence of his surname with that of the rajah, they do not appear to have been related.

* The soucars, or bankers, to whom he already owed a personal debt of many lacs of rupees, refused to make any further advances; and he forcibly describes his embarrassments, by declaring—"I have fallen into that hell of being beset by creditors; and to pacify soucars and sillidars (military commanders), I am falling at their feet till I have rubbed the skin from my forehead"—a figurative expression, used in allusion to the Hindoo custom of placing the forehead at the threshold of the temple, or at the feet of the idol, in humble supplication.

† *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 559. The manner of his death does not appear.

‡ Bajee Rao left three sons—Balajee Bajee Rao, Rugonat Rao, or Ragoba (who was at one time much connected with the English), and Shumsheer Bahadur, to whom, though the illegitimate offspring of a Mohammedan woman, and brought up in that creed, he bequeathed all his claims and possessions in Bundelcund. The names of the peishwas (first Balajee, then Bajee, and now Balajee Bajee, combined) will, it is to be feared, confuse the reader; but the alliteration is unavoidable.

§ Brahmin soucars and money-changers assume the appellation of Naik.

|| A species of dunning, called tuquazu, is practised as a trade. Several men, hired for the purpose, follow the debtor wherever he goes, and establish themselves at the door of his house, subsisting all the while upon the food with which the invariable custom of the country obliges him to supply them. If humble petitions and insolent demands alike fail, the creditor himself sometimes resorts to the last expedient (as Bappoojee Naik did in the present instance), by the practice of *dhurna*—that is, by taking up his position in person, as a dun, and observing a rigid fast, in which his unfortunate debtor is compelled by that powerful agent, public opinion, to imitate him, even at the hazard of starvation, until he can induce him to raise the siege.

the encroachments of inimical Mahratta chiefs, and to demand the government of Malwa from the Delhi court.

In the interim, no endeavour had been made by the Mogul party in the Deccan to take advantage of the dissensions in the Mahratta state. The active viceroy, the successful opponent of Bajee Rao, had been fully occupied in rebellion against his own father, the nizam, who, in 1741, marched into the Deccan to oppose his refractory representative, and received, during his progress, a personal visit from the new peishwa, together with the assistance of a body of troops.

Rugojee Bhonslay, upon the failure of his political schemes at Sattara, returned to the Carnatic, and after the successful termination of the campaign, by the surrender of Trichinopoly and the capture of Chunda Sahib, the soubahdar (or, according to the English phrase, the nabob), he sent a force into Bengal under his Brahmin minister, Bhaskur Punt.

At this period, the viceroyalty of Bengal was possessed by Ali Verdi Khan (sometimes called Mohabet Jung.) This celebrated individual was of Turki descent, and had been promoted by Shuja Khan, the late viceroy, to the subordinate government of Behar. After his death, Ali Verdi turned his arms against Serferaz Khan, the son and successor of his late patron, slew him in battle, and usurped the government, for which he obtained an imperial firman by dint of large bribes and hypocritical assurances of devoted submission. He made a determined resistance to Bhaskur Punt;* but, alarmed by the advance of Rugojee in person, he besought the emperor to assist him in the defence of the province; and this request resulted in an appeal for aid to the peishwa, seconded by the long-withheld graut of the viceroyalty of Malwa.

Such an invitation would have been at all times welcome; for the Mahrattas were invariably solicitous to find excuses for interfering in the affairs of the various provinces still more or less subject to Mogul rule, and were ever labouring silently to increase their influence. In the present instance, Balajee Bajee was especially glad to be called in to act as an auxiliary against his private foe, and immediately marching by Allahabad and Behar, he reached Moorshedabad in time to protect it from Rugojee, who was approaching from the south-west. After receiving from Ali Verdi the payment of an assignment granted to him by the court of Delhi on the arrears of the revenue of Bengal, the peishwa marched against the invader, who retired before him, but was overtaken, and suffered a rout and the loss of his baggage before he was completely driven out of the province, A.D. 1743. The reprieve thus purchased for Bengal only lasted about two years; for the peishwa, who, in the name of his sovereign, Rajah Shao, wielded the power of the head of a confederacy of chiefs, rather than that of a despotic ruler, found it necessary to come to terms with Rugojee, by ceding to him the right of levying tribute in all Bengal and Behar, if not also in Allahabad and Oude. Bhaskur Punt was again sent to invade Bengal (1745), and proceeded with success, until he suffered himself to be inveigled into an interview with Ali Verdi Khan, by whom he was treacherously murdered. Of twenty-two principal officers, only one (Ru-

* Ali Verdi Khan was encamped at Midnapore, when he heard of the approach of Bhaskur Punt, at the head of 40,000 horse. He marched to Burdwan, and there strove to bring on a general engagement, which the Mahrattas of course avoided, and ravaged the environs with fire and sword, offering, however, to evacuate the country on payment of ten lacs of rupees. This Ali Verdi refused; and resolving to force his way to Moorshedabad, issued orders that the heavy baggage and camp-followers should remain at Burdwan. Instead of obeying, the people, terrified at the idea of being left to the mercy of the enemy, persisted in accompanying the retreating army; and the result was, that on the first day's march, the Mahrattas surrounded the line, and captured the chief part of the stores, artillery, and tents. The sum previously demanded as the price of peace was offered, but rejected: Bhaskur Punt would now accept nothing less than a crore of rupees (a million sterling), with the surrender of all the elephants. Ali Verdi refused these degrading terms, and continued his retreat, for three days, through a flat country, amid heavy rains, constantly harassed by the enemy, and greatly distressed for food and shelter. On the fourth morning he reached Cutwa; and although the foe had been beforehand with him, by setting on fire the magazines of grain, enough remained to afford means of subsistence to the famishing soldiery until further supplies could be procured. Yusuf Ali Khan, one of Ali Verdi's generals, states, that the first day of the march, he and seven nobles shared between them about one pound's-weight of kichery (boiled rice, mixed with pulse); the next, they had a few pieces of a sweet confection; the third, a small quantity of carrion, which, while it was cooking, was eagerly watched by others, who could not be refused a single mouthful. The common soldiers strove to maintain life on the bark of trees, leaves, grass, and ants.—(See *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, done into English by a Frenchman, in 3 vols. 4to.) This translation, though full of gallicisms, is of great value to inquirers on Indian history; since the able labours of General Briggs, as yet, extend only over the first part of the first volume.

gojee Guicowar) escaped, having been left in charge of the camp, and by him the army was conducted back to Berar. No long time elapsed before an opportunity to revenge this perfidious massacre arose, as a direct consequence of the crime itself; for Mustapha Khan, the leader of a body of Afghans who had borne the chief part in it, quarrelled with Ali Verdi for withholding the promised reward—namely, the government of Behar. Both parties were well aware that assassination was an expedient likely enough to be attempted, and soon came to open hostilities, in which the Afghans supported their countrymen. Rugojee Bhonslay took advantage of this state of affairs to invade Orissa, where he obtained possession of several districts, and named 30,000,000 rupees as the sum for which he would spare the remainder, and quit the country. Before narrating the result of these proceedings, which occupied several years, it is necessary, for the sake of the chronological succession of events, to return to the court of Delhi. On the departure of Asuf Jah for the Deccan, A.D. 1741, his place at court was taken by his son, Ghazi-oo-deen, the son-in-law of the vizier, Kamer-oo-deen. These two nobles, being closely united by political and by domestic ties, resisted successfully many intrigues and combinations; but they fought with the same unholy weapons that were employed against them. Treacherous and sanguinary deeds became frequent, offering unmistakable evidence of the weakness as well as wickedness of those who bore sway, and indicating to all accustomed to watch the decline of national power, its rapidly-approaching dissolution. The only person who appears to have profited by the bitter medicine of adversity, was the emperor; he became a wiser and a better man: but long-continued habits of ease and indolence are not to be lightly broken; and he gladly sought refuge in the devotion of the closet, from the cares, vexation, and intrigue which beset the council-chamber. Nevertheless, "while he lived, the royal name was respectable, and his prudence sustained the tottering fabric of the state from falling into total ruin; but he could not repair the unwieldy fabric."*

Of the various communities whose separate existence was more or less fostered at the expense of the empire, the only one against which Mohammed Shah took the field in person, after the departure of the Persians, was that founded by the Rohillas, an Afghan colony, composed chiefly of Eusofzeis and other north-eastern tribes, who had acquired possession of the country east of the Ganges, from Oude to the mountains, and, under a chief named Ali Mohammed, had attained to so much importance, as to be with difficulty reduced to even temporary submission. Turbulent and rebellious as subjects, they were yet more dangerous as neighbours; and scarcely had tranquillity been partially restored in the territory above designated, before a formidable combination of Afghans, in their own dominions, threatened India with another desolating irruption. The chief cause was an event which, above all others, would have been least expected to contribute to such a result—namely, the assassination of Nadir Shah, the spoiler of Hindoostan, whose leading share in the expulsion of the hated Afghan dynasty and victories over the Turks, had gained him a degree of renown which, despite his crimes, made him the boast of his subjects. On returning to Persia, he was received with the utmost enthusiasm; and the troops whom he had trained and led to conquest, gloried in the renown of their successful leader. At first, it appeared as if he were disposed to use his ill-gotten wealth for the relief and improvement of his kingdom; but it soon became evident, that the hardening influence of rapine and slaughter had extinguished every better impulse, fostered his evil passions, and rendered the once enterprising adventurer nothing better than a cruel and capricious coward. Even his ability and energy in war seemed to fail; and his latest proceedings against the Turks evinced little of his early skill. When this contest was terminated by a treaty, Nadir Shah, no longer occupied by external hostilities, gave free vent to his fierce, savage, and dastardly nature, and instead of the boast, became the terror and execration of his country. All around him trembled for fear of becoming the object of suspicions which their slavish submission served only to increase. Among other atrocities, he accused his eldest son of having incited an attempt to kill him by a shot, which slightly wounded him while traversing a forest in one of his campaigns; and, although there appeared no reason to think that the assassin was not one of the enemy, the unhappy prince was blinded at the command of his still more unhappy father, who, in a paroxysm of gloom and remorse, subsequently caused no less than fifty of his chief nobles to be put to death, because they had

* Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. ii, p. 223.

witnessed the execution of his wicked sentence without one prayer for mercy.* Covetousness was one of the distinguishing vices of his advancing age; and, instead of pursuing his avowed intention of relieving the Persians from the pressure of taxation by means of his enormous private wealth, he became extortionate and oppressive, as if ravaging a conquered territory. Disaffection and revolts ensued, and afforded pretexts for fresh cruelties. Whole cities were depopulated; towers of heads raised to commemorate their ruin: eyes were torn out; tortures inflicted; and no man could count for a moment on his exemption from death in torments.† The mad fury of Nadir was aggravated by his knowledge of the angry feelings excited, at the time of his accession, by the prohibition of the Sheiah doctrines, and the confiscation of the lands and stipends of the priests, and his conviction that, after all, the people generally, maintained the forbidden opinions. At length, he came to regard every Persian as his enemy, and entertained for his protection a band of Uzbeg mercenaries, placing his entire confidence on them and the Afghans, taking a delight in aggrandising these, his former enemies, at the expense of his own countrymen. To such a height had his madness attained, that he actually ordered the Afghan chiefs to rise suddenly upon the Persian guard, and seize the persons of the chief nobles; but the project being discovered, the intended victims conspired in turn; and a body of them, including the captain of Nadir's guard, and the chief of his own tribe of Afshar, entered his tent at midnight, and after a moment's involuntary pause—when challenged by the deep voice at which they had so often trembled—rushed upon the king, who, being brought to the ground by a sabre-stroke, begged for life, and attempted to rise, but soon expired beneath the repeated blows of the conspirators.‡

With the morning light, the rumour of this sanguinary deed spread alarm and amazement throughout the army. The Afghans, under the command of a young chief, named Ahmed Khan, the head of the Abdalli tribe, were joined by the Uzbegs in an effort made in the hope of being still in time to rescue Nadir Shah; but being repulsed, and finding that the Shah was really dead, they marched to Candahar, obtained possession of that city, and captured a large convoy of treasure on its way from Cabool and Sinde to the Persian treasury. Ali, the nephew of the murdered monarch, was placed on the vacant throne under the name of Adil Shah,§ and, during his short and inglorious reign, had probably neither the ability nor inclination to interfere with the proceedings of Ahmed Khan, who, having rapidly extended his influence over the neighbouring tribes and countries, including Balkh, Sinde, Cashmere, and other previously-conquered provinces, was, in the course of a few months, formally declared king of Candahar. In the plains and cities he established absolute authority; but the Afghan tribes retained their internal government: Beloochistan, Seestan, and some other places remained under their native chiefs, but owned allegiance and military service. Without, however, waiting the settlement of all the above-named countries, Ahmed Shah directed his attention to India as a means of employing his army and increasing his pecuniary resources. The coronation festivities were scarcely concluded before he marched to the eastward, and, having rapidly subjugated all the territory as far as the Indus, proceeded to invade the Punjaub. The viceroy being in revolt, could claim no aid from the Delhi government; and Ahmed,

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 652.

† The sole exception is that afforded by his desire to encourage commerce; but even this was, for the most part, only another incentive to despotic and harsh measures. To foreign traders he, however, extended protection; and Jonas Hanway, the eminent merchant, who visited his camp at a time when all Persia was devastated by his exactions, obtained an order that the property of which he had been plundered, during a rebellion at Asterabad, should be restored, or compensation given instead.

‡ Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 653, on the authority of Père Bazin, a jesuit, who acted as physician to Nadir Shah during the last years of his life. Malcolm states, that being suddenly aroused from sleep, the king started up, and had slain two of the meaner assassins before a blow from Salah Beg, the captain of his guards, deprived him of life.

§ To assuage the fears of the guilty chiefs by whom he was raised to the throne, Adil Shah publicly but falsely declared, that he had himself incited the deed by which Persia had been relieved from the curse of a despot, who delighted in blood. This character was equally applicable to himself; for he slew the unfortunate blind prince, Reza Kooli, and thirteen of Nadir's sons and grandsons, sparing only Shah Rokh, a lad of fourteen, who was afterwards protected in his residence at Meshhed, by Ahmed Shah, who possessed dependencies immediately to the east of that city. All the assassins of Nadir did not escape with impunity; for the Afshar leader, having incurred the displeasure of Adil Shah, was delivered over to the vengeance of the female relatives of the murdered monarch, by whom he was cut to pieces.—(Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. ii., p. 56.)

with little difficulty, triumphed over the feeble opposition offered to his usurpations, and occupied Lahore and other towns on the road to the Sutlej. News of his approach had reached the court, and Prince Ahmed, the heir-apparent, with Kamer-oo-deen, the vizier, at the head of the Mogul army, were sent to arrest his progress.* They had taken possession of the fords of the Sutlej; but the Candahar king, despite the inferior number of his troops, resolved to force a passage; and having succeeded in crossing at an unguarded, because unfordable part, left the enemy in his rear, and advancing against Sirhind, captured that place, together with the baggage, stores, and guns deposited therein. The Moguls, intimidated by the rapidity of these movements, intrenched their camp, soon after which the vizier was shot by a cannon-ball; but the army continued to repel the assaults of the Dooranis (as the Abdallis were now termed),† and on the tenth day succeeded in effecting their complete defeat, obliging them to march off homeward during the ensuing night.

Mohammed Shah expired within a month of this victory (A.D. 1748), and his only son, Ahmed, ascended the throne. For the first time from the commencement of the Indian annals of the house of Timur—in the beginning of the 15th century—the succession was uncontested.‡ In truth, it was a woeful heritage—little to be coveted by the most ambitious pretender.

*Reign of Ahmed Shah.*—The events of the next eighteen years can scarcely be woven into a connected narrative. The Great Mogul is no longer the chief feature in the picture; his proceedings have ceased to form the centre around which all other incidents could be easily and naturally grouped; the governors of provinces, from simple servants of the crown, having become independent powers, whose assistance their nominal sovereign was glad to purchase, at any cost, to ward off a foreign foe.

After the battle of Sirhind, the victor sent a governor to the Punjaub, believing that important province secured to the empire by the retreat of the Afghan monarch; but this latter, on learning that the prince had been recalled to Delhi, by the illness of his father, turned back before he had reached the Indus, and forced from the newly-appointed viceroy an engagement to pay a permanent tribute. Ahmed Shah, anxious to form connections which should enable him to provide against the incursions of his turbulent neighbour, offered the "ink-stand of the vizierat"§ to Asuf Jah, who had become reconciled to his son, Nasir Jung, and was employed in consolidating his own power over the territories in the Deccan, conquered with so much difficulty by the most powerful of the house of Timur, and so easily snatched from their feeble descendants. The nizam declined the proffered office, on account of his great age, and died, shortly after, at Boorhanpoor, in his ninety-sixth year.||

Nasir Jung assumed his father's government, and Sufdur Jung (son and successor of Sadut Khan) became vizier, on condition of retaining likewise the viceroyalty of Oude. In the northern part of that province, the Rohillas had again become formidable, and the efforts of the imperial force were directed to their suppression. Sufdur Jung acted in this matter with shameless ingratitude,¶ and his ill-disciplined troops sacked their own town of Bara (famous for being peopled by Seyeds), and massacred such of the inhabitants as attempted resistance. The Rohillas, though greatly inferior in number, gained a complete victory; wounded the vizier, set the imperial power at defiance, and penetrated to Allahabad. In this emergency, the common error was committed of avoiding one danger by incurring another involving greater, though less immediate hazard. Mulhar Rao Holcar, and Jeiapa Sindia, had been recently sent to Malwa by the peishwa: to them Sufdur Jung now applied for aid; as also to Suraj Mul, rajah of the Jats. With these auxiliaries, he defeated the Rohillas, in a pitched battle;

* Elphinstone states his force at 12,000 men; Elliot's *Hafiz Rehmet* at 15,000; but the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* at 67,000 horse.

† By the advice of a dervish, who had predicted his future greatness, Ahmed assumed the title of *Door-dowran* (the pearl of the age); and the Abdalli tribe took the name of Doorani.

‡ The accession of Jehangeer can scarcely be deemed an exception, since opposition was attempted before the death of Akber; and by Prince Khoorum within four months after.

§ An ornamented ink-stand, or rather ink-horn, is the insignia of office worn by viziers.

|| Or 104 lunar years, according to the Mohammedan mode of computation; their years consisting of 13 months—of 28 days 6 hours each.

¶ He induced Kaium Khan Bungush, the Afghan governor of Furruckabad, to conduct the war against his own countrymen. Kaium was slain in battle, and his employer strove to dispossess the widow of the chief part of her legitimate possessions, but with no avail; for the people rose upon his representative,

drove them into the lower branches of the Himalaya, about the Kumaon range, which forms their north-eastern boundary, and by authorising the Mahrattas to levy the promised subsidy on the conquered territory, soon reduced his foes to such straits for subsistence, that they submitted on the sole condition of receiving the assignment of a few villages for their chiefs.

In the Deccan many important changes had occurred since 1745, when Rugojee Bhonslay, taking advantage of the rebellion of Mustapha Khan, had invaded Orissa. The defeat of the Afghans, and the fall of their leader, in an attempt to obtain possession of Behar, relieved Ali Verdi from one dangerous foe, and enabled him to direct his efforts to the expulsion of the Mahrattas. In this undertaking he was less successful; driven off at one point, they attacked another, fighting ever in true Cossack* style, until Ali Verdi, in 1751, weary of beholding his fertile plains desolated by their incursions, and possibly influenced by the craving for quiet, natural to the old age of even men of war, bought off the invaders by the cession of Cuttack (the southern division of Orissa), and an engagement for the annual payment of twelve lacs of rupees, as the chout of Bengal and Behar. This very inadequate sum, Rugojee was doubtless induced to accept by the necessity of returning to the Deccan, where the renewal of internal strife among the Mahrattas, and the quarrels and intrigues of the sons of Asuf Jah, together with the ambitious projects of M. Bussy, the French leader, warned every wandering chief to guard his home interests.

The death of Shao, in 1750, gave the expected signal for a struggle between the peishwa and his rivals. The rajah was childless, and had not complied with the Hindoo custom of adopting an heir. His wife, Sawatri Bye, an intriguing and ambitious woman, had strongly urged the claims of the nearest relative, the rajah of Kolapoor; but Shao, who, after remaining for some years in a state of imbecility, had shortly before his death recovered his senses, rejected this candidate, because he also was without offspring, and declared that he had received a private intimation of the existence of a posthumous son of Sevajee II., who had been concealed by Tara Bye. The story sounded sufficiently improbable: but the peishwa and Tara Bye agreed in asserting its truth; and the former procured from the rajah an instrument, transferring to him all the powers of the government, on condition of his maintaining the royal dignity in the house of Sevajee, through its newly-discovered representative and his descendants. Whether this document was authentic or not, the peishwa acted as if it had been so, by placing the alleged grandson of Tara Bye on the throne, with the title of Ram Raja, and by removing all obstacles to his own supremacy either by force, fraud, or bribery. The prithee nidhee was seized and thrown into prison, and Sawatri Bye goaded into performing suttee, in accordance with her own declaration, made before her husband's death, to disguise her real designs. Rugojee Bhonslay, who was anxious to prosecute his annual incursions into Bengal—not having then come to the above-mentioned agreement with Ali Verdi—formally acknowledged the succession of Ram Raja, receiving, in return, a portion of the confiscated lands of the prithee nidhee, and other concessions; while the good-will of Holcar and Sindia was secured by assignments of almost the entire revenue of Malwa.† Believing his path now clear, Balajee Bajee left the rajah at Sattara, under the control of Tara Bye, and starting from Poona, to which place he had before transferred his residence, and which may be henceforth considered as the Mahratta capital, proceeded to take part in the civil war that had broken out between the sons of the late nizam. He was speedily recalled to Delhi by the machinations of Tara Bye, who, having vainly endeavoured to induce her weak and timid grandchild to assert his independence, and set aside the dominant influence of the peishwa, vehemently declared, that she believed he was, after all, no true descendant of Sevajee, but a base-born Gonedulee,‡ having been changed, at nurse, by the cottagers to whose charge he had been confided; then throwing him into a damp, stone dungeon, with the coarsest grain doled out as food,

and called in the Rohillas, against whom the vizier took the field in person.—(Scott, vol. ii., p. 225.)

* The Mahrattas have borrowed this term from the Moguls, finding it perfectly applicable to their favourite mode of warfare.

† Of the annual revenue, estimated at about £1,500,000, £750,000 was allotted to Holcar; £650,000 to Sindia; and £100,000 to Puar and other chiefs.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. ii., p. 40.)

‡ The Gonedulees are a low cast of musicians, in the house of one of whom Rajah Ram (according to the statement of Tara Bye) had been first concealed.

the old virago assumed the government in her own name, and called in the assistance of Dummajee Guicowar, who had previously refused to acknowledge the succession of Ram Rajah. Dummajee was treacherously captured by the peishwa at a pretended friendly interview, and his army completely dispersed. Tara Bye proved a more troublesome opponent, being regarded by the people as the rightful regent; besides which, popular superstition attributed to her the possession of supernatural power; but whether she was a *deo* or a *dyt*—that is, a good or an evil spirit—was a disputed point, though one on which most persons, acquainted with her character and history, would scarcely entertain much doubt.

At Delhi, another revolution was impending. During the absence of the vizier in Rohilcund, the Doorani king had extorted from the emperor the cession of the Punjaub; and this arrangement, though it would seem to have been almost inevitable, the vizier made the pretext for insult and reproach; and soon after, vented his jealous spleen by the assassination of Javeed, a eunuch much favoured by the emperor and his mother, at a banquet to which the victim had been purposely invited. Exasperated by this outrage, Ahmed Shah turned to the ameer-ool-omra for aid against the vizier. This young man, named Shaab-oo-deen,* was grandson to Asuf Jah, and had inherited too much of his ancestor's unprincipled ambition to hesitate taking any part that promised to gratify his dominant passion; he, therefore, gladly sided with the emperor against the very man whose patronage had placed him in an influential position. A civil war ensued, determined not by one great battle, but carried on for six months in daily combats in the streets, during which time the vizier being a Sheiah, and his opponent a Sunni, the war-cry of their respective adherents was the test-word of either sect. Becoming wearied of this unprofitable contest, the rival ministers came to terms; and the unhappy monarch, betrayed by both, made an effort to assert his independence; but being captured by the Mahratta auxiliaries of his treacherous servants, under Mulhar Rao, was delivered over into the hands of the ameer-ool-omra, by whom he was deposed and blinded, together with the queen his mother, A.D. 1754.

* He also bore his father's and grandfather's title of Ghazi-oo-deen; but to avoid confusion, I have adhered to his original appellation.

*Alumgeer II.*—Under this name a prince of the blood was placed on the vacant throne by Shaab-oo-deen, who, upon the death of the vizier, which happened about this time (at Lucknow, the capital of Oude), took upon himself the vacant office, and soon afterwards marched towards Lahore, secretly hoping to take advantage of the state of affairs in the Punjaub. Upon the death of the Mogul governor, whom Ahmed Shah had continued in his office after the cession, his infant son had been appointed to the viceroyalty under the tutelage of his mother. It so happened, that Shaab-oo-deen had been affianced to the daughter of the late viceroy, and he now approached on pretence of claiming his bride. The marriage festivities were in course of celebration, when a sudden attack was made upon the town, and the governess captured in her bed. While being conveyed to the camp, she vehemently denounced the treachery which had been practised, declaring, that the vengeance of Ahmed Shah would be swift and terrible. Her prediction was verified: the Doorani king marched rapidly from Candahar, passed through the Punjaub without opposition, and advanced upon Delhi to enforce his demand of pecuniary compensation. The culprit escaped through the intercession of his mother-in-law, whom he had contrived to conciliate; but the devoted city was again given over to pillage and slaughter, Ahmed Shah, if willing, being quite unable to restrain the excesses of his soldiery. A detachment was sent into Bengal to levy a contribution, and Ahmed proceeded in person to Agra, against the Jats, with a similar object. The troops enforced his exactions by the most barbarous methods, and found, in bigotry, an excuse and incentive for the indulgence of their natural ferocity. The ancient and venerated city of Muttra was surprised during the celebration of a religious festival, and the defenceless worshippers massacred without distinction of sex or age.

Happily, the career of these destroyers was stopped by the excessive heat, which occasioned an alarming mortality among them, and compelled Ahmed Shah to renounce the siege of the citadel of Agra, which was defended by a Mogul governor, and be content with the money already levied. Before returning to his own territories, he married a princess of the house of Timur, and affianced another to his son, afterwards Timur Shah. He also caused an able and enterprising Rohilla chief, named

Nujeeb-oo-dowla, to be appointed ameer-ool-omra at the especial request of the emperor, who hoped to find in him a counterpoise against his intriguing vizier. This scheme failed; for Shaab-oo-deen called in the assistance of the Mahrattas, under Ragoba (brother to the peishwa), who had recently acquired notoriety by his proceedings in Guzerat, and in levying contributions on the Rajpoot states. Thus aided, the vizier forcibly re-established his paramount influence in Delhi, the prince, afterwards Shah Alum, having first escaped to a place of safety, and Nujeeb to his own country about Seharunpoor, to the north of Delhi.

The ascendancy of his ally being secured, Ragoba next turned his attention to the Punjaub, where a turbulent chief, named Adina Beg, whose whole career had been a series of intrigues, was plotting the overthrow of Ahmed Shah's sway by means of the Sikhs, who, during the late disorders, had again become considerable. Ragoba, seeing in this disorganisation the promise of an easy conquest, marched to Lahore (May, 1758), and took possession of the whole of the Punjaub, the Dooranis retiring across the Indus without hazarding a battle. The death of Adina Beg threw the power wholly into the hands of the Mahrattas, who now began to talk unreservedly of their plans for the obtainment of unquestioned supremacy over the whole of Hindoostan. These pretensions, though little likely to be vigorously contested by the nominal emperor, were opposed to the interests of various individuals, especially of Shuja-oo-dowla, who had succeeded his father, Sufdur Jung, in the government of Oude, and who now joined his hereditary foes, Nujeeb-oo-dowla and the Rohillas, against the common enemy. The first result of this alliance was the invasion of Rohilcund by the Mahrattas, and the destruction of 1,300 villages in little more than a month: but Shuja marched from Lucknow to the relief of his allies, and drove the invaders, with heavy loss, across the Ganges, obliging their leader, Duttajee Sindia, to conclude a peace, which he did the more readily on account of the reported approach of Ahmed Shah from Cabool.

The retaliation of the Afghan ruler for the expulsion of his son from the Punjaub, had been retarded by the attempt of Nadir Khan, chief of the Beloochees, to establish his entire independence; but this question was no sooner settled than Ahmed, for the fourth time, invaded India (September, 1759), advancing by the southern road of Shikarpoor to the Indus, and marching along its banks to Peshawer, where he crossed the river and entered the Punjaub. The Mahrattas offered no obstacle; and he continued his progress towards Delhi, avoiding the swollen rivers, keeping near the northern hills until he passed the Jumna, opposite Seherunpoor.

The approach of the Afghans greatly alarmed the vizier, who, conscious of the friendly feeling existing between Ahmed Shah and the emperor, thought to remove an obstacle from his path, and ensure a safe tool, by causing the assassination of Alumgeer II., and hurrying from the palace-prison of Selimghur to the throne, another ill-fated descendant of Aurungzebe.

*Extinction of Mogul power.*—The title of the prince brought forward by Shaab-oo-deen was never recognised; and the heir-apparent (Shah Alum) being, happily for himself, beyond the reach of his father's murderer, the strange confederacy of Moguls, Mahrattas, and Jats, against Doorani and Rohilla Afghans, had no crowned leader whose uncontested supremacy could afford a bond of union to all concerned.

At this crisis, the question naturally arises—where were the Rajpoots, and how occupied, at an epoch so favourable for the assertion of national independence and individual aggrandisement? Their eloquent historian, Colonel Tod, candidly admits, that, absorbed in civil strife, enfeebled by luxury, degraded by intrigue—their position, in no small degree, resembled that of the once powerful dynasty, whose most distinguished members they had opposed so bravely, or served so loyally. Yet, even had Mewar possessed a rana able and energetic as Pertap or Umra—Marwar, a rajah like Jeswunt or Ajeet; or Amber (Jeypoor), like Maun or Jey Sing, it is still not probable that Rajast'han would have become the nucleus of a Hindoo empire. The characteristics of feudal confederacies are, under any circumstances, scarcely consistent with comprehensive and enlightened patriotism; and the temporary alliances between Rajpoot states, formed in an hour of mutual peril, were thrown aside as soon as their immediate cause was removed. The spirit of clanship, unrestrained by higher and holier principles, prompted in proud and ardent breasts many deeds which, at the first glance, seem grand and heroic, but when tried by the standard of Christian law, severe in its sim-

plicity, are found to be fair-seeming fruit rotten at the core. To raise the honour of a clan—to humble a rival—to avenge an affront—these were objects to be gained at any cost of blood or treasure, and without regard to the character and true interest of the state. It was by taking advantage of the opportunities thus offered, and by becoming partisans in disputed successions, that the Mahrattas, as much by stratagem as by force, were enabled to levy chout over all Rajast'han.

The Mahratta power was now at its zenith. The whole territory, from the Indus and Himalaya, on the north, to nearly the extremity of the Peninsula, was either subjugated or tributary. The authority of the peishwa had become absolute, Tara Bye having, though ungraciously enough, been compelled to enter into terms of peace. She still, however, persisted in retaining the unfortunate Rajah Ram in rigorous confinement, a measure which entirely coincided with the views of the wily Brahmin, who ensured its continuance by perpetually soliciting its revocation. The army, no longer composed of predatory bands, now included a large body of well-paid and well-mounted cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and a train of artillery. Nor were external signs of increasing wealth and dominion wanting. The pomp which had characterised the palmy days of the Delhi court, together with much of the ceremonial of Rajpoot states, was now observed at Poona; and the peishwa and inferior ministers, possessing the comely forms and courteous manners common among Concan Brahmins, bore their new-fledged honours with natural dignity. The case was very different with the field-officers, who, by exchanging the rude but picturesque garb and homely manners of former days, for the cumbersome attire and wearisome conventionalities, in which they rather caricatured than copied the Moguls, not only rendered themselves ridiculous, but really lost much efficiency in vain attempts to assume a stateliness of demeanour in correspondence with the cloth-of-gold uniforms in which their short, sturdy, active, little bodies were now encased. Their love of plunder had, however, undergone no change: they even seemed to have become more extortionate in proportion to their growing passion for ostentatious display. Their conduct, at this epoch, brought its own punishment; for, although there were 30,000 Mahratta horse in the field, in two bodies, at some distance from each other, when the Dooranis crossed the Jumna, the country people, exasperated by their depredations, kept them in complete ignorance of the movements of the enemy. Ahmed Shah was consequently enabled to prevent their junction; and, coming suddenly on the body under Duttajee Sindia, slew that chief and two-thirds of his force, while the other division was overtaken and almost destroyed by a detachment which had made an extraordinary march for that purpose. The news of this inauspicious commencement of the war, enraged but did not dispirit the Mahrattas, who prepared for a desperate and decisive encounter. The command of the assembled force was given to the peishwa's cousin, Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, commonly called the Bhow,* a brave soldier, but too violent and headstrong for a safe general. He was accompanied by Wiswas Rao, the youthful son and heir-apparent of the peishwa, and by almost all the leading Mahratta chiefs.† The pressing necessity of uniting to repel the common foe of the Hindoos, seems to have aroused even the Rajpoots from their apathy, and induced them to lay aside their private quarrels; for several Rajpoot detachments were sent to join the Mahratta force on its march from the Deccan, and Suraj Mul came to meet them with 30,000 Jats. This experienced old chief beheld with dismay the gorgeous appearance of the advancing cavalcade, and earnestly entreated the Bhow to leave his heavy baggage, infantry, and guns, under the protection of the strong forts in the Jat territory, and practise the same tactics which had so often proved successful; urging, that if the war could only be protracted, the Dooranis, who had been already many months in India, would probably be constrained by the climate to withdraw to their native mountains. This judicious counsel, though seconded by the Mahratta chiefs, was haughtily rejected by their commander, who affected to despise the Jats;‡ treated Suraj Mul as a petty zemindar,

* The Bhow, or brother, is a term commonly applied by the Mahrattas to cousins German.

† Ragoba remained in the Deccan, having given offence by his improvidence in previous campaigns.

‡ The Jats (who, according to Tod, are "assuredly a mixture of the Rajpoot and Yuti, Jit, or Jete races") formed the chief part of the agricultural population of Agra in the reign of Aurungzebe, by whose persecutions they were driven to rebel and elect Choramun for their leader and rajah.

incapable of judging of politics on a large scale; and marched on, in defiance of all counsel, with his whole force to Delhi, which was held by a small garrison of Dooranis and their partisans, Ghazi-oo-deen having sought refuge in the Jat country. The citadel yielded after a feeble defence. The Bhow triumphantly entered the ill-fated capital; defaced the palaces, tombs, and shrines, for the sake of the rich ornaments which had been spared by the Persians and Afghans; tore down the silver ceiling of the hall of audience (which was coined into seventeen lacs of rupees); seized the throne, and all other royal ornaments; and even talked of proclaiming Wiswas Rao emperor of India. Disgusted and alarmed by these rash and grasping proceedings, Suraj Mul returned to his own territory, and the Rajpoots likewise withdrew from the confederacy. Ahmed Shah passed the rainy season on the frontier of Oude, and during that time succeeded in procuring the co-operation of Shuja-oo-dowla. He then marched rapidly towards Delhi, and on reaching Cunjpoora, on the Jumna, learned that the Doorani garrison stationed there had been captured by the enemy, and put to the sword. In a paroxysm of rage, the Shah, thirsting for revenge, crossed the river between fording and swimming; and this impetuous act, by which many lives were sacrificed, so astonished the Mahrattas, that they retired to Paniput, and intrenched their camp.

The force of Ahmed Shah was computed at less than 100,000 men; that of his opponent at 300,000, including followers.* This disparity prevented the invader from venturing an attack, and induced him to encamp, and fortify his position. For three months the hostile armies remained face to face, without coming to any decisive engagement. During that time the state of affairs underwent a material change. The Mahrattas at first endeavoured to provoke an attack, by cutting off the supplies of the Doorani camp; and with this object a chief, named Govind Rao Bondela, was ordered to collect troops on the lower course of the Jumna, and spread over the country in the Mahratta fashion. Govind Rao obeyed, and levied 10,000, or 12,000 men, who proved very successful plunderers, until their leader was surprised in a mango-grove and cut off, with about a thousand followers, by a body of horse, who had come upon them, after performing a march of sixty miles. Other disasters followed; and, at length, all means of forage being cut off, Ahmed Shah succeeded in establishing a rigid blockade; and the resources of the town of Paniput, which was within the lines, being quite exhausted, the pressure of want began to be severely felt; and, from clamouring for arrears of pay, the Mahrattas now began to lack daily food. Cooped up amidst the stench of a besieged camp, among dead and dying animals, surrounded by famished followers, the once mighty host grew weaker daily; and, to the dispiriting influences of physical evils, the knowledge of the dissensions between the Bhow, Holcar, and minor chiefs, added greatly. The position of Ahmed Shah was one of considerable difficulty; but he rejected the overtures of peace made through the intervention of Shuja-oo-dowla, judging, by the impatience and weariness of his own troops, of the condition of the foe, and feeling convinced that they would soon be driven into quitting their intrenchments, as the only alternative from starvation. Meanwhile he kept a vigilant guard, visiting his posts, reconnoitring the enemy, and riding fifty to sixty miles a-day. Among the last efforts of the besieged, was the dispatch of a party, with innumerable camp-followers, on a midnight foraging expedition. The attempt was discovered by the watchful picket stationed by Ahmed Shah, and the defenceless crowd were surrounded and slaughtered in prodigious numbers. On this, the chiefs and soldiers called upon the Bhow to put an end to their sufferings and suspense, by leading them to the attack. The necessary orders were given; the last grain in store distributed among the famishing troops; and, an hour before day-break, the Mahrattas quitted their intrenchments, marching forth with the ends of their turbans loosened, and their hands and faces dyed with turmeric;

* The Bhow's force consisted of 55,000 cavalry, in regular pay, with at least 15,000 predatory Mahratta horse, and 15,000 infantry; of whom, 9,000 were disciplined sepoys, under Ibrahim Khan Gardi, a Mussulman deserter from the French service. He had 200 guns, with numerous wall-pieces, and a great supply of rockets, which is a favourite weapon with the Mahrattas. These troops, with their immediate followers, made the numbers within his lines amount to 300,000 men. Ahmed Shah had about 4,000 Afghans and Persians, 13,000 Indian horse, and a force of Indian infantry, estimated at 38,000, of which the part consisting of Rohilla Afghans would be very efficient; but the great majority, the usual rabble of Indian foot-soldiers. He had, also, about thirty pieces of cannon of different calibres, chiefly belonging to the Indian allies, and a number of wall-pieces. (Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 679.)

their gait and expressions bespeaking victims prepared for sacrifice, rather than warriors hoping for conquest. The sight of the foe revived their courage; a fierce onslaught was made on the centre of the Mohammedan army; and a general encounter followed, which lasted in unabated violence until noon —the field of action being one mass of dust and confusion, the combatants fighting hand to hand, and the shrieks and groans of the dying drowned by the incessant "Allah!" and "Deen!" of the Mohammedans, and the "Hur! Hur! Mahdeo!" of the Mahrattas. Up to this period, victory seemed to incline to the latter party; but a reserve, sent forward by Ahmed Shah, who, from his little red tent, had eagerly watched the engagement, decided the fortune of the day. The Bhow and Wiswas were slain.* Holcar and Dummajee Guicowar quitted the field; and "all at once, as if by enchantment, the whole Mahratta army turned their backs, and fled at full speed."† The victors pursued them with the utmost fury, giving no quarter, and slaying without mercy all who fell into their hands. Men, women, and children crowded into the town of Paniput, where they were blockaded for the night, and the next morning divided into allotments by their barbarous captors, the women and children being taken for slaves, the men ranged in lines, and prevented from fainting by a few grains of parched corn, and a little water poured into the palms of their hands preparatory to their decapitation; after which, their heads were piled around the doors of the tents,‡ as fitting trophies of what men call "a glorious victory." These atrocities Ahmed Shah made no effort to restrain; but, on the contrary, sanctioned by example the cold-blooded massacre of the most distinguished prisoners, among whom was Jancojee Sindia, a youth about the age of Wiswas Rao. Ibrahim Khan was cruelly treated; and it was even reported that his death had been caused by the poison put into his wounds.

This great overthrow was a blow from which the aspiring Mahrattas never wholly recovered. In the course of the campaign, 200,000 of them are alleged to have perished, including nearly all their leading chiefs. The disastrous intelligence reached the Deccan through the medium of a letter addressed to the soucars or bankers, who generally contrive to obtain the earliest tidings of all affairs affecting the money-market. The letter-carrier was intercepted by the peishwa while about to cross the Nerbudda, on his way to Hindoostan, and its brief contents—"two pearls have been dissolved; twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost; and, of the silver and copper, the total cannot be cast up"—revealed to him the fate of his beloved son and cousin, of the officers and army. The shock proved fatal to a mind worn down with intrigue, and a frame enfeebled by indolence and sensuality; and the peishwa, retiring towards Poona, died in a temple which he had erected near that city. Notwithstanding the personal faults of Balajee Bajee Rao, his political sagacity, polished manners, and great address, together with the honoured names he bore, had rendered him popular, and his death increased the gloom which overhung the country.§

With the battle of Paniput|| the Mohammedan portion of the history of India naturally closes. Ahmed Shah quitted Hindoostan without attempting to profit by the fruits of his victory; and Alum Shah, after enduring many vicissitudes of fortune, ended his days as a pensioner of the powerful company whose proceedings will occupy the chief portion of the following section.

* The body of Wiswas Rao was brought to the tent of the Shah, where the whole camp assembled to look upon it, and admire the extraordinary beauty which, strange to say, a violent death had not marred. Yet the Afghans, untouched by pity, looked upon the pale corpse only as an evidence of victory; and were, with difficulty, induced by Shuja-oo-dowla to renounce the idea of having "it dried and stuffed, to carry to Cabool." Concerning the fate of the Bhow considerable uncertainty prevailed, although a headless trunk was said to be recognised as his by a scar on the back—certain marks in the hands and feet, which seemed to bear evidence of the 1,400 prostrations he made daily before the sun, and what the astrologers term the *Puddum Mutch*, or fortunate lines in his foot.

† *See* narrative of Casi Rai, an officer in the service of Shuja-oo-dowla. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii.)

‡ The Dooranis said, that "when they left their own country, their mothers, wives, and sisters desired, that whenever they should defeat the unbelievers, they would kill a few of them on their account, that they also might possess a merit in the sight of God."—(*Casi Rai.*)

§ Tara Bye did not long survive her old adversary, the peishwa. She died, aged eighty-six, full of exultation at the misfortunes which had overtaken her foes. The rajah was then taken out of prison, and suffered to reside at large in Sattara; his originally weak intellect, still further broken down by persecution, rendering such a procedure free from any danger to the interests of Madhu Rao, the youthful son and successor of the late minister.

|| Paniput is in 29° 22′ N., 76° 51′ E.; the town, about four miles in circumference, was formerly surrounded by a brick wall, of which a part still remains.

*Mohammedan Conquerors and Rulers of Hindoostan.*

| House or Dynasty. | Name or Title. | Date. | Capital. | Successor. | Death or Deposition. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| House of Ghuznee—Subuktugeen dynasty. | Mahmood | 1001 | Ghuznee | Son | Natural death, 1030. |
| | Mohammed | 1030 | Ditto | Brother | Deposed and blinded. |
| | Masaud | 1030 | Ditto | Nephew | Deposed and murdered. |
| | Ahmed | 1040 | Ditto | Son | Murdered. |
| | Modood | 1041 | Ditto | Brother | Natural death. |
| | Abul Hussun | 1049 | Ditto | Uncle | Deposed. |
| | Abul Raschid | 1051 | Ditto | No Relation | Murdered. |
| | Toghral | 1052 | Ditto | Prince of the Blood | Assassinated. |
| | Farokshad | 1052 | Ditto | Brother | Assassinated. |
| | Ibrahim | 1058 | Ditto | Son | Natural death. |
| | Masaud II. | 1089 | Do. and Lahore | Son | Natural death. |
| | Arslan | 1114 | Ditto | Brother | Murdered. |
| | Behram | 1118 | Ditto | Son | Natural death. |
| | Khosru | 1160 | Ditto | Son | Natural death. |
| | Khosru Malik | 1167 | Ditto | Conqueror | Imprisoned and murdered. |
| Ghor dynasty | Shahab-oo-deen | 1186 | Ditto | His slave & general | Assassinated. |
| Slave Kings | Kuotb-oo-deen | 1206 | Ghor, Ghuznee, & Delhi | Son | Natural death. |
| | Aram | 1210 | | Brother-in-law | Natural death. |
| | Altamsh | 1211 | Delhi | Son | Natural death. |
| | Rukn-oo-deen | 1236 | Ditto | Sister | Deposed after 7 mths. reign. |
| | Rezia (Sultana) | 1236 | Ditto | Brother | Imprisoned and murdered. |
| | Behram (*Moiz-oo-deen*) | 1239 | Ditto | Son of Rukn | Imprisoned and murdered. |
| | Masaud (*Ala-oo-deen*) | 1241 | Ditto | Grandson of Altamsh | Imprisoned and murdered. |
| | Mahmood (*Nasir-oo-deen*) | 1246 | Ditto | His Vizier | Natural death. |
| | Bulhun, or Balin | 1266 | Ditto | Son of Bakhara | Natural death. |
| | Kei Kobad | 1286 | Ditto | A Khilji Chief | Assassinated. |
| House of Khiljii. | Jelal-oo-deen | 1288 | Ditto | Nephew | Assassinated. |
| | Ala-oo-deen | 1295 | Ditto | Son | Poisoned. |
| | Mobarik | 1317 | Ditto | Vizier | Murdered. |
| House of Toghlak. | Gheias-oo-deen | 1321 | Ditto | Son | Killed, supposed by his son. |
| | Mohammed (*Juna*) | 1325 | Deoghiri, or Doulatabad | Nephew | Natural death. |
| | Feroze | 1351 | Delhi | Grandson | Natural death. |
| | Gheias-oo-deen | 1388 | Ditto | Ditto of Feroze | Deposed and murdered. |
| | Abubekir | 1389 | Ditto | Son of Feroze | Deposed. |
| | Nasir-oo-deen | 1390 | Ditto | Son | Natural death. |
| | Humayun | 1390 | Ditto | Brother, a Minor | Natural death. |
| | Mahmood Toghlak | 1394 | Ditto | No Relative | Driven from Delhi by Timur |
| Lodi. | Doulat Khan Lodi | 1412 | Ditto | No Relative | Expelled. |
| The Seyeds, or Seids. | Seyed Khizer Khan | 1414 | Ditto | Eldest Son | Natural death. |
| | Moiz-oo-deen, or Seyed Moharik | 1421 | Ditto | Son | Murdered in a Mosque. |
| | Seyed Mohammed | 1436 | Ditto | Son | Natural death. |
| | Seyed Al-oo-deen | 1444 | Ditto | Conqueror | Abdicated. |
| House of Lodi. | Bheilol Lodi | 1450 | Ditto | Son | Natural death. |
| | Secander Lodi | 1488 | Ditto | Son | Natural death. |
| | Ibrahim Lodi | 1517 | Ditto | Conqueror | Slain in battle at Paniput. |
| Mogul dynasty. | Baber | 1526 | Ditto | Son | Natural death. |
| | Humayun | 1530 | Ditto | Usurper | Driven into Persia. |
| Afghan dynasty. | Sheer Shah Soor | 1542 | Agra | Youngest Son | Killed at a siege. |
| | Selim Shah Soor | 1545 | Delhi & Gwalior | Son | Natural death. |
| | Feroze Soor | 1552 | Gwalior | Uncle | Assassinated in 3 days. |
| | Mohammed Shah Soor Adili | 1552 | Chunar | Division of Dominion | Expelled and slain. |
| | Ibrahim III. | 1554 | Delhi | | Imprisoned and slain. |
| | Secander Soor | 1554 | Agra | Humayun | Defeated in battle. and fled |
| Mogul dynasty. | Humayun | 1555 | Delhi | Son | Killed by a fall. |
| | Akber | 1556 | Delhi & Agra | Son | Natural death. |
| | Jehangeer | 1605 | | Son | Natural death. |
| | Shah Jehan | 1627 | Delhi | Fourth Son | Deposed. |
| | Aurungzebe (Alumgeer) | 1658 | Ditto | Son | Natural death. |
| | Bahadur Shah | 1707 | Ditto | Eldest Son | Natural death. |
| | Jehandar Shah | 1712 | Ditto | Son of Azim-u-Shan | Murdered |
| | Ferokshere | 1713 | Ditto | Nephew | Deposed and slain. |
| | Mohammed Shah | 1719 | Ditto | Son | Natural death. |
| | Ahmed Shah | 1748 | Ditto | Prince of the Blood | Deposed and eyes put out. |
| | Alumgeer II. | 1754 | Ditto | Son | Murdered. |
| | Alum Shah | 1760 | Ditto | No successor | Natural death. |

*Note.*—Of the above 65 conquerors and rulers, 24 were assassinated or poisoned; 11 were deposed, driven from the throne, or abdicated; two were slain in battle; one killed by a fall; and 27 were said to have died a natural death. Fifteen princes of the *Ghaznivede* dynasty had an average duration of reign of 11 years; 10 *Slave* kings of eight years; three *Khiljii* of 10 years; eight *Toghlak* of 11 years; four *Seyeds* of nine years; three *Lodi* of 25 years; two *Mogul* of eight years; six *Afghan* of two years; and 12 *Mogul* of 17 years each. If the reign of Akber, which lasted for 49 years, and that of Aurungzebe, for 49 = 98, be deducted, the average duration of the remaining 10 princes' reigns was only 10½ years. The period of 751 years gives an average reign, to each prince, of exactly 11 years. These statements must, however, be regarded rather as affording a general view of the Indo-Mohammedan Dynasties, than as assertions of opinions on various disputed points respecting the death and exact date of accession of several potentates: for accounts of the minor Mohammedan kingdoms *see* pp. 93 to 107. The Great Moguls alone assumed the title of Padsha, or Emperor.

## SECTION II.

### EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE—RISE AND GROWTH OF BRITISH POWER.

Some light is thrown on the communication between the eastern and western hemispheres by the scriptural account of the frequent supplies of spices and other oriental products obtained by Solomon from the southern parts of Asia, B.C. 1000. The Phœnicians were even then supposed to have long been the chief carriers in the Indian trade, by way of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf; but an overland intercourse appears to have been simultaneously maintained through Persia and Arabia. Of the Asiatics themselves, and of their territories, little was known in Europe until the invasion of the Indian frontier by Alexander the Great, B.C. 331. For nearly three centuries after his death, the Indian traffic was chiefly conducted by Egyptian and Arabian merchants, by way of the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean; the marts being Berenice, Coptos, and Alexandria. There were, besides, two other and far less frequented routes: the first lay through Persia and the upper part of Arabia to the Syrian cities, and stretched over a long and dreary desert tract, in which the only halting-place was the famous Tadmor or Palmyra—the city of palms—whose independence and growing prosperity exciting the jealousy of imperial Rome, proved the occasion of its destruction, notwithstanding the determined efforts of its brave queen, Zenobia. With Palmyra the overland traffic of the desert, which had existed since the time of Abraham, terminated; but the other route, across the rocky passes of the Hindoo Koosh, is still in existence, and by this means an inland trade is maintained between India, Persia, and Russia (*viâ* Bokhara.)

In the middle of the first century of the Christian era a discovery was made by a Greek, named Hippalus, the commander of an Egyptian East-Indiaman, of the steady course of the monsoon, at fixed periods, in a certain direction. The result of his observation and daring adventure was to reduce a tedious voyage, of two months' duration, within the compass of a few days; mariners thenceforth steering from the mouth of the Red Sea directly across the ocean to Nelcunda (the site of which Dr. Vincent traces in the modern Nelisuram), instead of following the circuitous line of the Arabian and Persian coasts. Here pepper in great abundance, cotton cloths, and exquisitely fine muslins, silk, ivory, spikenard, pearls, diamonds, amethysts, with other precious stones, and tortoiseshell, awaited the arrival of the merchants, and were largely exported, as also from Tyndis and Musiris (Barcelore and Mangalore), and other emporia on the Indian coast, in exchange for gold and silver, (in vessels and specie,) cloth, coral, incense, glass, and a little wine.

The weakness and distraction of the Roman empire checked this profitable traffic, and the rise of Mohammedan power subsequently cut off all direct communication between Europe and India. The Arabians then formed settlements on the eastern coasts of the Deccan, and by their vessels, or by inland caravans, the rich productions of India were sold to the Venetians or Genoese on the shores of the Mediterranean or of the Euxine. These merchant-princes, though characterised by maritime enterprise, were naturally little desirous of prosecuting discoveries calculated to break up their monopoly, and transfer to other hands at least a large proportion of the Indian trade. The leading European states, engrossed by national or internal strife, were slow to recognise the superiority of an extended commerce as a means of even political greatness, over the sanguinary warfare into which whole kingdoms were repeatedly plunged to gratify the ambition or malignity of a few persons—often of a single individual. The short-lived triumphs of the sword only paved the way for new contests, envenomed by bitter recollections; and it followed inevitably, that all peaceful interests—arts and sciences, mechanics, and agriculture—were neglected in the paramount necessity of finding means to meet the heavy drain of blood and treasure so wantonly incurred. The true principle of trade—the greatest good of the greatest number—was quite overlooked: the citizens of a leading emporium forgot, in triumphing over a defeated rival, that they were exulting in the destruction of one of their own markets; and were far from understanding the more remote connexion which, in the absence

of a holier principle of union, binds nation to nation, forming of the whole a body-corporate, through which the blood circulates more or less freely according to the healthy or diseased action of each and every member.

———

PORTUGUESE DISCOVERY AND DOMINION.* —A new epoch commenced for Europe, dating from the time when John I. and Prince Henry—worthy representatives of the royal house of Portugal—struck out for themselves and their country a path to power and renown, by becoming the patrons of maritime discovery. Portugal was then, as now, of limited extent and fertility: her previous history afforded little scope for boastful recollection, either while under the sway of the Romans, as the province of Lusitania, or when, in the middle ages, she lay crushed beneath the iron yoke of the Moors, who, after having overrun nearly the whole Peninsula, erected Portugal into a kingdom, under the name of Algarve. But the fiery furnace of adversity developed marvellously the latent energies of the Portuguese. Religious zeal became the inspiring theme with them, as it had formerly been with their conquerors; and, after astruggle of many hundred years' duration, they, like their Spanish neighbours, succeeded in expelling from their shores the numerous, warlike, and fanatical hordes united under the banner of the crescent.

Acting on the false principle of their late persecutors,—that hostilities against infidels were meritorious in the sight of God,—the Portuguese pursued the Moors into Africa, retaliating by every possible means the long series of outrage and thraldom to which they had been subjected. The peculiar situation of Portugal, and its long range of coast-line, bordered by the yet unmeasured expanse of the Atlantic, favoured maritime enterprise; and the exploration of the shores of western, southern, and eastern Africa was followed by the expedition of Vasco de Gama, who, after crossing the Indian Ocean (by the aid of a Hindoo pilot, obtained at Melinda), succeeded in gaining the Malabar coast, and landed at Calicut in May, 1498.

The general condition of India at this period has been shown in previous pages.† Secander Soor sat on the throne of Delhi: in the Deccan, the Mohammedan rulers were Mohammed II., of the Bahmani dynasty; Yusuf Adil Shah, of Beejapoor; and Ahmed Nizam Shah, of Ahmednuggur. The country visited by the Portuguese had anciently formed the southern division of the kingdom of Kerala;‡ but in the course of the ninth century had revolted from its prince (who had become a Mohammedan), and been formed into many petty Hindoo principalities. Of these, the chief was that now governed by a ruler styled the *zamorin*, or *Tamuri rajah*,§ to whom several lesser rajahs seem to have been feudatory; his capital, called Calicut, had attained wealth and celebrity as a commercial emporium. By this prince the adventurers were well received; and notwithstanding some awkward blunders, occasioned by their ignorance of the language, customs, and religion of the country,|| all went on favourably until their proceedings excited the jealousy of the Mohammedan traders, whom they

* The authorities for the Portuguese proceedings are Lopez de Castanheda; Stevens' translation of Faria y Sousa; and the accounts given in Harris's *Voyages*, the *World displayed; Murray's Discoveries;* and other collections of travels by land and sea, in which Juan de Barros and Osorio are largely quoted.

† Pp. 92 to 106. ‡ Page 41.

§ The origin of the zamorins, or Tamuri rajahs, is discussed by Buchanan (vol. ii., p. 474) and Sousa (vol. ii., p. 225.) In accordance with the custom of the country, the name of the individual then reigning was withheld from the Portuguese; but their interpreter, a Moor of Tunis (long resident at Calicut), described him "as a very good man, and of an honourable disposition." He proved to be a person of majestic presence and advanced age: dressed in fine white calico, adorned with branches and flowers of beaten gold, and rare gems (with which latter his whole person was bedecked), he reclined on cushions of white silk, wrought with gold, under a magnificent canopy. A golden fountain of water stood beside him, and a gold basin filled with betel and areca: the hall of audience was richly carpeted, and hung with tapestry of silk and gold. De Gama found some difficulty from the want of the costly presents with which all diplomatic intercourse in the east begins and ends. The zamorin desired an image of Mary, in gold, of which he had heard: this was refused, on the plea that it was only wood, gilt, but valuable "because it had preserved them at sea"—an answer calculated to confirm the assertion of the Moors, that these Europeans, unlike the natives Christians, were idolaters.

|| The Portuguese, acquainted by the accounts of Marco Polo and other travellers with the existence of a Christian community on this coast, looked for the signs of Christian or rather Romish worship; and, filled with this idea, actually entered a splendid pagoda with lofty pillars of brass, and prostrated themselves before an assemblage of strange and grotesque forms, which they took for the Indian ideal of the Madonna and saints. The strings of beads worn by the priests, the water with which the company were sprinkled, the powdered sandal-wood, and the peal of bells, could not, however, quell the suspicions excited by the numerous arms and singular accompaniments of many of the figures; and one of the Portuguese started to his feet, exclaiming, "If these be devils, it is God I worship."

termed the Moors,* settled in Calicut. These merchants having, through their factors, received intelligence of the contests which had taken place, during the voyage, between Vasco de Gama and the people of Mozambique, Mombas, Melinda, and other places on the coast of Africa, informed the zamorin of the outrages that had been committed on this and previous occasions, urging, with sufficient reason, that people who, on frivolous pretences, fired upon and destroyed towns, carried off the inhabitants as slaves, and scrupled not to extort information by the most barbarous tortures, were more probably pirates than ambassadors,† especially as they came unprovided with any offering from their sovereign. Notwithstanding these representations, the Portuguese were suffered to make an advantageous disposition of their cargo (of scarlet cloth, brass, coral, &c.) at Calicut; but a dispute subsequently arising, the factor and secretary were made prisoners. De Gama dissembled his alarm, and continued to communicate with the Indians as if nothing had occurred, until he had succeeded in entrapping on board his vessel a party, comprising six nairs‡ and fifteen other persons of distinction. He then demanded the release of his officers as their ransom; but when this condition was complied with, forfeited his pledge by retaining possession of several of his captives. Enraged by this dishonourable and insulting conduct, the zamorin dispatched a squadron of boats against the Portuguese, and succeeded in procuring the co-operation of neighbouring powers; so that in a short time every bay, creek, and river was filled with boats, ready, at a given signal, to attack the intruders. Such at least was the intelligence, wrung by tortures of the most cruel and disgusting description, from a spy who came out from Goa. De Gama, by the aid of favourable winds avoided the encounter, steered homewards, and reached the Tagus in August, 1499, after an absence of two years and two months; only fifty-five of the 160|| men who had accompanied him on his perilous enterprise, surviving to share the honours of his triumphant entry into Lisbon; but of these, every individual received rewards, together with the personal commendation of King Emanuel.

An armament, comprising thirteen ships and 1,200 men, was immediately fitted out and dispatched to take advantage of the new discovery. The command was entrusted to Alvarez Cabral, De Gama being excluded on the plea of being spared the hazard, but probably either on account of an opposite interest having begun to prevail at court, or because even his own report of his Indian proceedings may have borne evidence that the beneficial results of the skill and courage which had enabled him to triumph over the perils of unknown seas, were likely to be neutralized by his indiscreet and aggressive conduct on shore. Cabral reached Calicut in September, 1500, having, on his way, discovered the coast of Brazil, and lost four of his ships in the frightful storms encountered in rounding the Cape of Good Hope, Bartholomew Diaz being one of those who perished in the seas he had first laid open to European adventure. The captives carried off by De Gama were restored by Cabral, and their representations of the honourable treatment they had received in Portugal, together with costly presents of vessels of gold and silver of delicate workmanship, and cloths ingeniously wrought, obtained for the admiral a gracious reception, and permission to establish a factory at Calicut. Cabral endeavoured to ingratiate himself still further by intercepting and driving into the harbour or roadstead of Calicut a large vessel, then passing from the neighbouring port of Cochin, laden with a rich cargo, including seven elephants, one of which the zamorin had vainly endeavoured to pur-

* This designation seems frequently applied to Arabian and African Mohammedans, in contradistinction to Moguls and Patans. Sousa speaks of them as "inhabiting from Choul to Cape Comorin."

† Prince Henry's characteristic motto, "Talent de bien faire," was sadly misapplied by the Portuguese commanders, who, almost without exception, treated the natives of newly-discovered territories with such shameless cruelty, that their skill and courage fails to disguise the fact, that they were little else than pirates and robbers on an extensive scale;—worse than all, they were stealers of men; and thereby guilty of a crime which could not and did not fail to bring a curse upon their nation. In vain they strove to strengthen themselves with forts and cannon—spreading the terror of their name over the whole African sea-coast: their power has dwindled away like a snow-ball in the sun; and now only enough remains to bear witness of lost dominion. Five-and-twenty years since, when serving in the navy, I visited the great fortress of Mozambique, where we landed the marines of our frigate to prevent the governor-general (then newly-arrived from Lisbon) being massacred by a horde of savages. At Delagoa, Inhamban, Sofala, and other places, the Portuguese governor and officers were unwilling to venture beyond the reach of the rusty cannon on the walls of their dilapidated forts.

‡ Military class of Malabar, of the Soodra cast.

|| According to Sousa. Castanheda says, 108.

chase; but this unscrupulous use of power gave alarm rather than satisfaction, and added weight to the arguments of the Moors, regarding the danger of encouraging such officious interlopers. The result was, that the Portuguese, unable to effect any purchases from the native merchants, in their impatience construed a hasty expression, dropped by the zamorin when wearied by their solicitations and complaints, into permission to seize a Moorish cargo of rich spices, on condition of the payment of an equitable price. This outrage provoked the resentment of both the Moors and the Hindoo inhabitants of Calicut. The newly-erected factory was broken open, and out of its seventy occupants, fifty-one were killed, the remainder escaping only by leaping into the sea, and swimming to their boats. Cabral retaliated by the capture and destruction of ten Moorish ships, seizing the cargoes, and detaining the crews as prisoners. Then, bringing his squadron as close as possible to the shore, he opened a furious discharge of artillery upon the city, and having set it on fire in several places, sailed southward to Cochin, whose ruler, having rebelled against the zamorin, gladly embraced the offer of foreign commerce and alliance. Here an abundant supply of pepper, the commodity chiefly desired by the Europeans, was obtained, and Cabral returned to Lisbon, taking the opportunity of a favourable wind to avoid a fleet of sixty sail, sent against him from Calicut. It was now manifest that the aggressive policy of the Portuguese could succeed only if powerfully supported; and Emanuel being desirous, in the words of Faria y Sousa, "to carry out what the apostle St. Thomas had begun," during his alleged visit to India, resolved, at all hazards, to avail himself of the papal grant to Portugal of all the eastern regions discovered by her fleets, and tenanted by infidels. He assembled a larger armament than had yet been sent into the eastern seas, and assuming the title of "Lord of the navigation, conquest, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India," dispatched Vasco de Gama to enforce his authority. The conduct of the envoy was marked by the most savage cruelty. On the coast of Arabia he met and captured a large Moorish ship, seized its stores, shut up the crew in the hold, and set it on fire. Appearing before Calicut, he collected fifty Indians from several captured vessels, and in consequence of some delay which occurred during a negotiation, opened by his demand of compensation for the destruction of the factory and its occupants, he took up an hour-glass, and declared, that unless the matter were settled before the sand had passed through, the prisoners should all be massacred. This savage threat he fulfilled to the letter, flinging on shore the heads, hands, and feet of the wretched victims: after pouring a destructive fire on the city, he proceeded to Cochin and Cananore, cemented the Portuguese alliance with the rulers of these territories, and then returned to Lisbon, leaving a squadron of five vessels under his uncle, Vincente Sodre, to blockade the Red Sea, exclude the hostile Moors from any communication with the coast of Malabar, and do what he could to protect the allies of Portugal against the anger of their liege lord, the zamorin. Instead of following these injunctions, Sodre engaged in piratical pursuits, and at length perished in a violent storm. Triumpara, rajah of Cochin, was left to make his own defence, and being driven from his capital, took refuge in the isle of Vaipeen, whose natural strength and sacred character would probably not have sufficed to ensure him a safe asylum but for the succour that arrived from Portugal, one detachment being sent under the afterwards famous Alphonso Albuquerque, another under his brother Francisco, and a third under Antonio Saldanha. With their assistance, Triumpara was replaced on his throne, and peace concluded with Calicut, but soon broken by the outrageous conduct of the Portuguese. The Albuquerques, after endeavouring to intimidate the zamorin into a renewal of the violated treaty, set sail for Europe,* leaving Duarte Pacheco with four vessels and a few hundred men to assist in guarding their ally, the rajah of Cochin.

The struggle that ensued afforded the first notable instance of the superiority of a small force, strengthened by European strategy and discipline, over an unwieldly Indian host, and may be said to have laid the foundation of Portuguese power in India. Pacheco was skilful and resolute: Triumpara confided to him the sole direction of the defence to be made against the advancing naval and military armament of the zamorin; and the well-directed fire of his little squadron enabled him to obtain a complete triumph, which was greatly facilitated

* Alphonso reached Europe safely. Francisco, with the ships under his command, is supposed to have perished in a storm near Melinda, in Africa.

by a destructive sickness that broke out among the enemy, and compelled their retreat to Calicut.* Pacheco was, perhaps, the ablest as well as the most humane and disinterested of the commanders of his nation in India; for no other, not even Albuquerque, obtained such uniform success with such inadequate means. It would have been good policy to have left him in the position he had so well filled; instead of which, he was superseded by Lope Soarez. On returning to Portugal, he was treated by Emanuel with well-merited distinction; and his disregard of his own interests, and zeal for the public service, were rewarded by the appointment of governor of El Mina, the chief settlement on the African coast; but a violent faction being there raised against him, he was sent home in chains, imprisoned for years, and although at length honourably acquitted, suffered to die in poverty and neglect.

In 1505, Francisco de Almeida arrived off Malabar, attended by a powerful fleet, and dignified with the new and pompous title of viceroy of India. A more formidable opposition than any heretofore encountered now awaited the Portuguese, in the combination formed against them by Mahmood Begarra, of Guzerat, with the Mameluk sultan of Cairo, and the angry and disappointed Venetians. The sultan, incensed by the diminution of his revenues, by the shameful piracies committed on his vessels, and by the barbarous massacre of pilgrims on their way to Mecca (whose cause every zealous Mohammedan identifies with his own), equipped twelve large ships in the Red Sea,† and placed them under an officer named Meer Hocem, with orders for the extirpation of the infidel invaders from the whole face of the eastern seas. Malek Eiaz, the viceroy of Diu, was sent by Mahmood to join the Mameluks, with an assemblage of vessels, inferior in size, but greater in number; and the combined force fell upon the Portuguese squadron anchored off Choul with such effect, that the young commander, Lorenzo, the only son of Almeida, seeing no prospect of successful resistance, and his chief officers, like himself, being wounded, resolved to take advantage of a favourable tide and proceed out to sea. The movement was commenced at midnight, and went on favourably until the ship in which Lorenzo sailed ran foul of some fishing stakes. The enemy having discovered the manœuvre, pressed on in pursuit, while ineffectual attempts were made to free the intercepted vessel. Lorenzo was entreated to enter a boat and escape to the fleet; but he refused to forsake his companions, and drawing them up in fighting order, resolved to hold out, if possible, until the advancing tide should float them out to sea. Hostile ships, bristling with cannon, bore down on the devoted band, and destroyed their last hope by opening upon them a tremendous fire. A ball in the thigh incapacitated Lorenzo for movement; but he caused himself to be lashed to the mast, whence he continued to direct and cheer his men till another shot struck him on the breast, and terminated at once his struggles and his life.‡ The crew, though reduced from one hundred to twenty men, and all wounded, were still disposed to resist the boarding of their vessel; but Malek Eiaz, by gentleness and promises of good treatment, prevailed on them to surrender; and by his after-conduct, amply redeemed his pledge. In truth, Eiaz appears to be almost the only Mohammedan commander of his age and country, who in any degree inherited the chivalry which romance and even history have associated with Saracen leaders in the time of the Crusades. He addressed Almeida in terms of the most delicate condolence, expressing earnest admiration of the valour of his lost son; but the veteran sternly replied, that he considered excellence more to be desired than long life, and saw no cause for lamentation in the glorious death of one who was doubtless now enjoying the reward of his good conduct. This semblance of resignation imposed no restraint upon the burning impatience with which he prepared for vengeance. When about to depart at the head of a fleet of nineteen ships, an unexpected event deranged his plans, and inflicted a blow which he bore with far less dignity than he had done his late bereavement. This was nothing less than his recall and supercession

* Both Moors and Hindoos were provided with cannon before the arrival of the Portuguese, though they do not appear to have been skilful in its use.

† The Venetians sent the timber from the forests of Dalmatia, by way of Alexandria and the Nile. Venetian carpenters built the fleet, which was strongly manned with choice Turkish soldiers.

‡ Sousa says, his countrymen lost 140 men in this engagement, and the enemy 600. Unfortunately, we cannot check the Portuguese accounts by those of their foes, because the Mohammedan historians of the Deccan have rarely thought fit to narrate their contests with these "foreign idolaters," whom they affected to treat with contemptuous indifference.

by Alphonso Albuquerque, who arrived in 1506, bearing a commission as governor-general of India.* Almeida positively refused to resign his command until he should have avenged his son's death by the destruction of the hostile fleet. Being supported in his disobedience to the royal mandate by several leading officers, he refused to allow Albuquerque even to take part in the intended expedition, and sailed off to attack Dabul, a leading emporium, which had zealously embraced the Egyptian cause. The troops disembarked at Diu, notwithstanding the discharge of powerful batteries; for these, having rather a high range, passed over the soldiers heads as they landed in boats, without inflicting any injury. Once on shore, a deadly conflict commenced with the bodies of armed citizens who blocked up the narrow passages to the town: these were at length overpowered; and by the orders of the merciless victor, an indiscriminate slaughter ensued. The streets streamed with blood, and the distracted multitudes fled to the caves of the neighbouring mountains, finding that even buildings consecrated to the service of the One Universal Lord afforded no refuge from the lust and fury of the savage men who dared to cast dishonour on the great name of the Redeemer, by styling themselves disciples and propagators of a faith whose very essence is peace and love. This disgraceful scene had a suitable conclusion; for Almeida, unable to withdraw his troops from their horrible employment, resorted to a violent method of restoring some degree of discipline, by causing the town to be set on fire. The flames extended rapidly over the light timber roofs, and after reducing the stately city to a pile of smoking wood and ashes, reached the harbour. The native shipping was destroyed; the Portuguese vessels with difficulty escaped, and proceeded to the Gulf of Cambay. Here Almeida attacked the combined fleet, and gained a great but costly victory. The Mameluk portion was completely destroyed, and Malek Eiaz compelled to sue for peace. Almeida stipulated for the surrender of Meer Hocem; but Eiaz indignantly refused to betray his ally, and would offer no further concession as the price of peace than the freedom of all European captives. Having no power of enforcing other terms, Almeida was compelled to accept these; but unsoftened by the kindness which the surviving companions of his son had received from their brave captor, the Portuguese admiral filled the measure of his barbarities by causing his prisoners to be shut up in the prize vessels and burnt with them. "Many," says Faria y Sousa, "judged the unhappy end of the viceroy and other gentlemen to be a just punishment of that crime." If so, it was not long delayed. On the return of Almeida to Cochin, a contest seemed about to commence with Albuquerque for the possession of the supreme authority. At this crisis, Ferdinand Coutinho, a nobleman of high character, arrived in command of fifteen ships and a large body of troops, having been opportunely dispatched by Emanuel, with powers to act in the very probable conjuncture which had actually arisen. By his mediation, Almeida was induced to resign the viceroyalty, and set sail for his native country, which he never lived to reach,—he, who had brought so many to an untimely end, himself suffering a violent death at the hands of some Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope, of whose cattle the Portuguese had attempted to take forcible possession.†

Albuquerque was now left to carry out unchecked his ambitious schemes. He commenced by the assault of Calicut (January, 1510), in conjunction with Coutinho, who, being about to return to Portugal, vehemently urged his claim to be allowed to take the lead on this occasion. As the city could only be approached through narrow avenues, amidst thick woods, in which the whole army had not room to act, it was arranged that the two commanders should advance, at day-break on the following morning, in separate divisions. That of Albuquerque took the lead, and obtained possession of a fortified palace (previously fixed upon as the first object of assault) before the rival party reached the spot. Coutinho, greatly annoyed at being thus anticipated, reproached Albuquerque with a breach of faith, and declaring that he would not be again forestalled, made his way through the streets of Calicut to the chief palace, which lay on the other side of the city, and formed a little town, enclosed by a wall. Being the only regular fortification in the place, it was defended by the main strength of the army; but Coutinho succeeded in forcing open the gates, and acquired possession of the whole enclosure. Flushed with victory, he gave his men full

* The office of viceroy and governor-general was the same, though the title differed.

† Vide *British Possessions in Africa*, vol. iii., p. 4.

license to plunder, and withdrew, to seek rest and refreshment in the state apartments. This over-confidence afforded the Hindoos time to recover from their consternation; and a cry, uttered by one of the chief nairs, passed from mouth to mouth, to the distance of several miles, until 30,000 armed men had assembled, and in turn, surprised the invaders. Albuquerque, who occupied the city, vainly strove to maintain the communication with the fleet: he was hemmed in with his troops in the narrow lanes and avenues, and exposed to a continued shower of arrows and stones, one of which felled him to the ground. The soldiers set fire to the adjacent buildings, and escaped to the ships, bearing away their commander in a state of unconsciousness. Coutinho was less fortunate. When, after neglecting repeated warnings, at last roused by the clash of arms to the actual state of the case, he sprang to the head of his troops, and fought with the fury of desperation, striving not to retain possession of the place—for that was manifestly impossible—but only to cut a path to the shore. In this the majority of the common soldiers succeeded; but Coutinho, with Vasco Sylviera, and other nobles of distinction, were left dead on the field. Out of 1,600 Portuguese (according to De Barros), eighty were killed, and 300 wounded. This disastrous commencement, so far from checking, only served to increase the desire of Albuquerque for territorial dominion, in opposition to the policy previously pursued by Almeida, who had considered that factories, guarded by a powerful fleet, would better suit the purposes of commerce, and be less likely to excite enmity.

Disappointed in the hope of gaining possession of the capital of the zamorin, he looked round for some other city which might form the nucleus of a new empire; for as yet, notwithstanding their high-sounding titles, the Portuguese had but a precarious tenure, even of the land on which their few forts and factories were erected. A useful, though not creditable ally, Timojee, a Hindoo pirate, directed his attention to Goa, then comprehended in the kingdom of Beejapoor. The city was taken by surprise in the early part of 1510; re-captured a few months later by Yusuf Adil Shah, in person; and finally conquered by Albuquerque, at the close of the same year. The contest was prolonged and sanguinary; and the after-slaughter must have been terrific,—since, according to Sousa, "not one Moor was left alive in the island."* The Hindoos were treated very differently; for Albuquerque, with a politic view to the consolidation of his newly-acquired power, confirmed them in their possessions, and promoted the intermarriage of their women with the Portuguese by handsome dowries, at the same time proving his confidence in his new subjects, by employing them in both civil and military capacities. A large quantity of cannon and military stores were captured in Goa, and probably assisted in furnishing the fortifications raised by him in that city; and also in fitting out an armament, comprising 800 Portuguese and 600 Indians, with which Albuquerque proceeded to attack Malacca. This kingdom was then of great importance, being what Singapore is now—namely, the chief mart of the commerce carried on between Hindoostan, China, and the eastern islands. The inhabitants made a vigorous resistance with cannon and floats of wild-fire, and defended their streets by mining with gunpowder; but they were overpowered by the Portuguese, who gained complete possession of the city, and immediately began to erect a strong fort from the ruins of the shattered palaces, and take other measures for the permanent establishment of their supremacy. Negotiations were opened with Siam, Java, and Sumatra; and friendly embassies are even asserted to have been dispatched from these countries in return. The restless sword of Albuquerque next found employment in the defence of Goa, where tranquillity was no sooner restored, than he resumed his plans of distant conquest; and after two unsuccessful attempts upon Aden, assembled 1,500 European and 600 Asiatic troops, in pursuit of the darling object of his ambition—the conquest of Ormuz, the famous emporium of the Persian Gulf. This he appears to have accomplished with little difficulty, by working upon the fears and weakness of the sovereign, who felt quite incapable of combating a formidable force, led by a commander whose ability was more than equalled by his ruthless severity;† and Ormuz, notwithstanding the counter-

* *Portuguese Asia*, vol. i., p. 172.

† After making large allowance for the barbarities common to his age and nation, Albuquerque seems to have been more than usually cruel in his punishments. Among many instances, may be cited that of his sending Portuguese renegades back to their country with their ears, noses, right-hands, and thumbs of the left hand cut off. His passions were

intrigues of the Persian ambassador, fell an easy prize into the hands of the Portuguese. Albuquerque, delighted with his success, prepared to return to Goa, there to superintend the consolidation of the dominion he had gained, and at the same time recruit his own strength, after toils calculated to increase the burden of advancing years. These anticipations were suddenly dashed to the ground by tidings which reached him while sailing along the coast of Cambay. He who had superseded Almeida, was now himself to be ignominiously displaced by a new governor—Lope Soarez, who, to make the blow more galling, was his personal and bitter foe. There was no letter, nor any mark of respect or sympathy from the king, and no reason assigned for his removal; probably none existed beyond the malice of his foes, in suggesting that the powerful viceroy might not long continue a subject. New officers were nominated to the chief vessels and forts, selected from the party known to be hostile to his interests; and even men whom he had sent home prisoners for heinous crimes, returned with high appointments. The adherents of Albuquerque rallied round him, and strove to induce him to follow the example of many Asiatic governors, by asserting his independence; but he rejected the temptation, declaring that the only course now left him consistent with his honour, which through life had been his first care, was to die. Then giving way to profound melancholy, and refusing food or medicine, he soon found the death he ardently desired, expiring upon the bar of Goa (which he had called his land of promise) in December, 1515, in the sixty-third year of his age. While writhing under the torment of a wounded spirit, he was prevailed upon to address a few proud and pathetic lines of farewell to his sovereign, commending to his favour the son whom he had left in Portugal. "As for the affairs of India," he added, "they will speak for themselves and me." This was no empty boast; for in five years, Albuquerque had raised the maritime power of his nation in the East, to a point which, in spite of many changes and conflicts, it never far surpassed. The prize thus acquired was little less than the monopoly of commerce between Europe and India, which was maintained for upwards of a century. Faria y Sousa, indeed, boasts that the empire of his countrymen stretched from the Cape of Good Hope to the frontier of China, and comprehended a coast 12,000 miles in extent; but this simply signifies, that upon this immense sea-line, they alone, of the nations of Europe, had established factories. Of these there were, in all, about thirty—in some cases 1,000 miles apart; and of the surrounding country they rarely possessed anything beyond that which their walls encircled. In India, Goa was the great seat of their influence: they there obtained possession of an area, extending, at a subsequent period, over above 1,000 square miles. The town of Cochin may be said to have been under their control, and probably also that of Cananore; but both these small states continued to retain their native rajahs. Peace had been concluded with Calicut in 1513, and a fortified factory erected there: they possibly, also, established a few insignificant trading depôts on other parts of the coast. Had the management of affairs continued to be entrusted to such men as Albuquerque, it is probable that the struggle, already commenced with the Mohammedans by the seizure of Goa, would have continued until the Portuguese had really acquired extensive territorial sovereignty; but as it was, the high-sounding title of the viceroy or governor-general of India, was quite inconsistent with his actual position as ruler of a few scattered settlements, held at all times on a very precarious tenure.

Lope Soarez, the new governor, presented a strong contrast to his predecessor. Albuquerque was a man of middle stature, with a long white beard, which, for a characteristic reason, had been suffered to grow until it reached his girdle, where he wore it knotted.* When not clouded by fierce and too frequent paroxysms of passion, his countenance was pleasing, and his manner

unrestrained, after his nephew, Antonio de Noronha, was slain in action; this youth having, according to Faria y Sousa, exercised a very salutary influence over his temper through his affections.

* When on his way to supersede Almeida, he attacked Ormuz, and there committed great cruelties, such as cutting off the hands, ears, and noses of persons carrying provisions into the city. Being compelled to raise the siege by the valour of Khojeh Atar, the governor or regent for the young king, the enraged Albuquerque swore, that his beard should never be cut, until he should sit, for that purpose, on the back of his adversary. The opportunity never appears to have arrived (for the name of Khojeh Atar is not even mentioned in the account of the eventual seizure of Goa); and Albuquerque carried to his grave a mortifying memorial of the folly of rash vows.—(*Faria y Sousa*, vol. i., p. 178.)

frank and courteous: to the native princes especially he maintained a respectful demeanour, which rendered him popular even with those who had little real cause for regarding him with a friendly eye. Soarez, according to Faria y Sousa, "was a comely man, with very red hair," and a haughty and repulsive bearing. His covetous and grasping conduct set an example which was speedily followed; and the whole body of the military began to trade, or rather plunder, each one on his own account, with an utter disregard for the public service. The main-spring of the mischief was in Portugal, where, instead of selecting men of tried ability and rectitude, birth or patronage became the first requisite for an office, in which the formula of installation required from the successful candidate a solemn asseveration, that he had made no interest to procure that employment. "How needless the question!" exclaims Faria y Sousa, "how false the oath!" Even if a good governor were appointed by a happy accident, or in a moment of urgent necessity, he could hope to effect little permanent reform; for in the event of his sending home officers charged with the most outrageous offences, they, if men of wealth, however acquired, were sure of a favourable hearing at court, and their representations would probably succeed even in procuring the downfall of their more righteous accuser.

It is quite unnecessary to follow in detail the hostilities in which the Portuguese became involved with the natives of every place where they had established themselves, being, in some cases, completely expelled; in others, barely tolerated: thus fulfilling the prophecy of one of the despised Hindoos,—that "whatever they gained as courageous soldiers, they would lose as covetous merchants;"* and it might with truth have been added, as persecuting bigots: for the injunctions given to the eight Franciscan friars attached to Cabral's expedition, to "carry fire and the sword into every country which should refuse to listen to their preaching,"† were not neglected by their successors.

The administration of Soarez, though generally disastrous,‡ was distinguished by the erection of a fort and factory in the territory of the king of Columbo, in Ceylon (A.D. 1517), from whom, though he had from the first traded amicably with them, the Portuguese now exacted a yearly tribute of 1,200 quintals of cinnamon, twelve rings of rubies and sapphires, and six elephants. It is probable this payment could not be enforced, as the fort itself was abandoned, in 1524, as not worth the keeping, by Vasco de Gama, who was sent out as viceroy in that year. His tenure of office lasted but three months, being terminated by death on Christmas Eve. Sousa describes De Gama as a man of "middle size, somewhat gross, and of a ruddy complexion;" of a dauntless disposition; capable of enduring extraordinary fatigue; prompt and resolute in the execution of justice. Even during his mortal sickness the veteran discoverer zealously exerted himself to put down piracy by sea and peculation by land, preparatory to the execution of greater designs; but the temporary check given to long-permitted malpractices was soon over-stepped; and the dissensions arising from the unbridled lust and avarice of the Portuguese reached such a height, that had the natives combined together against them, their total expulsion would seem to have been very practicable. The zamorin succeeded in driving them from Calicut, which they quitted after performing the humiliating task of destroying their own fortifications.

Nuno da Cunha was sent out in 1529. He was then forty-two years of age, tall, and well-proportioned, with a fair complexion and black beard, but disfigured by the loss of an eye. His reputation for justice and moderation, though probably deserved, so far as his countrymen were concerned, ill accords with the character of his foreign policy; for during his administration a series of unprovoked outrages of the most disgraceful character were committed on the territories of neighbouring rulers. The coast of Guzerat was ravaged in 1530; towns and villages, including Surat,§ Damaun, and others of note, were plundered and burned; the adjacent land bereft of every semblance of cultivation; and the wretched inhabitants carried off as slaves.||

* Sousa adds, "Who was most barbarous—he that said this, or they who did what he said?"

† *De Barros* and *Faria y Sousa*, vol. i. p. 53.

‡ The wrath excited by the piratical seizure of two ships, caused the expulsion of the Portuguese from Bengal, where they wished to establish factories.

§ Surat (according to Sousa), when attacked in 1530, contained "ten thousand families, mostly handicrafts, and all of no courage:" it was taken almost without resistance, "and nothing left in it that had life, or was of value. Then the city, and some ships that lay in the arsenal, were burnt."

|| The result of a single incursion on the coast of Diu was "the obtainment of 4,000 slaves and an

In the two following years an expedition was carried out, which, though unsuccessful in its main object—the taking of Diu—resulted in the capture of the strong island of Beth, seven leagues distant: the whole of the towns on the Maharashtra coast, from Chicklee Tarapoor to Bassein, were burned, and contributions levied from Tanna and Bombay. The contest between Bahadur Shah and the Moguls, drove the former into a compromise with his European foes, whose assistance against the emperor, Humayun, he purchased by granting the long-desired permission to build a fort at Diu,* and by the cession of Bassein in perpetuity, with authority to levy duties on the trade with the Red Sea. The circumstances connected with the assassination of Bahadur by the Portuguese have been already repeatedly mentioned.† The immediate consequence was their occupation of Diu, where they obtained some treasure and an extraordinary amount of cannon and military stores.

In September, 1538, a determined attempt to recover Diu was made by a force levied in Guzerat, through the exertions of a Moorish chief, named Khojeh Zofar, and supported by a squadron dispatched by the Grand Seignior, under the command of Solyman Pasha, the governor of Cairo. The small and sickly garrison of the fort defended themselves with desperate valour; and the women, incited by the enthusiasm of Donna Isabella de Vega (the wife of the governor), and others, bore their part in the danger and fatigue, by taking upon themselves the task of repairing the works shattered by the incessant fire of the batteries. Attempts to carry the fortress by storm were continued during two months, and the besieged were well nigh exhausted, only forty men remaining fit for duty, when, to their joyful surprise, want of union in the camp of the enemy, added probably to ignorance of the straits to which they were reduced, led Solyman to abandon the enterprise on the very eve of success. During his way to Egypt he committed great cruelties on the Portuguese whom he found at different Arabian ports, putting 140 of them to death, and causing their heads, ears, and noses to be salted, and so preserved for the gratification of the Grand Turk. This at least is the story told by Sousa, who departs from his usual moderation in describing this formidable foe to his nation, representing him as ill-favoured, short and corpulent —"more like a beast than a man." Although eighty years of age, and unable to rise without the assistance of four servants, he obtained the command of the recent expedition, by reason of the enormous wealth gathered by oppression, which enabled him to furnish the shipping at his own cost. At length a career of crime was terminated by suicide, committed in a paroxysm of envy and wounded pride.

The reason of succour not having been dispatched from Goa to Diu, was the unsettled state of affairs occasioned by the recall of Nuno da Cunha, whose ten years' administration was brought to a close as abrupt and humiliating as that of Albuquerque. His aggressive policy is quite unjustifiable; but as King John III. was little disposed to be critical on that account, the perfect disinterestedness and energy of the governor had merited honour rather than disgrace.

Like many other of the world's great men, who have thought to serve their country at the expense of duty to God and the common rights of mankind, Nuno discovered his error too late: he fell sick, and died on the voyage to Portugal, the body being committed to the deep, in compliance with the command of the disappointed statesman, that his ungrateful country should not have his bones.

The next memorable epoch in Indo-Portuguese annals, is formed by the administration of Martin Alonzo de Sousa, which commenced in 1542, and lasted about three years, during which brief period, his fierce, bigotted, and grasping conduct completely neutralised the beneficial effect of the efforts of his immediate predecessor, Stephen de Gama.‡ War again commenced with the neighbouring rulers: cities were destroyed,

infinite booty." The fleet, as reviewed in 1531, consisted of "above four hundred sail, many large, more indifferent, and the greatest number small; several of them were only sutlers, fitted out by the natives for private gain," and manned by 3,600 soldiers, 1,450 Portuguese seamen, 2,000 Malabars and Canarese, 8,000 slaves, and 5 000 seamen.—(*Sousa*, vol. i. p. 347.) Nuno is also described as employing as sailors "1,000 Lascarines of the country."

* Sousa relates a feat, performed on this occasion by a Portuguese, named Botello, who, hoping to regain the favour of King John by being the first to communicate the welcome news, set out from India with five Europeans and some slaves, in a barque, 16 feet long, 9 broad, and 4½ deep. The slaves mutinied, and were all slain; the Europeans held on their course without sailors or pilot, and after enduring great hardships, arrived at Lisbon.

† *Vide* preceding section, pp. 85—103.

‡ The son of Vasco held sway during two years. In evidence of his disinterestedness, it is said that he left India 40,000 crowns poorer than he entered it.

together with every living thing they contained;* temples were despoiled, and cruelty and corruption reigned undisguised. François Zavier, one of the earliest Jesuits, had come to India with De Sousa. He exerted himself strenuously in representing the impolicy of the course pursued, which, if not checked, threatened to cause the downfall of Portuguese power throughout Asia; but his arguments appear to have been unheeded. The king of Guzerat, forced into a renewal of hostilities, co-operated with his old ally Khojeh Zofar, who again besieged the fort of Diu, A.D. 1545. The blockade lasted eight months, and was carried on after the death of Khojeh Zofar (whose head and hand were carried away by a cannon-ball) by his son, entitled Rumi Khan. Provisions became so scarce, that nauseous vermin were used for food; while "a crow taken upon the dead bodies was a dainty for the sick, and sold for five crowns." The ammunition was almost spent, and the soldiers exhausted with fatigue. The women displayed the same determination as on a previous occasion, and the fort was maintained until the new governor, Don Juan de Castro, arrived to its relief. On his way he captured several ships in the vicinity of Damaun, and "cutting the Moors that were in them in pieces, threw them into the mouths of the rivers, that the tide carrying them up, they might strike a terror in all that coast." Ansote and other towns were destroyed, and "the finest women of the Brahmins and Banians slaughtered." In fact, these butchers spared neither youth nor beauty, age nor infirmity; the sanctity of cast, nor the innocence of childhood. After raising the siege of the fort, the city of Diu became the scene of a fierce conflict, in which, when the Portuguese wavered, the favourite expedient was resorted to of holding up a crucifix as an incitement to renewed exertion. The sword was a favourite means of conversion with Romish missionaries; priestly robes and warlike weapons were quite compatible; and, on the present occasion, one Fra Antonio played a leading part. The result is best told in the words of the historian above quoted, and may serve to illustrate the manner in which hostilities were conducted by his countrymen, under the personal leadership of a governor whose administration is generally considered one of peculiar prosperity and honour. An arm of the desecrated symbol was shattered in the contest, upon which "the priest, calling upon the men to revenge that sacrilege, they fell on with such fury, that having done incredible execution, they drove the enemy to the city, who still gave way, facing us. The first that entered the city with them was Don Juan, then Don Alvaro and Don Emanuel de Lima, and the governor, all several ways, making the streets and houses run with blood. The women escaped not the fate of the men, and children were slain at their mothers' breasts, one stroke taking away two lives. The first part of the booty was precious stones, pearls, gold and silver; other things, though of value, were slighted as cumbersome. * * * Of the Portuguese, 100 were killed; others say only thirty-four: of the enemy, 5,000 [including Rumi Khan and others of note.] Free plunder was allowed. * * * There were taken many colours, forty pieces of cannon of an extraordinary bigness, which, with the lesser, made up 200, and a vast quantity of ammunition."†

After this "glorious victory," thirty ships were sent to devastate the Cambay coast: the people fled in alarm from the burning towns and villages, and took refuge in the mountain caves. The inhabitants of a city, called Goga, while sleeping in imagined security, a league distant from their ruined homes, were surprised at night, and all put to the sword. The cattle in the fields were either killed or ham-strung. In the various vessels captured along the coast of Baroach, the same system of general massacre was carried out; and the groves of palm-trees, which afford, in many places, the sole article of subsistence, were systematically destroyed.

The governor returned in triumph to Goa, crowned with laurel, preceded by Fra Antonio and his crucifix, and followed by 600 prisoners in chains, the royal standard of Cambay sweeping the ground. The streets were hung and carpeted with silk, scattered over with gold and silver leaves. The ladies threw flowers at the feet of the conqueror, and sprinkled sweet-scented waters as he passed their windows. This ovation, whether designed to gratify individual vanity,

* The rani, or queen of a small raj or kingdom, situated on the Canarese coast, having refused to pay tribute to the Portuguese, was punished by the destruction of her capital, Batecala. "The city," says Faria y Sousa, "ran with the blood of all living creatures before it was burnt; then the country was laid waste, and all the woods cut down."—(Vol ii., p. 74.) Other small Hindoo states are mentioned by Sousa as personally defended by female sovereigns.

† *Faria y Sousa*, vol. ii., pp. 110 to 113.

or with the idea of making an impression on the natives, was rendered the more unseemly by the fact, that Don Fernando, the son of the governor, had perished during the siege of Diu. The sway of De Castro lasted only from 1545 to 1548. Notwithstanding his sanguinary proceedings, he appears to have been solicitous for the interests of commerce, and perfectly disinterested; for, instead of having amassed wealth, like many other governors of equally short standing, he was so poor, that in his last illness provision was made for him out of the public revenue.* The cause of his death, at forty-seven years of age, is said by Faria y Sousa to have been "grief for the miserable estate to which India was reduced"—a statement reconcilable with other accounts of this period, only by supposing that amid seeming prosperity, De Castro foresaw the end of an oppressive and corrupt system.

The invasion of Sinde, in 1556, under the administration of Francisco Barreto, is alleged to have been provoked by the fickleness of its ruler, who first solicited and then refused Portuguese co-operation, thus affording a pretext for his intended auxiliaries to pillage his capital (Tatta), kill 8,000 persons, and destroy by fire "to the value of above two millions of gold," after loading their vessels with one of the richest booties they had ever taken in India. Eight days were spent in ravaging the country on both sides of the Indus, after which the fleet returned, having, it would appear, scarcely lost a man. The next exploit was the burning of Dabul and the neighbouring villages, in revenge for the hostility of the king of Beejapoor.

Religious persecution, which seems to have slumbered for a time, awoke with renewed ferocity, and was directed rather against what the Romish priests chose to call heresy, than absolute paganism. An account of the alleged mission of St. Thomas the apostle, and of the Christian church spoken of by Cosmas,† in the sixth century, properly belongs to the section on the religious condition of India. In this place it is sufficient to say, that both on the Malabar coast and in the kingdom of Ethiopia—including the state whose ruler attained such extraordinary celebrity under the name of Prester John—the Portuguese found Christian communities who steadily refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope; rejected the use of images, together with all dogmas regarding transubstantiation, extreme unction, celibacy of priests, &c., and asked for blessings, whether temporal or eternal, only in the name of the one mediator, Jesus Christ. These "ancient Christians," says Sousa, "disturbed such as were converted from paganism" by Zavier and his fellow-labourers: the Jews also proved a stumbling-block. In 1544, Jerome Diaz, a Portuguese physician of Jewish extraction, was burnt for heresy; and probably many others of less note shared his fate. In 1560, the first archbishop of Goa was sent from Lisbon, accompanied by the first inquisitors, for the suppression of Jews and heretics. Throughout the existence of this horrible tribunal, crimes of the most fearful character were perpetrated; and in the minds alike of the denounced schismatics and of pagans, a deep loathing was excited against their persecutors. The overthrow of the Hindoo kingdom of Beejanuggur, in 1564, by the combined efforts of the four Mohammedan Deccani states, left these latter at liberty to turn their attention more fully towards their European foes; and in 1571, a league was formed against the Portuguese by the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur. The zamorin of Calicut likewise joined them; but from some distrust in his own mind, long withheld his personal co-operation. Ali Adil Shah besieged Goa, sustained great loss, and after ten months was compelled to withdraw without having accomplished anything. Mortezza Nizam Shah sustained a mortifying defeat at Choul, and was glad to make peace with the triumphant Portuguese. The zamorin, though last in the field, had the best success, obtaining the surrender of the fort Chale (a few miles from Calicut) from Don George de Castro, who, although eighty years of age, was beheaded at Goa by orders from Portugal, on the ground of having surrendered his charge without sufficient reason.

A change was made in 1571 in the duties of the governor, by the division of authority over Portuguese affairs in Asia into three parts: the first, that of *India*, being made to comprise their possessions situated between Cape Guardafui and Ceylon;‡ the

* He died in the arms of François Zavier. "In his private cabinet was found a bloody discipline (? a scourge) and three royals, which was all his treasure."—(*Faria y Sousa*, vol. ii., p. 129.)

† Surnamed *Indicopleustes*, or the Indian voyager.

‡ The proceedings of the Portuguese in Ceylon are purposely omitted here: they will be narrated in the history of that island.

second, styled *Monomotapa*, extending from Cape Corrientes to Guardafui; the third, or *Malacca*, from Pegu to China. The sway of Portugal was now, however, nearly ended; she had misused the trust committed to her care, and was punished by the suspension of her independence, after maintaining it 500 years. King Sebastian fell in Africa, in 1578, and about two years later, Philip II. of Spain procured the reannexation of Portugal, to which he laid claim in right of his mother, Isabella. In India, the change was only from bad to worse: the furnace of persecution was heated seven times hotter than before. The Syrian Christians of Malabar were cruelly persecuted, their bishop seized and sent to Lisbon, and their churches pillaged; their books, including ancient copies of the Scriptures, burned, while Archbishop Menezes marched, singing a hymn, round the flames (1599.) The Inquisition increased in power; and, perhaps, among all the impious and hateful sacrifices offered up by men given over to dark delusions, never yet did idolatrous pagan, or professed devil-worshipper, pollute this fair earth by any crime of so deep a dye as the hideous *Auto da Fé*, usually celebrated on the first Sundays in Advent.* Dellon, a French physician, who languished two years in the dungeons of Goa, has given a life-like picture of the horrible ceremonials of which he was an eye-witness; and describes his "extreme joy" at learning that his sentence was not to be burnt, but to be a galley-slave for five years.† He speaks of himself as having heard every morning, for many weeks, the shrieks of unfortunate victims undergoing the *question*; and he judged that the number of prisoners must be very large, because the profound silence which reigned within the walls of the building, enabled him to count the number of doors opened at the hours of meals. At the appointed time, the captives were assembled by their black-robed jailors, and clothed in the *san benito*, a garb of yellow cloth, with the cross of St. Andrew before and behind. The relapsed heretics were dressed in the *samarra*, a grey robe, with the portrait of the doomed wearer painted upon it, surrounded by burning torches, flames, and demons; and on their heads were placed sugar-loaf-shaped caps, called *carrochas*, on which devils and flames were also depicted. The bell of the cathedral began to ring a little before sunrise, and the gloomy procession commenced—men and women indiscriminately mixed, walking with bleeding feet over the sharp stones, and eagerly gazed on by innumerable crowds assembled from all parts of India to behold this "act of faith" of a European nation. Sentence was pronounced before the altar in the church of St. Francis, the grand inquisitor and his counsellors sitting on one side, the viceroy and his court on the other; and each victim received the final intimation of his doom by a slight blow upon the breast from the alcaide. Then followed their immolation, the viceroy and court still looking on while the prisoners were bound to the stake in the midst of the faggots, and hearing, as a periodical occurrence, the shrieks and groans of these unhappy creatures. The vengeance of the Inquisition ceased not even here: the day after the execution, the portraits of the murdered men were carried to the church of the Dominicans, and there kept in memory of their fate; and the bones of such as had died in prison, were likewise preserved in small chests painted over with flames and demons.‡

These are dark deeds which none aspiring to the pure and holy name of Christian can record without a feeling of deep humiliation; but they may not be shrouded in oblivion, since they furnish abundant reason why the mutilated gospel preached by Romish priests made so little permanent impression in India; and, moreover, afford enduring evidence that England, and every other protesting nation, had solid grounds for severance from the polluted and rotten branch which produced such fruit as "the holy Inquisition." In Europe, as in Asia, a light had been thrown on the true nature of the iron yoke, with which an ambitious priesthood had dared to fetter nations in the name of the Divine Master, whose precepts their deeds of pride and cruelty so flagrantly belied. The Reformation, faulty as were some of the instruments concerned in its establishment, had yet taught men to look to the written gospel for those laws of liberty and love which nations and individuals are

* The portion of the gospel read on that day mentions the last judgment; and the Inquisition pretended, by the ceremony, to exhibit an emblem of that awful event.—Wallace's *Memoirs of India*, p. 394.

† Dellon was accused of heresy for having spoken disparagingly of the adoration of images. He had also grievously offended by calling the inquisitors fallible men, and the "holy office" a fearful tribunal which France had acted wisely in rejecting.

‡ Hough's *Christianity in India*, vol. i., chap. iv

alike bound to observe. Unhappily, this great lesson was but imperfectly learned; for although withheld rights have ever formed a popular theme, the responsibilities those rights involve cannot be expected to commend themselves, save to conscientious and enlightened minds. Thus it proved easier to renounce the dogmas of popery, than to root out the vices it had fostered or permitted; and the very people who had most cause for gratitude in being delivered from the oppressive and arrogant dominion of Spain, became themselves examples of an equally selfish and short-sighted policy.

At this period there were many signs in the commercial horizon, that neither papal bulls, nor the more reasonable respect paid to the claims of discovery and preoccupation, could any longer preserve the monopoly of the Indian trade to Spain and Portugal. Several causes combined for its destruction. The conquest and settlement of America afforded full employment for the ambition and ferocity of Philip II.; and his Asiatic territories were left in the hands of rulers, who, for the most part, thought of nothing but the gratification of their own passions, and the accumulation of wealth;—which latter, by pillage of every description, and by the shameless sale of all offices and positions, they usually contrived to do in the period of two to three years,* which formed the average duration of their tenure of office. It may be readily imagined that the measures of his predecessor were rarely carried out by any governor; but all seem to have agreed in conniving at the most notorious infraction of the general rule which forbade any Portuguese to traffic on his own account, as an unpardonable infringement on the exclusive rights of his sovereign. Corruption, mismanagement, and the growing aversion of the natives, gradually diminished the trade, until the average annual arrival in Lisbon of ships from India was reduced from five to about three; and the annual value of the cargoes decreased in proportion to about a million crowns. Thus, notwithstanding the royal monopoly of spices, Philip soon found that the expense of maintaining the various Indian governments† exceeded the commercial profits: he therefore made over the exclusive privilege of trading to India, in the year 1587, to a company of Portuguese merchants, on consideration of a certain annual payment; reserving, however, the appointment of governors, the command of the army, and every description of territorial revenue and power. This change in the state of affairs created great excitement and dissatisfaction at Goa. It was evident that the company, if able and willing to enforce the rights bestowed upon them, would reduce the profits of the various officials to their legitimate bounds; and the very thought was intolerable to a community who, "from the viceroy to the private soldier, were all illicit traders, and occasionally pirates."‡ The general disorganisation was increased, in 1594, by the arrival of a papal bull and royal command for the forcible conversion of infidels; which was in effect, free leave and license to every member of the Romish communion to torture and destroy all who differed from them on doctrinal points, and to pillage pagodas or churches, public or private dwellings, at pleasure. Such a course of proceeding could scarcely fail to bring about its own termination; and the strong grasp of tyranny and persecution, though more fierce, was yet rapidly growing weaker, and would probably have been shaken off by the natives themselves, even in the absence of the European rivals who now appeared on the scene. England, under the fostering care of Elizabeth, had already manifested something of the energy which, under the Divine blessing, was to secure to her the supremacy of the ocean; to extend her sway over ancient and populous nations; and to lay the foundation of the greatest colonial empire the world ever saw. This puissance was still in the embryo, and England a little kingdom with a limited trade, when her soldiers and merchants began the

* From the arrival of Almeida in 1505, to 1640 (the period at which Sousa terminates his history), there were some fifty viceroys or governors, of whom a very large proportion (about one-third) died in India or on their voyage home.

† The possessions of Spain and Portugal, at this time, were the forts of Diul (on the Indus) and of Diu; a fortified factory at Damaun; the town and castle of Choul; a factory at Dabul; the city of Bassein; the island of North Salsette, and the town of Tanna; the island of Bombay; the city and fort of Goa; and factories at Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cananore, Calicut, Cranganore, and Quiloa; stations at Negapatam and St. Thomas, or Meliapoor, (on the Coromandel coast); and several commercial posts in Bengal. They had also the port of Cochin; factories, or liberty to trade at Pegu, Martaban, and Junkseylon; held the strongly-fortified town of Malacca, and had, moreover, established themselves at several commanding points in the island of Ceylon. (Bruce's *Annals of East India Company*, vol. i. p. 24.)

‡ Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 32.

struggle with the combined forces of Spain and Portugal, in alliance with a people whose newly-acquired independence had originated in the reaction caused by the corruption and cruelty of the Spanish government, represented by such men as the Duke of Alva, and the bigotry of Rome, represented by such institutions as the Inquisition.*

———

Rise of Dutch Power.—It was only in the year 1579 that the Netherlanders ventured to defy the power of Philip, and formed themselves into a separate government, which they did not establish without a desperate and prolonged conflict, aided zealously by Elizabeth. Their after-progress was marvellous; and before neighbouring countries had well learned to recognise their new position, the "poor distressed people of Holland" had changed that designation for the "High and Mighty States, the United Provinces." The course that materially aided their rapid advancement was forced upon them by the arbitrary policy of Philip. Having very little land, they had ever mainly depended for subsistence on fisheries, trade, and navigation. While Portugal was a separate kingdom they resorted thither for East India produce, of which they became the carriers to all the northern nations of Europe; and after the annexation of that kingdom to Spain, their ships continued to sail to Lisbon under neutral colours, at which the Portuguese gladly connived. But Philip, hoping to lay the axe to the root of the mercantile prosperity which enabled his former subjects to sustain a costly and sanguinary contest with his mighty armies, compelled the Portuguese to renounce this profitable intercourse,—laid an embargo on all Dutch ships, seized the cargoes, imprisoned the merchants and ship-masters, or delivered them over as heretics to the tender mercies of the Inquisition, and even forced the mariners and others into his hated service. The Dutch, driven to desperation by an enemy from whom they had all to fear and nothing to hope, incited by the able counsel of Prince Maurice, resolved to attempt procuring the necessary supplies of spices direct from Asia.

With the double inducement of avoiding the fleets which guarded the approach to the Indian seas, and of finding a much shorter route, the Dutch (following the example of various English navigators) strove to discover a north-eastern passage to India,† and in the years 1594,–'5, and '6, sent three expeditions for this purpose. All failed, and the last adventurers were compelled to winter on the dreary shores of Nova Zembla. In the meantime some Dutch merchants, not caring to wait the doubtful issue of these attempts, formed themselves into a company, and resolved to brave the opposition of Philip, by commencing a private trade with India *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope. Four ships were dispatched for this purpose, under the direction of Cornelius Houtman,‡ a Dutch merchant or navigator, well acquainted with the nature and conduct of the existing Indian traffic; and the coast of Bantam (Java) was reached without hindrance, save from the elements.§ Having obtained cargoes, partly by purchase from the natives, but chiefly by plunder from the Portuguese, Houtman returned to the Texel, where, notwithstanding the loss of one of the vessels—a very frequent occurrence in those days,‖—the safe arrival of

* Before the people rose against their oppressors, 100,000 of them were judicially slaughtered—the men by fire and sword, and the women by being buried alive.—(*Grotii Annal. Belg.* pp. 15—17.)

† Along the shores of Norway, Russia, and Tartary, to China, and thence into the Indian Ocean.

‡ The manner in which he acquired this knowledge is variously related:—by Savary, as obtained in the Portuguese service; by other authorities, during a long imprisonment at Lisbon; Raynal says for debt; Sallengre, in consequence of the suspicions excited by his inquiries on commercial subjects. His freedom was procured by payment of a heavy fine, subscribed on his behalf by Dutch merchants. (*See* different accounts, commented on in Macpherson's *European Commerce with India*, note to p. 45.)

§ Two of the vessels were 400 tons burthen, carrying each eighty-four men, six large brass cannon, fourteen lesser guns, four great "patereroes" and eight little ones, with "muskers" and small guns in proportion; the third, of 200 tons, had fifty-nine men, six large cannon, with lesser ones in proportion; the fourth, of thirty tons, with twenty-four men and cannon: the whole carrying 249 mariners. The fleet sailed from the Texel the 2nd of April, 1595; reached Teneriffe on the 19th; St. Jago on the 26th; crossed the equator on the 14th of June; on the 2nd of August doubled the Cape of Good Hope (seamen in great distress with scurvy), and remained some days on the coast: in September, October, and November, the ships were at different parts of Madagascar, and sailed thence on the 1st of December towards Java, which was reached in the middle of January, 1596; thus terminating the first Dutch voyage to the Indian seas.—(See *Collection of Voyages undertaken by Dutch East India Company*. London translation, 1808.)

‖ Linschoten says, that almost every year one or two Portuguese East-Indiamen were lost. Faria y Sousa gives an account of 956 vessels, which sailed from Portugal for India, from 1412 (when Prince Henry first attempted the discovery of a passage by

the remainder was welcomed as an auspicious commencement of the undertaking. Several new companies were formed;—the number of ships annually increased,* and succeeded in obtaining cargoes, notwithstanding the opposition of the Portuguese, who strove, but for the most part ineffectually, to prejudice the natives against their rivals; their own proceedings having been so outrageous, that any prospect of a check or counteraction seemed rather to be courted than avoided. In 1600, not five years after the first expedition under Houtman, forty vessels, of from 400 to 600 tons, were fitted out by the Dutch. Hitherto the Spanish monarch had made no effort to intercept their fleet; but in the following year he dispatched an armament of thirty ships of war, by which eight outward-bound vessels, under the command of Spilbergen, were attacked near the Cape Verd Islands. The skill and bravery of the defendants enabled them to offer effectual resistance, and they succeeded in making their way to India without any serious loss. Philip did not again attempt a naval contest, but made military force the basis of his subsequent efforts for their subjugation; prohibiting them, under pain of corporal punishment, from trading with the Spanish possessions, either in the East or West Indies. These threats proved only an incitement to more determined efforts; and it being evident that the combination of the several Dutch companies would tend to strengthen them against the common foe, they were united, in 1602, by the States-General, and received a charter bestowing on them, for a term of twenty-one years, the exclusive right of trade with India, together with authority to commission all functionaries, civil and military, to form what establishments they pleased, and make war or peace in all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope. From regard to the claims of the proprietors of the minor associations, the new company was divided into six chambers or boards of management, of which Amsterdam and Middleburg were the chief, their share in the funds subscribed being proportionably represented by twenty-five and twelve directors; the remaining chambers of Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuysen having each seven directors: making a total of sixty-five persons, with a capital of 6,440,200 guilders, or (taking the guilder at 1*s.* 8*d.*) about £536,600. The project was popular, and brought both money and a valuable class of emigrants into Holland, many opulent merchants of the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands, and of other places, removing with their effects into the Dutch territory. No time was lost in fitting out a fleet of fourteen large ships, well manned, and furnished with soldiers and the necessary military and other stores requisite for the carrying out of the aggressive policy henceforth to be adopted against the national enemies, whom the Dutch had previously shunned rather than courted encountering in their foreign possessions.† The same power, whose co-operation had so materially contributed to the success of their European struggles, now came equally opportunely to their assistance in Asia; for in this same year (1602) the first ships of the first English East India Company appeared in the Indian seas. It may be useful to pause here, and briefly review the circumstances that led to the formation of a body, which, after long years of trial and vicissitude, attained such unexampled and strangely-constituted greatness.

---

Rise of English Power.—Before the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, England, like other northern European nations, had been supplied from the Adriatic with Eastern products. A ship of great bulk usually arrived every year from Venice, laden with spice (chiefly pepper)‡ and some other Asiatic commodities, which the traders necessarily sold at high prices, owing to the circuitous route they were compelled to traverse. This state of things terminated with the close of the fifteenth century, by reason of the successful voyage of Vasco de Gama, which gave to Portugal the monopoly of the Asiatic trade. At that very time, the English, stimulated by a strong desire for the extension of com-

sea) to 1640: of these, 150 were lost, and with them he estimates not less than 100,000 persons—a not improbable number, considering the great size of many of the vessels, which carried 800 or 900 men.

* In 1598, two fleets, consisting of eight vessels, were sent by the Amsterdam merchants from the Texel, and five from Rotterdam, which were followed up by successive fleets in subsequent years, as the trade gave twenty to seventy-five per cent. of profit on the adventures.—(*Voyages of Dutch Company.*)

† The Dutch at first resorted to Sumatra and Java, where the Portuguese do not appear to have had any considerable establishments. Houtman formed a factory at Bantam in 1595.

‡ The spice trade was opened with Amboyna, Ternate, and the Bandas, in 1598; with Sumatra and China, in 1599; with Ceylon, in 1600.

merce, and likewise by curiosity regarding the far-famed country, then called Cathay (China), were themselves attempting the discovery of a sea-passage to India; and in May, 1497, two months before the departure of Vasco, from Lisbon, an expedition comprising two ships fitted out by Henry VII. and some vessels freighted by the merchants of Bristol, left England, under the guidance of an enterprising Venetian navigator, named Giovanni Gavotta, *anglicé*, John Cabot. On reaching 67° 30′ N. lat., Cabot was compelled, by the mutinous conduct of his crew, to stand to the southward; and in the course of the homeward voyage he fell in with Newfoundland and the continent of North America. Notwithstanding the dissensions which characterised the concluding portion of the reign of Henry VII., and that of his son and successor Henry VIII., several commissions of discovery were issued by them,* but were attended with no important results. The commerce with the Levant appears to have commenced about the year 1511;† in 1513, a consul was stationed at Scio for its protection; and in process of time, the Levant or Turkey merchants came to be looked upon as the true East India traders. Factories were established by them at Alexandria, Aleppo, Damascus, and the different ports of Egypt and the Turkish dominions. Their growing importance did not however extinguish, but rather increased the general desire for more direct communication with India and China; and in 1549, Sebastian Cabot, the son of John Cabot, who had accompanied his father in the expedition of 1497, and had since attempted the discovery of the much-desired line of route, persuaded a number of London merchants to raise a capital of £6,000 in shares of £25 each, for the prosecution of a new voyage of discovery and trading adventure. The young king Edward VI., to whose notice Sebastian had been previously introduced by the protector Somerset, had bestowed on him an annual pension of £166, and made him grand pilot of England. He now gave every encouragement to the infant association. No time was lost in fitting out three vessels, which were dispatched under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, in May, 1553, and furnished with "Letters Missive" from King Edward to the sovereigns of northern Europe, bespeaking their protection for his subjects in their peaceful but perilous enterprise.‡ The court, then at Greenwich, assembled to witness the departure of the little squadron: vast crowds of people lined the shore; and the roar of cannon, and the

* Robert Thorne, an English merchant, having during a long residence at Seville acquired considerable knowledge of the benefits derived by Portugal from the Indian trade, memorialised Henry VIII. on the subject, urging the advantages which England might attain from the same source, and suggesting three courses to be pursued;—either by the north-east, which he imagined would lead them to "the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the midday," and thence "to the land of the Chinas and the land of Cathaio Orientall;" from which, if they continued their navigation, they might "fall in with Malacca" and return to England by the Cape of Good Hope. The second course, to the north-west, would lead them, he said, "by the back of the Newfound-land, which of late was discovered by your grace's subjects," and pursuing which they might return through the Straits of Magellan (discovered six years before.) The third course lay over the North Pole, after passing which he suggested that they should "goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline towards the lands and islands situated between the tropikes and under the equinoctiall;" and "without doubt they shall find there the richest lands and islands of the world of gold, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other things that we here esteem most."—(Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 235.) The consequence of this memorial was the sending of two vessels by private merchants in 1527, which returned very shortly without success (Hakluyt, iii., 167), and two by the king in the same year, of which one was lost off the north coast of Newfoundland, and the other effected nothing.—(Purchas' *Pilgrims*, iii., 809.)

† Hakluyt states, that between 1511 and 1534, "divers tall ships of London, Southampton, and Bristol had an ordinary and usual trade" to Sicily, Candia, Chios, and somewhiles to Cyprus; as also to Tripoli and Beyrout, in Syria. The exports, as proved by the ledgers of Locke, Bowyer, Gresham and other merchants, were "fine kersies of divers colours, coarse kersies, &c.;" the imports, silks, camlets, rhubarb, malmsey, muscatel, &c. Foreign as well as English vessels were employed, "namely, Candiots, Raguseans, Genouezes, Venetian galliases, Spanish and Portugall ships." (ii., 207.)

‡ The religious spirit in which the project was conceived is forcibly evidenced by the instructions drawn up by Cabot, for what Fuller truly remarks "may be termed the first reformed fleet which had English prayers and preaching therein." (*Worthies of England, Derbyshire*, of which county Willoughby was a native.) Swearing and gambling were made punishable offences, and "morning and evening prayer, with other common services appointed by the king's majesty and laws of this realm to be read and said in every ship daily by the minister in the *Admiral* [flag-ship], and the merchant, or some other person learned in other ships; and the Bible or paraphrases to be read devoutly and Christianly to God's honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and hearty prayer of the navigants accordingly."—(Hakluyt, i., 254.) This daily prayer on board ship was long an acknowledged duty; and in 1580, in the directions of the Russian company, the mariners are enjoined, as a matter of course, "to observe good order in your daily service and pray unto God; so shall you prosper the better."

shouts of the mariners, filled the air: yet the ceremony seemed inauspicious; for the youthful monarch, on whom the eyes of Protestant Christendom waited hopefully, and who felt so deep an interest in the whole proceeding, lay prostrate in an advanced stage of that insidious disease, which then as now, yearly robbed England of many of her noblest sons and fairest daughters. Sir Hugh, and the whole ship's company of the *Buona Ventura,* were frozen to death near Lapland;* Captain Chancelor, the second in command, reached a Russian port (where Archangel was afterwards built), and proceeded thence to Moscow. The czar, Ivan Vasilivich, received him with great kindness, and furnished him with letters to Edward VI., bearing proposals for the establishment of commercial relations between the two countries. These were gladly accepted by Mary, who had in the interim ascended the throne; and a ratification of the charter promised by Edward to the company was granted by the queen and her ill-chosen consort, in 1554.† Chancelor was again sent out in the following year with agents and factors, and on his return, an ambassador accompanied him to England, in saving whose life in a storm off the Scottish coast, Chancelor lost his own.‡ This is an exceptional instance of encouragement given by the Crown to commercial enterprise during this short and sanguinary reign; nor, indeed, could Mary, as the wife of the bigotted Philip of Spain, herself a stanch and unscrupulous adherent of the Romish creed, be expected to patronize any adventure likely to trench upon the monopoly which the pope had assumed to himself the power of bestowing on her husband: the only cause for surprise is, that her signature should ever have been obtained to the charter of the Russian company, though probably it was a concession granted to the leading Protestant nobles, whose support she had secured at a critical moment by her promise (soon shamelessly broken) of making no attempt for the re-establishment of a dominant priesthood in England.

It was reserved for her sister and successor Elizabeth, alike free from the trammels of Rome and the alliance of Spain, to encourage and aid her subjects in that course of maritime and commercial enterprise, whose importance she so justly appreciated. The early part of her reign abounded with political and social difficulties;—foes abroad, rebellion in Ireland, discord at home, gave full and arduous employment to the ministers, whose energy and ability best evidenced the wisdom of the mistress who selected and retained such servants. The finances of the nation did not warrant any large expenditure which should necessitate the imposition of increased taxation for an uncertain result: it was therefore from private persons, either individually or in societies, that commercial adventures were to be expected. The Russian company renewed their efforts for the discovery of a north-east passage, and records of several voyages undertaken under their auspices are still extant; but it does not appear that

* When the extreme cold ceased, the peasants of the country found the body of Sir Hugh in his cabin, seated as if in the act of writing his journal, which, with his will, lay before him, and testified his having been alive in January, 1554.

† The Russian company, probably the first chartered joint-stock association on record, exists to the present day—at least in name.

‡ The Russian ambassador, Osep Napea, returned to his own country in the last year of Mary's reign, and was accompanied by Anthony Jenkinson, who represented the company, and was instructed to attempt the extension of their trade through Russia to Persia and Bactria. By permission of the czar, Jenkinson quitted Moscow in April, 1558, and proceeded by Novogorod and the Volga river to Astracan, on the north of the Caspian: he then crossed that sea, and on its southern shores joined a caravan of Tartars, with which he travelled along the banks of the Oxus to Bokhara, and having there obtained much valuable information for his employers, returned to England (by Moscow) in 1560. In the following year, Queen Elizabeth dispatched him with letters to the Suffavi or Sophi, king of Persia (Shah Abbas I.), requesting his sanction for her subjects to open a trade in his dominions for the sale of their goods, and the purchase of raw silk and other commodities. The jealousy and intrigues of some Turkish agents, who were then engaged in concluding a treaty with the Shah at the fortified city of Casvin (where the Persian court then was), frustrated the mission of the English envoy, and even endangered his life; so that he was glad to make his escape through the friendly interposition of the king of Hyrcania, who furnished him with credentials granting various commercial privileges to such English as might desire to traffic in, or traverse his dominions on the southern shore of the Caspian. In 1566, another agent, named Arthur Edwards, was sent to Persia, and succeeded in obtaining from the czar permission for Englishmen to trade in his dominions with immunity from tolls or customs on their merchandise, and protection for their persons and property. In the same year the Russian company obtained from Elizabeth a charter with additional privileges, in reward for their explorations in the Caspian Sea, Armenia, Media, Hyrcania (Astrabad), and Persia, which it was hoped might lead to the ultimate discovery of "the country of Cathaia."—(Hakluyt, i., 414—418.)

either queen or people cared to defy the fleets of Spain by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope, until Sir Francis Drake, in 1577, having fitted out five ships at his own expense, left England and sailed through the straits of Magellan, into the south seas,* where he acquired immense booty from the Spaniards. The news reaching Europe, a strong force was sent to intercept him, but information of the danger enabled him to avoid it by changing his route, and after visiting Ternate (one of the Moluccas), forming a treaty with the king, and taking part in some hostilities between the natives and the Portuguese, Drake shipped a large quantity of cloves, and proceeded round the Cape to England, where he arrived at the close of 1580, with a single shattered vessel, having been the first of his nation to circumnavigate the globe.

The *Turkey Company*, established by charter in 1581, sent four representatives to India, through Syria, Bagdad, and Ormuz, whence they carried some cloths, tin, and other goods to Goa, and proceeded to visit Lahore, Agra, Bengal, Pegu, and Malacca, meeting everywhere with kindness from the natives, and opposition from the Portuguese. Of the envoys, Fitch alone returned to England (in 1591);† Newberry died in the Punjaub; Leades, a jeweller by profession, entered the service of the Emperor Akbar; and Storey became a monk at Goa. In 1586, Captain Cavendish commenced his voyage round the globe, and on the way, scrupled not to seize and plunder whenever he had the opportunity, either by sea or land. He returned home in less than two years flushed with success, and some years after attempted a similar privateering expedition (for it was little better), from which he never returned, but died at sea, worn out by a succession of disasters. The voyages of Drake and Cavendish had brought matters to a crisis: the Spanish government complained of the infringement of their exclusive rights of navigating the Indian seas;‡ to which Elizabeth replied—"It is as lawful for my subjects to do this as the Spaniards, since the sea and air are common to all men." The defeat of the so-called Invincible Armada, in 1588, rendered the English and their brave queen more than ever unwilling to give place to the arrogant pretensions of their foes; and in 1591, some London merchants dispatched three vessels to India by the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Captains Raymond and Lancaster. A contest with some Portuguese ships, though successful, eventually ruined the expedition by the delay it occasioned; one of the vessels was compelled to put back in consequence of the sickness of the crew and the difficulties encountered in weathering the "Cape of Storms;"—the second, under Raymond, is supposed to have perished;—the third, under Lancaster, reached Sumatra and Ceylon, and obtained a cargo of pepper and other spiceries, but was subsequently lost in a storm at Mona, one of the West India isles. The captain and the survivors of the ship's company were rescued by a French vessel bound to San Domingo, and reached England in May, 1594. In the meanwhile, mercantile enterprise had received a fresh stimulus by the capture of a Portuguese carrack, profanely called *Madre de Dios*, of 1,600 tons burden, with thirty-six brass cannons mounted. This vessel, the largest yet seen in England, was taken by Sir John Burroughs, after an obstinate contest near the Azores, and brought into Dartmouth. The cargo, consisting of spices, calicoes, silks, gold, pearls, drugs, china-ware, &c., was valued by the lowest estimate at £150,000. This display of oriental wealth incited Sir Robert Dudley and some other gentlemen to fit out three ships, which sailed for China in 1596, bearing royal credentials addressed to the sovereign of that country, vouching for the probity of the adventurers, and offering the fullest protection to such Chinese subjects as might be disposed to open a trade in any English port. This expedition proved even more disastrous than the preceding one. After capturing three Portuguese vessels, the English crews became so fearfully reduced by disease, that out of three ships' companies, only four men remained alive.

* He anchored in a bay (supposed to be that now called Port San Francisco) on the coast of California, and landing, took possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth, calling it "Nova Albion."

† Fitch published a narrative of his adventures, which greatly stimulated public curiosity on the subject; and this feeling was increased by the accounts sent from India by an Englishman, named Stevens, who had proceeded thither in a Portuguese vessel from Lisbon. According to Camden, a Portuguese carrack, captured by Drake off the Azores in 1587, and brought to England, contained various documents regarding the nature and value of the India trade, which first inspired English merchants with a desire to prosecute it on their own account.

‡ By the union of Spain and Portugal, the papal grants of eastern and western discoveries centred in one crown.

These unfortunates were cast on shore on a small island near Puerto Rico, where three of them were murdered by a party of Spaniards, for the sake of the treasure they had with them, and only one survived to divulge the crime to the Spanish officers of justice, soon after which he was poisoned by the same robbers who had murdered his shipmates. The public enthusiasm was somewhat damped by the dense cloud which long shrouded the calamitous issue of this expedition; but the successful adventures of the Dutch (*see* p. 196), and their grasping policy in raising the price of pepper from three to six and eight shillings per lb. (the cost in India being two to three pence), induced the merchants of London—headed by the lord mayor and aldermen—to hold a meeting at Founders'-hall, on the 22nd of September, 1599,* which resulted in the formation of a company, for the purpose of setting on foot a voyage to the East Indies.† The stock embarked, then considered a large one, of £30,133 6*s.* 8*d.*, was divided into 101 shares or adventures, the subscriptions of individuals varying from £100 to £3,000. The queen was ever zealous in promoting similar projects, but in this instance there was need of deliberation. Elizabeth well knew the value of peace to a trading nation, and delayed granting the charter of incorporation solicited by the company, until it should be proved how far their interests could be prudently consulted in the course of the friendly negotiations newly opened by Spain through the mediation of France. The treaty however soon fell to the ground, in consequence of a disputed question of precedency between the English and Spanish commissioners at Boulogne. The discussion of the East India question was eagerly resumed both in the city and at court; and on the last day of the 16th century, Elizabeth signed a charter on behalf of about 220 gentlemen, merchants, and other individuals of repute, constituting them "one bodie-corporate and politique indeed," by the name of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies."‡

A petition was addressed to the Privy Council for their sanction that "the voyage might be proceeded upon without any hindrance, notwithstanding the treaty:" but they "declined granting such a warrant, as deeming it more beneficial for the general state of merchandise to entertain a peace, than that the same should be hindered by standing with the Spanish commissioners for the maintenance of this trade, and thereby forego the opportunity of concluding the peace."§

It was a fitting conclusion for a century of extraordinay progress, and also for a reign, characterised throughout by measures of unrivalled political sagacity. The ablest sovereign (perhaps excepting Alfred) the realm had ever known, was soon to be taken away under very melancholy circumstances. The death of Lord Burleigh, and the rebellion of Essex, were trials which the failing strength and over-taxed energies of the queen could ill withstand; and she died in November, 1603, a powerful and beloved

* At the commencement of this year a merchant, named John Mildenhall, was dispatched (by way of Constantinople) to the Great Mogul, to solicit, in the name of his sovereign, certain trading privileges for his countrymen. He did not reach Agra till the year 1603, and was there long delayed and put to great expense by the machinations of the Jesuits then residing at the court of the Great Mogul, aided by two Italian (probably Venetian) merchants; but he eventually succeeded in obtaining from Jehangeer the desired grant in 1606.

† At a subsequent meeting, a committee of fifteen persons was appointed to present a petition to the lords of the Privy Council, setting forth that, "stimulated by the success which has attended the voyage to the East Indies by the Dutch, and finding the Dutch are projecting another voyage, for which they have bought ships in England, the merchants having the same regard to the welfare of this kingdom, that the Dutch have to their commonwealth, have resolved upon making a voyage of adventure, and for this purpose entreat her Majesty will grant them letters patent of incorporation, succession, &c., for that the trade being so far remote from hence, cannot be managed but by a joint and united stock."

‡ Thomas Smith, alderman of London, and an active member of the Turkey company, was declared first governor. Among the other names mentioned in the charter are those of George, Earl of Cumberland; Sirs—John Hart, John Spencer, Edward Michelborne, Richard Staper, and ten other citizens and aldermen of London, and two hundred and six individuals of repute, who petitioned for the "royal assent and license to be granted unto them, that they, at their own adventures, costs, and charges, as well as for the honour of this our realm of England, as for the increase of our navigation and advancement of trade of merchandise within our said realms and the dominions of the same, might set forth one or more voyages, with convenient number of ships and pinnaces, by way of traffic and merchandise to the East Indies and countries of Asia and Africa, and to as many of the islands, ports and cities, towns and places thereabouts, as where trade and traffic may by all likelihood be discovered, established or had, divers of which countries and many of the islands, cities, and ports thereof have long since been discovered by others of our subjects, albeit not frequented in trade of merchandise."—(*See* quarto vol. of *Charters granted to the East India Company from* 1601, &c., pp. 4, 5.)

§ Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i., p. 4.

ruler, but a broken-hearted woman. As yet the commercial and colonial enterprises, commenced under her auspices, had produced no tangible results, so far as territorial aggrandisement was concerned. English merchants had, it is true, even then become "the honourable of the earth;" and English ships had compassed the world, bearing their part manfully in the perilous voyages of the age, in the icy straits of Greenland and Labrador, uplifting the national flag on the shores of Virginia and Newfoundland,* amid the isles of the West Indies,† and the coasts of Brazil, Guiana, and Peru. The straits of Magellan, the broad expanse of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, had mirrored that standard on their waves; and for a brief season it had floated upon the Caspian Sea, and been carried along the banks of the Oxus. In the ports and marts of the Adriatic, the Archipelago, the Levant, and the southern coasts of the Mediterranean, it became a familiar visitant, as it had long been to the traffickers of the Canary Isles, and dwellers on the shores of Guinea and Benin;‡ and lastly, pursuing its way to the isles and continents of the East, it floated hopefully past the Southern Cape of Africa.§ The initiatory measures are ever those which most severely task the weakness and selfishness of human nature: energy, forethought, patience—all these qualities, and many more, are essential ingredients in the characters of those who aspire to lay the foundation of an edifice, which future generations must be left to bring to perfection. In the history of the world, such "master builders" are comparatively few: more commonly, we find men carrying on the structure of national progress with scarcely a thought beyond their individual interests, each one labouring for himself, like the coral insects, who live and die unconscious of the mighty results of their puny labours. Nor is this blindness on the part of the majority to be regretted, while the minority—those on whom the steering of the vessel of the state more or less evidently devolves—afford such constant illustrations of the fallible and unsatisfactory character of human policy. Thus, even in ascribing to Elizabeth the pre-eminence in patriotism and statesmanship, in zeal for religious truth and liberty;—the excellence ascribed is at best only comparative, since her administration was deeply stained by the besetting sin of civilised governments—"clever diplomacy," or, in plain words, that constant readiness to take advantage of the weakness or ignorance of other nations, which, among individuals, would be stigmatised as grasping, overreaching, and unjust, even by those who do not profess to judge actions by any loftier standard than the ordinary customs and opinions of society. This admixture of unworthy motives is probably often the cause of the failure of many well-devised schemes: it may account, to some minds, for the career of Elizabeth terminating when the projects she had cherished were on the eve of development; when England was about to enter on a course of annually increasing territorial, commercial, and maritime prosperity, often, however, checked rather than encouraged, by the weakness, selfishness, or prejudice of her rulers.

The original charter bestowed on the East India Company manifested a prudent regard for the prevention of disputes with other European powers, or with previously incorporated English companies, and reserved to the Crown the power of accommodating the Indian trade to the contingencies of foreign politics, or of the trade carried on by its subjects with neighbouring countries. The charter was granted for fifteen years; but if the exclusive privileges thereby conferred should be found disadvantageous to the general interests of the country, it might be revoked upon two years' notice: if, on the

* *North American Possessions*, vol. i., pp. 292–3.

† *West Indian Possessions*, vol. iv. (div. viii.), p. 15. The Rev. James Anderson, in enumerating the exploratory proceedings of England, truly remarks, that "the foundations of her future greatness were laid in the very efforts which had appeared so fruitless."—(*History of the Colonial Church*, vol. i., p. 123.)

‡ Repeated efforts were made for the extension of commerce with Africa. In 1572, a treaty between England and Portugal provided for the better adjustment of the intercourse of their respective subjects with the western shores of Africa; in 1585, the queen granted a patent to Robert, Earl of Leicester, for the management of the trade with Barbary and Morocco: and in 1588, and 1592, some merchants of Exeter and Taunton were empowered to traffic with Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. In 1597, we find the indefatigable Elizabeth seeking commercial privileges from "the most invincible and puissant king of the Abassens (Abyssinians), the mightie emperor of Ethiopia, the higher and the lower."

§ The Russian company desired, by an overland trade, to connect the imports from Persia with those from the Baltic; the Levant company, which traded with the Mediterranean ports, brought thence, among its assortments, a proportion of Indian produce, the value of which might be affected by the imports brought into England or for the European market, by the direct intercourse, though circuitous routes, of the company.—(Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*)

contrary, the result should prove of public benefit, new letters patent were to be granted at the expiration of the first period, for other fifteen years.* With these needful limitations, great encouragement was given to the association; notwithstanding which, the delay occasioned by the Spanish negotiation had so far damped the enterprise of some of the individual adventurers, that they refused to pay their proffered subscriptions; and the directors, acting under the charter (in which no amount of capital was prescribed, as in the case of modern documents of a similar character), appear to have wanted power to compel them to do so, or else to have deemed its exercise imprudent. The consequence was, the formation of a subordinate association, endued with authority to adventure on their own account, providing the funds, and either bearing the whole loss, or reaping the whole profit of the voyage. A new body of speculators was thus admitted, by whom £68,373 were subscribed, and five vessels† equipped, manned by 500 men, provisioned for twenty months, at a cost of £6,600, and furnished with bullion and various staples and manufactures wherewith to try the Indian market. The command was entrusted to Captain James Lancaster, who received from the queen general letters of introduction addressed to the rulers of the ports to which he might resort. The fleet sailed from Torbay on April 22, 1601, and proceeded direct to Acheen,‡ which they reached on June 5, 1602; a voyage now usually accomplished in ninety days.

Captain Lancaster, on his arrival, delivered the queen's letter to the king or chief of Acheen, who received him with much pomp and courtesy, and accorded permission to establish a factory, with free exports and imports, protection to trade, power of bequeathing property by will, and other privileges of an independent community. But

* Under the charter, the plan which they had already adopted for the management of their affairs, by a committee of twenty-four and a chairman, both to be chosen annually, was confirmed and rendered obligatory. The chief permissive clauses were as follow:—the company were empowered to make bye-laws for the regulation of their business, and of the people in their employment, whose offences they might punish by imprisonment or fine;—to export goods for four voyages duty free, and duties afterwards paid on goods lost at sea to be deducted from dues payable on next shipment;—six months' credit to be allowed on custom dues of half imports, and twelve months for the remainder, with free exportation for thirteen months (by English merchants in English vessels);—liberty to transport Spanish and other foreign silver coin and bullion to the value of £30,000, of which £6,000 was to be coined at the Tower, and the same sum in any subsequent voyage during fifteen years, or the continuance of their privileges, provided that within six months after every voyage except the first, gold and silver equal in value to the exported silver should be duly imported, and entered at the ports of London, Dartmouth and Plymouth, where alone the bullion was to be shipped. The monopoly of the company was confirmed by a clause enacting, that interlopers in the East India trade should be subject to the forfeiture of their ships and cargoes, one-half to go to the Crown, the other to the company, and to suffer imprisonment and such other punishment as might be decreed by the Crown, until they should have signed a bond engaging, under a penalty of £1,000 at the least, "not to sail or traffic into any of the said East Indies" without special license from the company. Another clause affords evidence of the condition of the state by guaranteeing, that "in any time of restraint," six good ships and as many pinnaces, well-armed and manned with 500 English sailors, should be permitted to depart "without any stay or contradiction," unless the urgent necessities of the kingdom, in the event of war, should require their detention, in which case three months' notice would be given to the company.—(*Charters of East India Company*, p. 21.)

† The *Dragon*, *Hector*, *Ascension*, *Susan*, and *Guest*, of 600, 300, 260, 240, and 100 tons respectively, the smallest serving as a victualler; the others are described by Sir William Monson as "four of the best merchant ships in the kingdom." According to the same authority, there were not in England, at this period, more than four vessels of 400 tons each. In 1580, the total number of vessels in the navy was 150, of which only forty belonged to the Crown: a like number was employed in trade with different countries, the average burden being 150 tons. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, it appears that wars with Spain, and losses by capture, had reduced both shipping and seamen one-third. The small English squadron seemed insufficient to enter on a traffic in which the Portuguese had long been in the habit of employing vessels of 1,200 to 1,500 tons burden: in its equipment £39,771 were expended, the cargoes were estimated at £28,742 in bullion, and £6,860 in various goods, including iron and tin wrought and unwrought, lead, eighty pieces of broad-cloth of all colours, eighty pieces of Devonshire kersies, 100 pieces of Norwich stuffs, with various smaller articles, including glass, quicksilver, Muscovy hides, and other things intended as presents for different local functionaries. Factors and supercargoes were nominated, and divided into four classes: all gave security for fidelity and abstinence from private trade in proportionate sums of £500 downwards. Three of the principal factors were allowed £100 each as equipment, and £200 for an "adventure;" and four of each of the other classes smaller sums. The salary of each commander was £100, and £200 on credit for an adventure. If the profits of the voyage yielded two for one, they were to be allowed £500; if three for one, £1,000; if four for one, £1,500; and if five for one, £2,000.—(Bruce's *Annals*, vol. i., p. 129.)

‡ Situate on the N.W. extremity of the large island of Sumatra, in 5° 36′ N. lat., 95° 26′ E. long.

the crop of pepper having failed in the preceding season, a sufficient quantity could not be obtained in that port; and Lancaster, impressed with a conviction of the influence the pecuniary results of the first voyage would have upon the future prosecution of the trade, concerted measures with the commander of a Dutch ship, then at Acheen, for hostilities against their joint foe, the Portuguese.* A carrack of 900 tons was captured, and her cargo, consisting of calicoes and other Indian manufactures, having been divided between the conquering vessels, the Portuguese crew were left in possession of their rifled ship, and the Dutch and English commanders went their way. Lancaster proceeded to Bantam, in Java, where, after delivering his credentials and presents, he completed his lading with spices, and leaving the remaining portion of his merchandise for sale in charge of some agents, sailed homewards, arriving off the Downs in September, 1603.

The company awaited his return with extreme anxiety. They delayed making preparations for a fresh voyage until the result of the first venture should appear, and persisted in this resolve, notwithstanding the representations of the privy council, and even of the queen, who considered their delay an infraction of the terms on which the charter had been granted, and reminded them of the energy and patriotism of the Dutch, who annually formed their equipments and extended their commerce by unceasing exertion. The safe return of the fleet, though at an inopportune moment,† put an end to all incertitude regarding the feasibility of the projected trade; and notwithstanding the difficulties occasioned by the encouragement given by the king to the attempts of private adventurers, in violation of the fifteen years' monopoly promised by the charter,‡ and the enmity of the Portuguese,—to which the tacit and afterwards open opposition of the Dutch was soon added,—the company continued to fit out separate expeditions on the same terms as the first, until the year 1614, when the twelfth was undertaken by a single ship, chiefly for the purpose of carrying out Sir Robert Shirley, who had been sent as ambassador to the English sovereign by Shah Abbas of Persia. The total capital expended in these voyages was £464,284; of which £263,246 had been invested in shipping and stores, £138,127 in bullion, and £62,411 in merchandise. Notwithstanding losses (including a disastrous expedition in 1607, in which both vessels perished), the general result was prosperous, the total profit reaching 138 per cent.; but it must be remembered that a period of six or seven years and upwards elapsed before the proceeds of a voyage could be finally adjusted, and that the receipts included the profits of a ship-builder and purveyor, or "ship's husband," as well as of a merchant.

In 1613, it was deemed advisable to renounce all separate adventures, and continue the trade on a joint-stock account; this, however, being itself an experiment, was

* What authority Captain Lancaster possessed for this proceeding does not appear, but it is probable that he acted according to permission granted for a similar conjuncture; because the queen, being unable to retaliate the attack of the Armada on her own behalf, by reason of the condition of the treasury, permitted private adventurers to fit out expeditions against the national foe both by sea and land. Such was the squadron of about 100 vessels, 1,500 sailors, and 11,000 soldiers, under Sir F. Drake and Sir John Norris, in 1589, which ravaged and plundered the coasts of Spain and Portugal; and that of several ships under the personal command of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in the same year, to the Azores or Western Isles, where much booty was obtained. From this period may be dated English "privateering," which soon degenerated into "buccaneering;" and which James I. deserves much praise for his endeavours to check.

† Elizabeth was dead, and London afflicted with the plague; everybody who could leave it, had taken refuge in the country; and in the general disorder it was next to impossible to raise money either by borrowing or by sales of merchandise.

‡ In 1604, King James granted a license to Sir Edward Michelborne and others to trade with China and various East Indian ports. The undertaking was little better than a series of petty piracies, committed upon Chinese junks and small Indian vessels encountered in cruising among the Asiatic islands; but is memorable as marking the appearance of the *interlopers* or *private traders*, whose disputes with the company afterwards ran so high. This very Michelborne had been recommended by the lord-treasurer for employment to the company; but although then petitioning for a charter, the directors rejected the application, and requested that they might "be allowed to sort their business with men of their own qualitye, lest the suspicion of the employment of gentlemen being taken hold of by the generalitie, do dryve a great number of the adventurers to withdraw their contributions."—(Bruce's *Annals of the East India Company*, vol. i., p. 128.) The same determined spirit was evinced on the present occasion; and they succeeded in obtaining another charter in 1609, in which, departing from the cautious policy of his predecessor, the king confirmed the exclusive privileges of the company, not for a limited term of years, but *for ever*, provided however that the trade should prove beneficial to the realm, otherwise the charter was to be annulled, on giving three years' notice.—(*Idem*, p. 157.)

fixed for the term of only four years; during which time, the stipulated capital of £120,000 was to be paid up in equal annual proportions. This union was generally beneficial in its effects, by preventing the international competition resulting from the clashing interests of parties concerned in the different voyages, whether in the Indian market or in England, where the imports were either sold by public auction, or divided among the adventurers in kind, as was best suited to the interests of the leading persons in the separate concerns; and it often happened that private accommodation was studied at the expense of the general good. Besides these inconveniences, it was necessary that some specific line of policy should be adopted, for the general direction of the trade and the control and guidance of individual commanders; since it was evident that the interested and impolitic conduct of one expedition might seriously impede the success of subsequent voyages.

The proceedings of Sir Henry Middleton will illustrate this. Up to 1609, the intercourse of the English had been exclusively with Sumatra, Java, and Amboyna; an attempt was then made to open a trade with woollens, metals, and other British commodities, in barter for spices and drugs, in the ports of the Red Sea, Cambay, and Surat. At Aden and Mocha, they were opposed by the Turks, and Middleton with seventy men made prisoners. They succeeded in effecting their escape, and proceeded to Surat, where a forcible landing was effected, in defiance of the Portuguese, who, however, induced the Moguls to prevent their attempts at commerce. About this time, the envoy (Hawkins) dispatched by the company to seek the imperial confirmation of the trading privileges promised to Mildenhall, threw up his suit in despair, and quitted Agra, after a residence of more than two years. Middleton returned to the Red Sea, and there seized upon several Mogul ships (including one of 1,500 tons, fitted out by the mother of Jehangeer for the use of pilgrims), and obliged them to pay a ransom equivalent to his estimate of the loss occasioned by the frustration of his voyage. After lading two of his vessels with pepper at Bantam, he prepared to return homewards; but his chief ship, the newly-built *Trade's Increase*,* overset in Bantam roads, and was totally destroyed; which so affected her commander, that he soon after died of vexation: the voyage, nevertheless, afforded £121 per cent. profit on the capital employed. The unwarrantable aggression committed in the Red Sea had roused the indignation and alarm of the emperor; but the discretion of Captain Best† was successfully exerted in obtaining permission to trade, through the intervention of the governor of Ahmedabad, whose concessions were ratified by an imperial firman, which arrived in January, 1613, authorising the establishment of English factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambay, and Goga, with protection for life and property, on condition of the payment of a custom duty of three-and-a-half per cent. The Portuguese did not quietly witness the progress of this arrangement, but attacked the two vessels of Cap-

* The company, finding themselves unable to charter vessels of sufficient burden either in England or elsewhere, formed a dockyard at Deptford; and in 1609 launched, in the words of Sir William Monson, "the goodliest and greatest ship [1,100 tons] that was ever framed in this kingdom." King James, with his son (afterwards Charles I.), presided at the launch, named the vessel the *Trade's Increase*, and partook of a sumptuous banquet served on China-ware, then considered a rare mark of eastern magnificence. From this period may be dated the increase of large ships; for the king about this time caused a man-of-war to be constructed of 1,400 tons burden, carrying sixty-four guns, called the *Prince*. From 1609 to 1640 the company continued to exercise the now separate vocations of ship-builders, purveyors, &c. In their yards at Deptford and Blackwall, not only were vessels constructed of 700, 800, 900, and in one instance (the *Royal James*) of 1,200 tons burden, but their masts, yards, anchors, sails, cordage, and entire outfit were prepared; the bread was baked, the meat salted and casked, and the various departments which, by the present improved system, are subdivided into many distinct branches of labour, were then brought to a considerable degree of perfection by the combined efforts of skill and capital possessed by the East India Company. As trade increased, ship-building became a distinct and profitable business; and in 1640 and subsequent years, the company were enabled to hire vessels at £20 to £25 per ton freight, whereas their own cost £31 per ton: thenceforth the commerce was carried on partly by their own and partly by hired ships; and eventually the dockyards were sold for private enterprise.

† Captain Best visited Acheen in 1615, and as the bearer of a royal letter, formed a new treaty with its ruler, and obtained permission to establish a factory at Tikoo or Ticoo (in Sumatra), on condition of paying seven per cent. import and export duty. The monarch, who is represented as very fierce and sanguinary, replied to the communication of the English sovereign with a request, that he would send him one of his countrywomen for a wife, promising to make her eldest son "king of all the pepper countries." No English lady appears to have taken advantage of this offer; and whether from disappointment or avarice, the king of Acheen

tain Best, at Swally, near Surat, with a squadron of four galleons, and a number of smaller vessels without cannon, intended to assist in boarding, for which, however, they found no opportunity, being driven off with considerable loss, after a struggle of more than a month's duration.*

The chief events which marked the four years' existence of the first joint-stock company, was the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe,† who succeeded in obtaining from Jehangeer liberty of trade for his countrymen throughout the empire;‡ the formation of a treaty with the zamorin for the expulsion of the Portuguese from Cochin, which when conquered was to be ceded to the English; and lastly, hostilities with the Dutch, which entailed losses and expense, whereby the total profits of the four voyages were reduced to eighty-seven per cent. This decreased dividend did not, however, prevent a new subscription being favourably received by the public: dukes, earls, and knights, judges and privy counsellors, countesses and ladies, "widows and virgins," doctors of divinity and physic, merchants and tradesmen, are all classified in the list of the 954 individuals, by whom a sum of no less than £1,629,040 (averaging £1,700 for each person) was furnished in 1616 for a new series of ventures, comprising three distinct voyages, to be undertaken in the four following years. Surat and Bantam were to be the chief seats of trade, with factories at Ceylon, Siam, Japan, Maccassar, and Banda. A proposition had previously been made by the Dutch for a union of trade with the English, that common cause might be made against the Spanish-Portuguese, and a monopoly secured to the combined companies. This offer was repeated in 1617, on the plea of the rivalry about to arise from the formation of an East India association in France§, and likewise in Denmark;|| but

impeded the trade of the Europeans by exactions; and at length, in 1621, expelled both the Dutch and English factors; but the intercourse was subsequently resumed and carried on at intervals.

* From 22nd of October to the 27th November, 1812.—(Wilson's note on Mill's *India*, vol. i., p. 29.)

† The mission of Sir Thomas Roe to Jehangeer has been already narrated (p. 123.) The incidents of his journey from Surat to Ajmeer evidenced a comparative state of order in the country traversed: whereas, the adventures which befel Withington, one of the company's agents, who set out from Ahmedabad to Laribunda, the port of Sinde, where three English ships had arrived, affords a far less favourable picture of the condition of the portion of India through which his route of about 500 miles lay. The caravan with which he travelled was attacked in the night of the third stage, and "the next day he met the Mogul's officer returning with 250 heads of the Coolies," whom Mr. Orme sweepingly terms, "a nation of robbers;" and who in the opinion of Jehangeer seem to have merited nothing less than extermination. Many days were spent in crossing the desert, but no molestation occurred until the peopled country was reached, and the caravan separated; after which, Withington and his sixteen companions (four servants, two merchants with five servants, and five drivers to their ten camels) hired an escort for the march to Gundaiwa, which saved them from a band of robbers. Twice afterwards they were attacked, and compelled to purchase immunity from plunder by a small present. They next reached the residence of a Rajpoot chief, who had recently escaped from the hands of the Moguls, by whom he had been blinded. His son agreed to escort Withington to Tatta, a distance of only thirty miles, but fraught with danger; and it would appear, from mere covetousness, acted in a manner quite contrary to the usual fidelity of a Hindoo, and especially of a Rajpoot guide, by treacherously delivering over the travellers to a party of marauders, who strangled the two Hindoo merchants and their five servants; and binding Withington and his attendants, marched them forty miles to a mountain stronghold, whence they were sent to Parker, and thence on to Radenpore: their clothes were stolen from them on the way, and they subsisted by begging, until their wants were relieved by the charity of a Banian, whom Withington had known at Ahmedabad, which place he reached, "after a distressful absence of 111 days."—(Orme's *Origin of the English Establishment, and of the Company's trade at Surat and Broach*, p. 334.)

‡ *Vide* pp. 123-4.

§ The French are said to have made an unsuccessful endeavour to double the Cape of Good Hope as early as 1503: in 1601 a small commercial association was formed in Bretagne. Two vessels were fitted out and dispatched to the East Indies: both were wrecked amid the Maldive Archipelago near Ceylon; and the commander, Pyrard de Laval, did not return home for ten years. In 1615, "The Molucca Company" was formed, with exclusive privileges to trade for twelve years. This new source of competition alarmed the Dutch, and their constant hostility, together with the alleged exactions of the king of Acheen, obliged the French company to relinquish their enterprise. In 1619-'20, a French ship was burnt at Bantam with a cargo valued at 500,000 crowns, "apparently by the Dutch."—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 256.) Merchants of St. Malo and Dieppe sent vessels to India at various times in 1622, and the former had an agent settled at Bantam.

|| A Danish company was formed at Copenhagen in 1612, and six vessels (three belonging to the king, Christian IV., and three to the company) were sent out under a commander named Boschower, who had formerly been in the service of the Dutch in Ceylon, and had come to Europe with an appeal from the natives against the cruelties of the Spanish-Portuguese. Boschower first applied to the Dutch, and conceiving himself neglected, proceeded to Denmark, where he obtained the desired assistance, and sailed for Ceylon, but died on the voyage. His second in command became involved in disputes with the rajah he came to befriend, and sailed for Tanjore, where, by means of presents and the promise of a yearly tribute of £700, he obtained from

again rejected.* To guard against the antagonism of the Dutch, and likewise to defeat the attempts of English interlopers, who had taken both to trading and privateering on their own account, it was deemed necessary to send out a fleet of nine ships, of which six were of considerable size, under the command of Sir Thomas Dale, who was commissioned by the king, and empowered to seize the ships of illicit traders, and to declare martial law in case of necessity. Hostilities were seldom long intermitted: even while the nations at home were in alliance, their subjects in the Indies were more or less openly at strife, unless indeed their joint influence was needed against the Portuguese, whose powers of aggression and even defence were now, however, almost neutralised by their disorganised condition.

The Lisbon company to whom the exclusive claims of the Spanish crown had been made over, was unable to furnish the stipulated payments; and the king, finding himself impoverished instead of enriched by his Indian possessions, sent an order to Azevedo, the viceroy, to make the government support itself, by selling every office to the highest bidder. This had already been done to a great extent; but the royal order for so disgraceful a proceeding annihilated the few remaining relics of a better system; and the Moors and Hindoos, instead of humbly suing these former lords of the Indian seas for a passport (which, even when obtained, often failed to secure their vessels against the rapacity of Portuguese cruisers), now in turn became the assailants, thus materially aiding the aggressive policy of the Dutch.

The English did not often come in contact with the Portuguese, their head-quarters being at Surat; but about the time of their establishment in that place, the Dutch attempted to trade with the Malabar coasts, and in 1603, made an ineffectual endeavour to dislodge the Portuguese from Mozambique and Goa; opened a communication with Ceylon; succeeded in expelling them from the islands of Amboyna and Tidore, and by degrees engrossed the whole trade of the Spice Islands; their large equipments and considerable proportion of military force, under able commanders, enabling them to conquer the Moluccas and Bandas.† The reinforcements of the Portuguese grew scanty and insufficient; their Spanish ruler finding full employment for his forces in maintaining the struggle in the Low Countries, and, at the same time, guarding his dominions in the West Indies and South America; the Dutch were therefore enabled by degrees to fix factories at Pulicat, Masulipatam, and Negapatam, on the Coromandel coast; in Ceylon; at Cranganore, Cananore, and Cochin, in Malabar; and thence pushed their commercial agencies to Bussora and the shores of the Persian Gulf. The Amsterdam company also formed establishments in Sumatra and Java.

The twelve years' truce, entered upon between Spain and Holland in 1609, checked open hostility in the Indies; but the Dutch covertly continued their opposition; and in 1611, succeeded in opening a trade with the islands of Japan, despite the exclusive pretensions of the Spanish-Portuguese. The growing naval strength of England justly gave them more uneasiness than the decaying power of a nation whose yoke they had thrown off; and they already found the English, competitors for the spice trade, of

the rajah a cession of territory, on which the settlement of Tranquebar and the fortress of Dansburg were established. By justice and kindness the Danes acquired the goodwill of the natives: their trade extended to the Moluccas and China; they had factories at Bantam and on the Malabar coast; gained possession of the Nicobar islands in the Bay of Bengal (of which they could make nothing); and built a neat town called Serampore, fifteen miles above Calcutta, on the Hooghly river. All these stations were under the direction of Tanjore; and matters went on favourably until the rajah became involved in a long and sanguinary war, which prevented the Danes from procuring cargoes with any certainty, and proved an obstacle to their commerce which all their economy and perseverance never enabled them to surmount.—(Anderson's *Commerce*.)

* An attempt was likewise made for the establishment of a Scottish East India Company, and a royal patent granted in 1618 to Sir James Cunningham, but withdrawn in consequence of the interference of the London company, who made compensation for the expenses incurred. The king, in return for this concession, and with a view of sustaining the Russian company, which had long been in a precarious state, prevailed on the East India Company to unite with them in carrying on a joint trade, each party advancing £30,000 per annum during the continuance of their respective charters; but the experiment failing after a trial of two seasons, the connexion was dissolved at the termination of the year 1619; the loss of the East India Company being estimated at £40,000—(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, p. 16.)

† Their traffic seems from the first to have been always lucrative, though fluctuating. The dividends to the shareholders *in each year*, from 1604 to 1613 inclusive, were at the rate of 125, 55, 75, 40, 20, 25, 50, and 37 per cent. Numerous strong squadrons were equipped: in 1613-'14, no less than twenty-seven ships were dispatched to India.—(*Voyages undertaken by Dutch East India Company*: published in London, 1703.)

which a complete monopoly was their especial desire. The islands of Polaroon and Rosengin* were fortified by the English, with the permission of the natives, about the year 1617. This the Dutch resented, on the ground that they were already possessed of authority over the whole of the Bandas by reason of their occupation of the more important islands in the group. They attacked Polaroon and were driven off, but seized two English ships, and declared their intention of retaining them until the English should consent to surrender all rights and claims on Polaroon and the Spice Islands. Considering the general, though unjust, ideas then entertained regarding the rights obtained in newly-discovered countries by priority of occupancy, without regard to the will of the natives, the Dutch had some plausible pretext for maintaining their claims to the exclusive advantage of trade with the Moluccas, as obtained by conquest from the Spanish-Portuguese; but with regard to the settlement in Java, they could not urge that plea, since they had at first welcomed the arrival and alliance of the English, and made no opposition to their establishment in that island, now sanctioned by time. Their own notions of the case are set forth in a memorial addressed to King James in 1618, complaining of the encroachments of his subjects, and praying him to restrain their further aggressions: the London company, on their part, vindicated their conduct, and enumerated a long series of losses and injuries entailed upon them by the jealous enmity of the Dutch. The governments of the respective companies resolved to make an arrangement for the regulation of the East India trade; and after repeated conferences, a treaty was signed in London, in 1619, by which amnesty for all past excesses was decreed, and a mutual restitution of ships and property. The pepper trade at Java was to be equally divided. The English were to have a free trade at Pulicat on the Coromandel coast, on paying half the expenses of the garrison, and one-third of the trade of the Moluccas and Bandas, bearing an equal proportion of the garrison expenses; joint exertions to be made for the reduction of the customs and duties claimed by the native governments at different ports; the trade of both the contracting parties to be free to the extent of the specified funds respectively employed; each company to furnish ten ships, not to be used in the European trade, but only for mutual defence, and in carrying goods from one port of India to another. Finally, a Council of Defence, composed of four members on either side, who were to preside each alternate month, was established for the local superintendence of the treaty, which was to remain in force twenty years.

Some months before these arrangements were concluded, the fleet under Sir Thomas Dale combined with the king of Bantam† for the expulsion of the Dutch from Jaccatra; which being accomplished, the place was left in the possession of its native owners; but shortly afterwards again seized from the Javanese by their former conquerors, who thereupon laid the foundation of a regular fortified city, on which was bestowed the ancient name of Holland, "Batavia," and which became, and still remains, the seat of their government and the centre of their trade.

The scheme of making the two companies politically equal, and commercially unequal, was soon found to be impracticable; and before the *Council of Defence* had been well established in Jaccatra, the domineering conduct of the Dutch clearly proved their determination to take an unjust advantage of their superior capital and fleet. Considerable exertions were, however, made by the English company, and ten large ships sent out, with £62,490 in money, and £28,508 in goods. Nine of these vessels were detained in the East Indies; but one returned home freighted with a cargo which realised £108,887; and had the Dutch acted up to the spirit or letter of their agreement, the returns would have been immense. Instead of this, they gradually laid aside the flimsy veil which they had at first cast over their intentions, and at length ceased to attempt disguising their continued determination to monopolise the spice-trade. In framing the treaty, no distinction had been made between past and future expenses: the English intended only to bind themselves for the future; the Dutch demanded from them a

* Two small islands in the Banda archipelago, chiefly producing nutmegs and other spices.

† *Bantam*, which attracted so much attention in the early periods of European intercourse with the East, is situated near the north-west point of Java (lat. 5° 52′; long. 106° 2′), at the bottom of a large bay, between the branches of a shallow river. A factory, it will be remembered, had been formed there by the English, under Captain Lancaster, in 1602, and this had been burned by the Dutch, who had also attacked the palace of the king of Bantam, with whom they were constantly at variance.

share of the past, and carried themselves in so overbearing a manner, that the English commissioners soon reported the worse than uselessness of maintaining a connexion which involved the company in a heavy outlay, without adequate remuneration. In the circle of which the ancient city of Surat* was the centre, affairs were proceeding more prosperously. A treaty of trade and friendship had been concluded with Persia, in 1620, on very advantageous terms for the English, to whom permission had been accorded to build a fort at Jask; but an expedition sent there in the following year found the port blockaded by a Portuguese fleet, consisting of five large and fifteen small vessels. The English having but two ships, did not attempt to cope with so disproportionate a force, but sailed back to Surat, where, being joined by two other vessels, they returned to Jask, and succeeded in forcing an entrance into the harbour. The Portuguese retired to Ormuz,† and after refitting, made a desperate attack upon the English, who gained a decisive victory over a much superior force. This event produced a deep impression on the minds of the Persians, who urged the victors to unite with them for the expulsion of the Portuguese from the island of Ormuz; and, although it was against the royal instructions to attack the subjects of the king of Spain, the previous provocation and the urgent solicitation of the Shah was supposed to justify a further breach of the peace. A joint assault was made, and the town and castle captured in 1622, the English having the chief conduct of affairs, and receiving in return a proportion of the plunder, and a grant of the moiety of the customs at the port of Gombroon,‡ which was regularly paid till about 1680, when the company, being unable to keep the gulf free from pirates, the Persian monarch withheld their dues. Notwithstanding the favourable result of this enterprise, the four representatives of the English East India Company at Jaccatra, who bore the title of "President and Council," blamed the co-operation with the Persians as a rash and ill-advised measure, because the pepper§ investment had been lost, from the company's vessels not arriving at Acheen as expected; beside which the general interest had suffered, from the shipping intended for the Java and Sumatra trade being detained by the factors at Sumatra.‖ Probably the English members of the Council of Defence felt the necessity for the concentration of their force as a guard against the Dutch; but for this the whole was far too little. The expiration of the truce between Spain and Holland, in 1621, gave the signal for the

* *Surat,* already repeatedly mentioned in connection with the Moguls, Portuguese, and Mahrattas, is the present capital of Guzerat, situated on the bank of the Taptee river, about twenty miles above its junction with the sea, in 21° 11′ N. lat., 73° 7′ E. long. On the establishment of European intercourse with India, different nations resorted thither, as it had long been a commercial emporium, and was deemed "one of the gates of Mecca," from the number of pilgrims who embarked there on their way to visit the tomb of Mohammed. The Dutch did not visit Surat until 1617, and then only by accident, being shipwrecked off the coast, and kindly treated by the English, who aided them in disposing of their cargoes at Surat, by which means they learned the importance of this ancient emporium, of which they were not slow to take advantage.

† *Ormuz,* six miles long by four miles broad, is situated at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, in 27° 12′ N., within seven miles of the main land. When first visited by the Portuguese, under Albuquerque, in 1508, it was a place of considerable trade; there were then 30,000 men on the island, and in the harbour 400 vessels, sixty of them of large size, and having 2,500 men on board. The place was captured by the Portuguese in 1514, and it remained in their possession for 120 years, during which time the fortifications were increased, noble mansions built, and the town advanced in wealth and splendour, until it grew to be regarded as the richest spot in the world. The share of the customs granted to the English at Gombroon, soon resulted in the transfer of the trade to that port; and in the hands of the Persians, Ormuz degenerated into a heap of ruins.

‡ *Gombroon* lies nearly opposite to Ormuz, in 27° 10′ N. lat., 54° 45′ E. long., on the mainland of Persia. The English were permitted to establish a factory here in 1613, and the Dutch in 1620. After the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormuz, many Persian merchants removed to Gombroon, which was then strongly fortified, and adorned with fine structures. When the interests of the E. I. Cy. became concentrated on the continent of India, their distant factories were neglected. The French seized Gombroon in 1759: it was reoccupied by the English, but eventually abandoned from its unhealthiness.

§ The stress laid on pepper and other spices, as primary articles in the East India trade, can only be explained by remembering, that in those days (while homœopathy was unknown) both cordials and viands were flavoured to a degree which, when the cost of spices diminished, proved itself a fashion rather than a want, by falling into comparative disuse.

‖ A share of the prize-money taken at Ormuz and elsewhere was demanded by the king, in right of the Crown, and by the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral. The company admitted the former, but denied the latter claim, upon which the duke stopped at Tilbury the seven out-going ships for the season, 1823-'4, and obtained £10,000 as a compromise. The same sum was required by the king, but there is no direct evidence that he ever received it. The total prize-money was stated at 240,000 rials, or £100,000.—(Bruce's *Annals* vol. i., p. 242.)

renewal of undisguised hostility on the part of the Dutch towards the settlements of the Spanish-Portuguese; and the large armaments their lucrative trade enabled them to equip, rendered them strong enough to brave the vengeance both of their ancient foes and of their allies the English. Upon the plea that there had been a prior agreement with the natives of the Bandas, who had placed themselves under the sovereignty of the States-General, the Dutch governor, Van Coens, proceeded to the islands of Polaroon, Rosengin, and Lantore, and took possession of the factories, treating the few Englishmen he found there with the most barbarous cruelty, and executing great numbers of the natives on pretence of a conspiracy. The successor of Van Coens, Peter Carpentier, openly asserted the right of sovereignty over the countries in which the Dutch trade was situated, and declared that the English had only a title by the treaty as subordinate traders. The English factory at Bantam had been removed to Batavia on the faith of the Dutch performance of their treaty; but they soon found their mistake, and desired to return to Bantam, where, by favour of the king, their old ally, they doubted not that ten ships of 800 tons might be annually filled with pepper, provided the Javanese were allowed to bring it in without obstruction;* but to this measure the Dutch would not consent, lest the progress of their newly-erected and neighbouring sovereignty at Batavia should be thereby impeded. The English had no force wherewith to oppose the tyranny of their pretended coadjutors, but real foes; and at length tired of remonstrance, urged the company to use every exertion to procure from the king the annulment of a treaty, whose ambiguity enabled the stronger party at will to oppress the weaker. The commercial efforts of the factors stationed at Amboyna† had proved equally unsatisfactory; they were therefore ordered by the English president and council to leave the station with their property and come to Batavia.‡ It was at this crisis that those barbarous proceedings were instituted which rendered the conduct of the Dutch at Amboyna a synonyme for cruelty.

The local government, on the plea of the formation of a plot for its expulsion, seized ten Japanese about the middle of February, 1623, and by subjecting them to excessive and repeated torture, extorted a declaration that they had been parties in a conspiracy which the English agent (Captain Towerson), with thirteen of his countrymen and one Portuguese sailor, had formed to seize on the castle of Amboyna, and exterminate the Dutch. That such a conspiracy should have been formed against an overpowering force, by a few trading agents who had no ambitious motives to prompt so daring an attempt, is highly improbable;§ but the savage persecution of the Dutch governor can hardly be accounted for, except by supposing that he and his associates were hurried on by a desire to revenge a supposed wrong; or else, that having resolved to be rid of their troublesome competitors, they first brought forward an accusation invented for the purpose, and then wrung from them,

* A frequent complaint urged against the Dutch, in the *Annals of the E. I. Cy.* is, that they sought "to bear down the merchants of every other country by raising the price, so as to render the trade unproductive to all other nations."—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 231.) But if the Dutch company, by good management of their funds, could afford to purchase pepper from the natives at so high a price as to "bear down" all competition, the means employed would seem perfectly legitimate.

† Amboyna, to the south of Ceram, is the largest of the Clove Islands: Fort Victoria, the capital, lies in 3° 42′ S. lat., 128° 11′ E. long. The Portuguese discovered this island in 1511, and occupied it in 1564, in consequence of its valuable spices; but were driven out by the Dutch in 1607, who, as also the English, formed factories here; and by the treaty of 1619, both nations were to occupy Amboyna in common.

‡ The factories at Siam and Potania were withdrawn about the same time, also those in Japan, upon which island the Dutch had been driven during a storm in 1600: and through the influence subsequently acquired by their English pilot, "old William Adams," over the mind of the emperor, had obtained, in 1609, permission to send two ships annually to the port of Firando. Adams, on learning the establishment of his countrymen at Bantam (which the Dutch strove to conceal from him), sent a letter to advise their opening intercourse with Japan. In June, 1613, the *Clove*, Captain Saris, with a letter from King James I., and presents in charge of a superintendent or factor, arrived. The king or governor of Firando sent Captain Saris to Jedo, the capital, where he was well received; a friendly answer returned to the royal letter, and a very liberal charter of privileges granted to the E. I. Cy. The Dutch soon instituted hostilities against the factory; plundered the ships, wounded and killed several of the English, and compelled the rest to flee for their lives, which would probably have been sacrificed as at Amboyna, but for the interference of the Japanese, who, for several years after their departure, guarded the deserted factories from plunder, in constant expectation of their return.

§ There were four strong forts, garrisoned by about 200 Dutchmen, with some 300 or 400 native troops; the English, in all, numbered about twenty men, including a surgeon and tailor, who were among the sufferers.

by intolerable anguish, a confession of guilt, the falsity of which none knew better than those who extorted it. The motives remain a mystery—as those of great public crimes often do; the cause assigned being insufficient to account for the fiend-like cruelty with which Captain Towerson and his miserable companions were by turn subjected (as the natives had previously been) to the agonies which, by the aid of those two powerful agents, fire and water, the wicked invention and pitiless will of man can inflict upon his fellow.* By the Dutch code, as by the codes of all the other continental nations of Europe, evidence obtained by torture afforded sufficient ground for legal condemnation: the English, it was alleged, were living under Dutch sovereignty, established before their arrival in the island; and on these grounds, the whole of the accused were condemned to death, and with four exceptions, beheaded on the 27th of the same month in which they were first seized—all of them protesting, with their latest breath, their entire innocence of the crime with which they were charged.† Besides the above-named persons who were reprieved, four others remained in Amboyna, whose absence at the time of the alleged conspiracy had procured their safety. The survivors were sent for by the English president and council to Batavia, so soon as the terrible end of their companions was known there, and gladly made their escape, leaving their oppressors to seize the factories and stores, and to commit all manner of cruelties on the wretched Javanese, who were shipped off in large numbers, as slaves, to different islands. The English sufferers were dispatched to London, where they arrived in August, 1624. Their representations of the horrible outrage committed in Amboyna, seconded by the protestations of innocence, written in a Bible and other books belonging to their unhappy countrymen, were sedulously circulated, and the effect heightened by the exhibition of a picture, in which the victims were represented upon the rack, writhing in agony. The press teemed with publications, enlarging upon the same subject; and the tide of popular feeling rose so high, that in default of ability to reach the true criminals, it had well nigh found vent on the heads of the unoffending Dutch residents in London, who urgently appealed to the Privy Council for protection, and complained of the conduct of the East India directors, whose proceedings, though probably not uninfluenced by views of miscalled policy, would yet be very excusable, when viewed on the ground of indignation at the unjust and cruel sufferings inflicted on their servants.

A commission of inquiry was instituted by the king; application made to the Dutch government for signal reparation; and an order issued for intercepting and detaining the Dutch East India fleets, till an accommodation should be arranged. The evasive answer of the States was evidently framed with a view of gaining time to let the fierce but short-lived tumult of popular rage pass away, before coming to any definite arrangement. The only concession offered, deemed worth accepting, was permission for the English to retire from the Dutch settlements without paying any duties; and even this was accompanied by an unqualified assumption of the sovereign and exclusive rights of the Dutch over the Moluccas, Bandas, and Amboyna,—the very point so long contested.

King James manifested considerable energy on this occasion; but his foreign and domestic policy had acquired a reputation for weakness and vacillation, which probably militated against the success of the measures instituted in the last few months of his reign, which terminated in March, 1625. His ill-fated son succeeded to a regal inheritance heavily burdened with debt, war, and faction; which required, at least humanly speaking, the governance of one gifted with a powerful and unprejudiced intellect, and judgment wherewith to guide the helm of state—by that best rudder, the power of distinguishing the cry of faction from the desire of a nation. Had Charles I. been thus endowed, even a turbulent parliament could not have driven him to alienate the affections of his subjects by the expedients (irregular loans and ship-money) to which he had recourse. As it was, the failing power of the Crown diminished the hope of redress entertained by the company, and subjected them to danger from the

* These proceedings are narrated at length in Hall's *Cruelties of the Dutch in the East Indies*, 8vo., London, 1712: they were continued during several days, including a Sunday, and are too horrible for quotation: it must, therefore, suffice to say, that each victim was placed on the rack, and compelled to inhale water at every attempt to draw breath, until his body became inflated and he swooned, was recovered, and the same horrible process repeated. The fire was applied by means of lighted candles, held to the elbows and other sensitive parts of the body, and relit when extinguished by the heavy sweat of agony.—(Pp. 18 to 32.)

† This fact rests on Dutch authority.

feeling against monopolies, which was evidently gaining ground in the House of Commons, stimulated by the complaints of the private traders, or interlopers, who pleaded the severities exercised against them in the Indian seas. The charter of the company was the gift of the Crown, from which they had recently received a new and important prerogative; namely—authority to punish their subjects abroad by common and martial law:* nor does the sanction of parliament appear to have been deemed necessary for the delegation of so important a trust. But a change was rapidly taking place; and the company, alarmed for the continuance of their monopoly, paid homage to the rising sun, by presenting a memorial to the Commons, in which they represented the national importance of a traffic employing shipping of 10,000 tons burden, and 2,500 men; and urged that the Dutch should be pressed to make compensation for past injuries, and discontinue their oppressive conduct in monopolising the spice-trade, which was felt the more sensibly by the English from the difficulty they experienced in opening a trade for woven goods on the coast of Coromandel. The precise condition of their finances at this period is not recorded; but it was certainly far from being a prosperous one:† nor could they foresee the issue of the efforts which their expulsion from the Indian islands compelled them to direct to the formation of settlements on the great peninsula itself. In the interim, many difficulties were to be encountered. The company's Persian trade languished under the caprice and extortions of local magistrates. Their agents, soon after the catastrophe at Amboyna, had quitted Java and retired to Lagundy, in the Straits of Sunda. In less than a year, the extreme unhealthiness of the island rendered them anxious to abandon it; but of 250 men, 130 were sick, and they had not a crew sufficient to navigate a ship to any of the English factories. In this emergency the Dutch assisted them, by aiding their return to Batavia; and through the steady friendship of the *Pangran*, or king of Bantam, they obtained the re-establishment of their factory there, in 1629, without opposition on the part of the Dutch, who were then actively employed in defending Batavia against the *Materam*, or emperor of Java, who unsuccessfully besieged it with 80,000 men.

In 1628–'9, the station at Armegaun, on the Coromandel coast (established on a piece of ground purchased from the *Naig*, or local chief, shortly before) was fortified; twelve pieces of cannon being mounted round the factory, with a guard of twenty-three factors and soldiers. The centre of the company's trade was the presidency of Surat, where, however, they had to sustain the commercial rivalry of the Dutch, whose larger capital, and, according to Mill, more economical management,‡ enabled them to outbid the English, both in purchase and sale. The Spanish-Portuguese made an effort to retain their vanishing power; and in 1630, the viceroy of Goa having received a reinforcement from Europe of nine ships and 2,000 soldiers, projected the recovery of Ormuz, and made unsuccessful overtures to the Mogul governor of Surat to obtain the exclusive trade. He then attacked five English vessels as they entered the port of Swally; but after a short, though indecisive

* Captain Hamilton asserts, that before this time (1624), the servants of the company, having no power to inflict capital punishment by the legal mode of hanging, except for piracy, had recourse to whipping or starvation for the same end. It is very possible, that in the general license and disorder attendant on the formation, whether of factories or colonies, by men suddenly removed beyond the pale of conventional propriety, and unguided by a deeply-rooted principle of duty, that many violent deeds were committed in the profaned name of justice. Nevertheless, so serious and sweeping a charge as the above, requires some stronger confirmation than any adduced by Mr. Hamilton, who did not enter India until sixty years after the period of which he writes so freely, and who, by his own admission, has recorded much hearsay information, through the medium of what he describes as "a weak and treacherous memory." The date of the facts are in some measure a criterion how far they may be relied on. His description of scenes, in which he had been an actor, bear the stamp of truthfulness: though, so far as the company is concerned, they are often tinctured with prejudice; for the writer was himself an "interloper."—(Vide *New Account of the East Indies*, or "Observations and Remarks of Captain Hamilton, made from the year 1688 to 1723.")

† In 1627, Sir Robert Shirley, before mentioned as Persian ambassador, and one of the two brothers who so strangely ingratiated themselves with Shah Abbas, applied to the king and council to order the E. I. Cy. to pay him £2,000 as compensation for his exertions and services in procuring them a trade with Persia. The directors denied the alleged service, and moreover stated, that having "been obliged to contract so large a debt as £200,000, their paramount duty was, in the first instance, to liquidate this debt, that they might raise the price of the stock, which had sunk so low as eighty per cent.—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 272.)

‡ Mill's *History of British India*, edited by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, vol. i., p. 64.

action, followed by several minor skirmishes, and one great effort to destroy their fleet by fire, the English gained the victory, and succeeded in landing their cargoes.

In 1631–'2, a subscription, amounting to £420,700, was opened for a third joint-stock fund. Its results have not been very accurately chronicled;* neither if they had would they afford matter of sufficient interest to occupy space already so limited, that the author is frequently compelled to crowd into a note that which he would otherwise have gladly woven into the text.

The Dutch were now the paramount maritime power in India: they annually sent from Holland thirty-four to forty-one ships, receiving in return from twenty-five to thirty-four rich cargoes;† and the occasional squadrons still dispatched by the Spanish-Portuguese, opposed their formidable enemy with even less success than did the brave sailors who manned the "ventures" of English, French, and Danish companies.

The revolution in Portugal, in 1640, by which, in less than a week, that kingdom regained its independence, had not its expected effect in restoring the national influence in India. The Dutch continued their conquering course; and having previously expelled the Portuguese from the Spice Islands, and Formosa in the China Seas, drove them from Malacca in 1640, Japan in 1641, and terminated a long and severe struggle by expelling them from Ceylon in 1656. The fortified stations on the Malabar coast—Cochin, Cananore, Cranganore, Coulan, and others of minor importance, likewise changed hands;‡ but the Portuguese, on their side, had wherewith to balance, at least in part, the success of their opponents in the East Indies, by their own acquisitions in South America (the Brazils); and in 1661, a treaty was formed between Portugal and Holland, on the basis of the *Uti posseditis*—each party agreeing to be content with their reciprocal losses and advantages.

The English company, meanwhile, found it difficult to maintain even a feeble and interrupted trade; and the more so from the unfaithful conduct of their own agents at Surat.§ In 1634, permission was granted by the emperor for trade with the province of Bengal, with the restriction that the English ships were to resort only to the port of Piplee, in Orissa; and in the following year, a friendly convention was entered into with the Portuguese. This latter arrangement becoming known in England, excited hopes of extraordinary profit, and induced a number of gentlemen, headed by Sir William Courten, to form a new association for trade with India. By the intervention of Endymion Porter, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, Charles I. was prevailed upon to sanction, and even to

* The effect of the company's proceedings had been for several years a subject of parliamentary discussion; and some valuable statistics regarding their early condition have come down to us in the form of documents laid before the House. It appears that from 1600 to 1621 inclusive, 86 ships were sent to India, of which 36 returned with cargoes, 9 were lost, 3 worn out in trading from port to port, 11 captured by the Dutch, and 25 accounted for as engaged in India or on their voyage home. During this time, the exports had amounted to £613,681 in bullion, and £319,211 in woollens, lead, iron, tin, and other wares, making a total of £932,892, or about £45,000 per annum: the imports realised £2,004,600, the cost of lading having been £375,288. Another paper, drawn up by order of the Commons in 1625, states, that between March, 1620, and March, 1623, 26 ships were equipped, and furnished with bullion to the amount of £205,710, and goods worth £58,806; total, £264,516. The imports during the same time, including raw silk from China and Persia, and a sum of £80,000 paid by the Dutch in accordance with the treaty of 1619, realised £1,255,444, or on an average, £313,861 per annum, and would have been much greater but for the hostilities with the Dutch. The principal objections urged on public grounds against the company were, that the exportation of specie impoverished the realm, and that the navigation of the southern seas was destructive both to the mariners and vessels employed. In reply to these charges it was urged, that the company exported not English, but foreign coin; and that the quantity had always fallen far short of the sum authorised by the charter, and was expected to decrease yearly: with regard to the injurious results alleged to be produced on the English marine by the East India trade, the best answer was its greatly increased inefficiency.—(Monson's *Naval Tracts* in Churchill's *Voyages*—Bruce and Macpherson.) The *pro's* and *con's* of the question as urged by the political economists of that day are very curious. What would have been their surprise, could they have been forewarned of the wealth England was to receive from India; or been told that the country whose currency could, they considered, ill-bear a yearly drain of specie to the amount of £30,000, would, in 1853, be found capable of exporting £30,000,000.

† Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 49.

‡ "When will you return to India?" said a Dutch to a Portuguese officer, who was embarking for Europe after the surrender of a fortress to his antagonist.—"*When your crimes are greater than ours*," was the instructive reply.—(*Memoirs of India*, by R. G. Wallace: London, 1824, p. 198.)

§ Instead of attending to the company's affairs, the president and council carried on a private trade, until, quarrelling among themselves, they betrayed one another, and were obliged to solicit the leniency of their far-distant employers.—(Bruce, i., 325.)

accept a share in the proposed adventure. The preamble to the license, which was granted for a term of five years, alleges that the East India Company had neglected to establish fortified factories or seats of trade, to which the king's subjects could resort with safety; that they had broken the conditions on which their charter had been granted; and had generally accomplished nothing for the good of the nation, in proportion to the great privileges they had enjoyed, or even to the funds of which they had disposed. These allegations, were they true, could not justify the breach of faith now committed: had the monopoly been clearly proved injurious to the nation, nothing beyond the stipulated three years' notice was necessary to its legal abrogation. The company remonstrated and petitioned without success: and one Captain Weddel, who had been previously engaged in their service, proceeded to the East Indies with six ships, and there occasioned the agents of his former employers great inconvenience, both by interfering with their trade, and by drawing upon them the hostility of the natives, who naturally suspected actual collusion, hid beneath the apparent rivalry of men of the same nation. In 1637–'8, several of Courten's ships returned with cargoes, which produced an ample profit to the association; and a new license was conceded, continuing their privileges for five years. The old company, who had never ceased complaining and petitioning against the Dutch, had now a second source of anxiety, to which a third was soon added; for the king, in his distress for funds wherewith to carry on the Scottish war, compelled them to make over to him, on credit, the whole of the pepper they had in store, and then disposed of it at a reduced price for ready money.* Lord Cottington and others became sureties for the king, who, when they were pressed for its repayment, exerted himself for their relief and the liquidation of the debt; but his power soon ceased; and what (if any) portion of their claim the company eventually recovered, is not known. It was while matters were in their worst state of distress and embarrassment at home, that the first English stations destined to prove of permanent importance in India were formed.† The position of Armegaun had been found inconvenient for providing the "piece-goods"‡ which constituted the principal item of exportation from the Coromandel coast; the permission of Sree Ranga Raya, the rajah of Chandragiri,§ granted in 1640, for the establishment of a settlement at Madras (sixty-six miles south of Armegaun) was therefore eagerly embraced, and the erection of *Fort St. George* immediately commenced by the chief local agent, Mr. Day. The court, or executive committee in London, deemed the enterprise hazardous, and inclined to its abandonment; but by the advice of the president and council of Surat, the defences were continued, though on a very limited scale. Madras remained subordinate to the distant station of Bantam until 1653; but was then raised to a presidency. Lest its importance should be over-rated, it may be well to add, that the garrison of the fort at this latter period amounted only to twenty-six English soldiers, and, in 1654–'5, was ordered to be diminished to a guard of ten, and the civil establishment to two factors.

The settlement of a trading post at Hooghly forms another early and important link in the chain of circumstances, that from slender beginnings, under a policy of the most irregular and uncertain character, has terminated in the formation of that extraordinary power, called by some

* The king bought 607,522 bags of pepper, at 2*s.* 1*d.* per lb.=£63,283 11*s.* 6*d.*: and sold it at 1*s.* 8*d.* = £50,626 17*s.* 1*d.*—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 371.)

† The affairs of the third joint-stock were wound up in 1640, and the original capital divided, with a profit, in eleven years, of only thirty-five per cent—little more than three per cent. per annum. In the following year, £67,500 were subscribed for a single voyage; and in 1643, about £105,000 were raised for a fourth joint-stock. The attempts made, with this small sum, were very unfortunate: one ship, valued at £35,000, was wrecked; and another, with a cargo worth £20,000, was carried into Bristol by her commander (Captain Macknel), and delivered over for the king's use, during the civil war in which the nation was then involved. The company borrowed money both at home and abroad; and, in 1646, their debts, in England, amounted to £122,000. Their effects are stated as follows:—"Quick stock at Surat, £83,600; at Bantam, £60,731; in shipping and stores, £31,180; and customs at Gombroon, estimated at £5,000: forming a total of £180,511."—(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i., p. 27.)

‡ The general term applied to the muslins and wove-goods of India and China.

§ A descendant of Venkatadri, brother of the famous Rama Rajah, the last sovereign of Beejanuggur (*see* p. 97.) In compliment to the naik, or local governor, who first invited the English to change their settlement, the new station was named after his father, Chenna-patam, and is still so called by the natives, though Europeans use an abbreviation of its previous designation—Madras-patam. The territory granted extended five miles along-shore and one mile inland.—(Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, and Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, p. 229.)

an empire of chance, but really an empire of Providence. Jehanara, the favourite daughter of Shah Jehan, in retiring one night from the imperial presence to her own apartments, set her dress on fire in passing one of the lamps which lit the corridor, and fearful of calling for assistance while the male guards of the palace were within hearing, rushed into the harem all on fire, and was fearfully burned before the flames could be extinguished. The most famous physicians were summoned from different parts of the empire, and the surgeons of the English East-Indiamen having obtained considerable repute for cures performed on some Mogul nobles, an express was sent to Surat for one of them. Mr. Gabriel Boughton was selected for the important office, and having been instrumental in aiding the recovery of the princess, was desired by Shah Jehan to name his reward. With rare disinterestedness, Boughton asked exclusively for benefits to the company he served; and in return for this and subsequent attendance on the household of the emperor and Prince Shuja, the governor of Bengal, he obtained a licence for unlimited trade throughout the empire, with freedom from custom-dues in all places except Surat, and permission to erect factories, which was availed of by their establishment at several places, especially Hooghly, from whence the Portuguese had been expelled in 1633.* Authorities agree with regard to the leading facts of the above occurrences, with one important exception—the date, which is variously stated as 1636,† 1640,‡ and 1651–'2. Bruce, the careful annalist of the E. I. Cy., fixes the latter period for the formation of the Hooghly factory, but his notice of Boughton is scanty and unsatisfactory, probably from the character of the data on which it was founded; for the "cautious mercantile silence"§ observed by the company extended to their records; and while striving to make the most of their claims upon the country at large, and to represent at its highest value the "dead stock" acquired in India, in the shape of trading licences, forts, factories, &c., they were naturally by no means anxious to set forth the easy terms on which some of their most important privileges had been obtained. During the concluding years of the reign of Charles I., they maintained a struggling and fitful commerce. In 1647–'8, when the king was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and the power of the parliament supreme, a new subscription was set on foot, and strenuous endeavours made to induce members of the legislature to subscribe, in the hope that the English, like the Dutch company, might ensure the protection of the state, through the influence of its chief counsellors. This project seems to have failed; and in 1649–'50, attempts to form another joint-stock were renewed, and carried out by means of a junction with Courten's association, now designated the "Assada Merchants," in consequence of their having formed a settlement on an island called by that name, near Madagascar.

The establishment of the Commonwealth changed the direction, but not the character of the solicitations of the company. They now appealed to Cromwell and his Council for redress from the Dutch, and the renewal of their charter. The first claim met with immediate attention, and formed a leading feature in the national grievances urged against Holland. The famous Navigation Act, prohibiting the importation of any foreign commodities, except in English vessels, or those of the countries wherein they were produced, though, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, absolutely requisite for the encouragement of the British navy, was felt by the Dutch as a measure peculiarly levelled against the carrying trade, so important to their national prosperity; and ambassadors were sent to Cromwell to solicit its repeal. The war which followed his refusal, involved the feeble settlements of the English in India in great danger, and almost suspended their coasting-trade; but the success of their countrymen in Europe, soon delivered them from this peril. Cromwell reduced the Dutch to the necessity of accepting peace on terms of his dictation; and a treaty was concluded at Westminster, in 1654, in which a clause was inserted for the appointment of a commission, composed

* They had settled there subsequent to the termination of Faria y Sousa's history, in 1640: for an account of their expulsion by Shah Jehan, see p. 131.

† Malcolm's *Political India*, vol. i., p. 18.

‡ Stewart states that Boughton was sent to the imperial camp, in the Deccan, in 1636; and that factories were established at Balasore and Hooghly, in 1640.—(*History of Bengal*, p. 252.) Dow mentions the accident of the princess as occurring in 1643, but does not name Boughton.—(*Hindoostan*, vol. iii., p. 190.) It appears that no firman was issued, but only a "nishan," or order from Prince Shuja, with warrants from the local governors; but, in 1680, Aurungzebe confirmed the grant of Shah Jehan.

§ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy., from* 1600 *to Union of London and English Cos., in* 1707-'8, i., 426.

of four Dutch and four English members, to examine into and decide upon the claims of their respective nations, and to award punishment to all survivors concerned in the perpetration of the cruelties at Amboyna, in 1623.* In the event of the commissioners being unable to come to a decision, within a specified time, their differences of opinion were to be submitted to the arbitration of the Protestant Swiss cantons.

The claims of both parties, as might be expected from the circumstances of the case, bear evident marks of exaggeration, though to what degree it would be difficult to judge. The English company estimated their damages, as ascertained by a series of accounts from 1611 to 1652, at £2,695,999 15*s.*; the Dutch, at £2,919,861 13*s.* 6*d.* The award of the commissioners set aside the balance claimed by the latter, and allotted to the English the sum of £85,000, and £3,615 to the heirs or executors of those who had suffered at Amboyna. Polaroon was likewise to be ceded by the Dutch; but they long endeavoured to evade compliance with this stipulation; and when, after the lapse of many years, the island was at length surrendered,† the nutmeg plantations, which had constituted its chief value, were found to have been all purposely destroyed.

The English company were not well pleased with the amount adjudged to them, and their dissatisfaction was greatly increased by Cromwell's proposition to borrow the £85,000 in question, until its distribution should be arranged. The directors asserted that the different stocks were £50,000 in debt, and many of the proprietors in difficult circumstances;‡ but that they would consent to spare £50,000, to be repaid by instalments in eighteen months, provided the remaining £35,000 were immediately assigned them to relieve their more pressing liabilities, and make a dividend to the shareholders.

The application of the company for a confirmation, under the republic, of the exclusive privileges granted under the monarchy, was not equally successful. It is not necessary to enter into the question of whether the well-grounded aversion entertained by the public towards the monopolies of soap, wine, leather, salt, &c., bestowed by the Crown on individuals, extended to the charters granted for special purposes to large associated bodies; the fact remains, that so far from obtaining a confirmation of their privileges, the E. I. Cy., in 1654, beheld with dismay their virtual abrogation in the licences granted by Cromwell to separate undertakings. The rivalry of disconnected traders was unimportant in comparison with that of the so-called Merchant Adventurers, who were proprietors of the united stock formed in 1649, and who now took their chance, in common with other speculators. By their exertions, four ships were equipped for the Indian trade, under the management of a committee. The news of these events created great excitement in Holland; and instead of rejoicing over the downfall of an old rival, the Dutch company appear to have been filled with consternation, either fearing that the example might lead to the destruction of their monopoly, or else that it would open the door to more dangerous competition from the English at large. The experiment of open trade with India was, however, of too brief continuance to afford conclusive evidence regarding the permanent effects it was calculated to produce on British commerce;§ for in 1657, the Protector and Council of State decided upon the management of a corporate body vested with exclusive privileges, as the most efficacious method of carrying on the Indian traffic. A new charter was accorded, and a coalition effected

* It does not appear that this latter part of the agreement was ever fulfilled.

† In 1665: Damm, an island near Banda, was occupied by the English in the same year; but they were driven out by a Dutch force, on the plea of a prior right. The war between England and Holland gave the Dutch an opportunity for regaining Polaroon; and by the pacification of Breda in 1667, the British government tacitly surrendered both Polaroon and Damm, in consideration of more important objects gained by that treaty.

‡ "At the same time," says Mill, "it is matter of curious uncertainty who these directors were, whom they represented, by what set or sets of proprietors they were chosen, or to whom they were responsible."—(Vol. i., p. 861.)

§ Numerous pamphlets, published during the paper war which raged towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, are still extant. On one side, it was argued, that the cheapness and abundance of Indian products (especially indigo and calico), which resulted from the open trade, attested its beneficial influence on the nation; but the advocates of the company, in reply, asserted that this was merely a temporary excitement, sure to produce a reaction. With regard to the adventurers themselves, it has been alleged, that they were eminently successful; but Anderson remarks, "it is generally said that even the interlopers, or separate traders, were losers in the end;" and he adds, "so difficult is it to come at the real truth where interest is nearly concerned on both sides."—(Vol. ii., p. 444.)

between the E. I. Cy. and the Merchant Adventurers. By their united efforts a subscription was raised, amounting to £786,000, and arrangements, already too long delayed, entered into with the owners of the preceding funds; all the forts, privileges, and immunities obtained in India and Persia being made over to the new association, in full right, for the sum of £20,000, and the ships or merchandise similarly transferred at a valuation. Thus the directors had henceforth a single fund to manage, and a single interest to pursue; but, unfortunately for them, the joint-stock was not as yet a definite and invariable sum placed beyond the power of resumption, the shares only transferable by purchase and sale in the market. On the contrary, their capital was variable and fluctuating,—formed by the sums which, on the occasion of each voyage, the individuals who were free of the company chose to pay into their hands, receiving credit for the amount in the company's books, and proportional dividends on the profits of the voyage. Of this stock, £500 entitled a proprietor to a vote in the general courts; and the shares were transferable even to such as were not free of the company, on payment of an admission-fee of £5. A defective system, and inadequate resources, together with the hostility of the Dutch, and the disturbed state of the Deccan during the long reign of Aurungzebe, combined to render the operations of the company in India languid and inconsiderable. Yet, during this period of depression, several events occurred which had an important bearing on their after-history: in the words of Robert Grant, "amidst the storms under which it was bending,—if we may not rather say from the very effects of them,—the British authority silently struck some deep roots into the eastern continent."*

The death of Cromwell, and the restoration of monarchy under Charles II., proved fortunate events to the corporation; for the Protector, notwithstanding his decision in their favour, had shown a continued inclination to sanction private adventure, at least in exceptional cases;† while the king evinced no desire to question or infringe their exclusive claims, but confirmed them in the fullest manner in April, 1661, and empowered them to make peace or war with any prince or people not Christians; and to seize unlicensed persons within their limits, and send them to England. These two privileges, added to the administration of justice, consigned almost the whole powers of government over "all plantations, forts, fortifications, factories, or colonies" already or hereafter to be acquired by the company, to the discretion of the directors and their servants—not for a stated term, but in perpetuity, with, however, the usual condition of termination after three years' notice, if found injurious to the sovereign or the public.‡ Two months after the renewal of the charter, Charles married the Infanta Catherine, and received, as a portion of her dowry, a grant of the island of Bombay from the crown of Portugal. The Earl of Marlborough, with 500 troops, commanded by Sir Abraham Shipman, were dispatched to India on the king's behalf, to demand possession of the island and its dependencies (Salsette and Tanna.)§ The Portuguese governor took advantage of the indefinite wording of the treaty, and refused to deliver over any territory beyond Bombay itself; and even that he delayed to surrender till further instructions, on the pretext that the letters or patent produced did not accord with the usages of Portugal. The troops were dying day by day, in consequence of long confinement on board ship, and their commander requested the president of Surat (Sir George Oxenden), to make arrangements for their reception, but was refused, on the ground that such a proceeding might excite the anger of the Mogul government. In this emergency, the Earl of Marlborough returned to England, and Sir Abraham Shipman proceeded to the little island of Anjediva, twelve leagues distant from Goa, where, being cooped up in an

* *Sketch of the History of the E. I. Cy.*, page 20.

† Shortly before his death, Cromwell licensed a Mr. Rolt to export three mortars and 20,000 shells, to be disposed of to Aurungzebe, then engaged in rebellion against his father. The company directed the Surat presidency to seize on these articles as illicit; and the more effectually to frustrate the speculation, sent large quantities of ordnance, mortars, shells, &c., desiring the different presidencies to dispose of them at the best price to either of the four rival princes who should first apply for them, preserving meanwhile a strict neutrality.—(Bruce, i., 39.)

‡ A clause in this charter confirmed to the company the possession of St. Helena, which they had taken possession of in 1651, as a convenient station for the refreshment of homeward-bound vessels, the Dutch having previously abandoned it for the Cape of Good Hope. Here, as in Bombay, they were empowered to frame and execute laws "as near as might be" conformable to the constitution of England; a direction not sufficiently observed.

§ He urged that the cession of these isles could not have been intended, since it would lay the important station of Bassein open to the English.

unhealthy position, and distressed for provisions, he offered to cede the rights of the English Crown to the representatives of the company at Surat. The proposition was rejected, for the two-fold reason that it was unauthorised, and that the presidency had not a sufficient force to occupy and maintain the island. At length, after Sir Abraham and the majority of the soldiers had perished, the survivors, about 100 in number, were suffered to take possession of Bombay, in December, 1664,* on terms prescribed by the Portuguese. The governmental expenses being found to exceed the revenue of the island, it was transferred to the E. I. Cy. in 1668;† "to be held of the king in free and common socage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, on the payment of the annual rent of ten pounds in gold," and with the place itself was conveyed authority to exercise all political powers necessary to its defence and government.‡

Bombay, from its insular position, proved a very important acquisition, especially to the presidency of Surat, from which it was situated within a sail of 200 miles,—a very practicable distance considered with respect to the extensive range of the Indo-British establishments. The fortifications were diligently enlarged and strengthened; and in about six years the ordnance of the garrison, which, at the time of the cession, consisted of twenty-one pieces of cannon, was augmented to 100. Every encouragement was held out, both to European and native settlers. A remission of customs was proclaimed for five years, looms were provided, houses built, and a system of administration framed with especial regard to the opinions and customs of the motley population, comprising English and Germans,§ Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Parsees. In 1675–'6, the revenues were nearly doubled, having increased from £6,490 (75,000 xeraphins) to £12,037 sterling.—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 87.) Letters-patent were granted by Charles II., in 1676, for the establishment of a mint at Bombay for the coinage of rupees and pice,|| to pass current in all the dependencies of the company. A system was adopted, about the same time, for the general regulation of the service on the principle of seniority ever after maintained; the gradations of apprentices, writers, factors, merchants, and senior merchants being then established.

The position of the company at this period was a very critical one: in England, notwithstanding the decided patronage of the Crown, their severe treatment of interlopers produced fierce altercations between the two houses of parliament,¶ and their pecuniary involvements induced them to direct their

* This date is memorable for the first importation of tea into England by the E. I. Cy., a small quantity being brought as a present for the king. No public order was given for its purchase until 1667; when the agent at Bantam was desired "to send home by these ships 100 lbs. weight of the best tey that you can gett."—(Bruce, ii., 211.) This article became the chief item in the trade with China, to be described under the head of *Hong-Kong.*

† Probably it was intended thereby to recompense the company for the annulment of their claims to Polaroon and Damm, mentioned in a previous note; and also for the cession of their possessions on the coast of Africa (obtained through their junction with the Assada merchants), to the company formed by the Duke of York, for the hateful slave-trade.

‡ The question of the proprietorship of the land at Bombay is nowhere very definitely stated as regards the native owners. The Jesuits claimed considerable portions, as appertaining to their college at Bundera, and vainly strove to establish their pretensions by force.—(*Annals*, ii., 214.) Authority was subsequently given for the purchase of lands in the vicinity of the fort to the extent of £1,500. A subsequent record states that the inhabitants had paid the King of Portugal one-fourth of the profit of their lands as a quit-rent, which President Aungier commuted for an annual sum of 20,000 xeraphins, reserving to the company the right of military service.—(iii., 105.)

§ The sobriety and regularity of the German recruits are particularly praised in the communications of 1676-'7, and a request made, that a proportion should be annually embarked to supply the frequent vacancies caused by the climate. A militia was formed, and in 1672-'3, on an alarm from the Dutch, the assistance of 500 Rajpoots was requested.

|| The rupee was then valued at about three shillings: a pice, at a halfpenny.—(Bruce's *Annals.*)

¶ A memorable instance of this strife occurred in the case of a merchant, named Skinner, who applied to government for redress against the E. I. Cy., for having seized his ship and merchandise in India, in 1658. His complaint was referred by the king to the Privy Council, and thence to the House of Peers, by whom the directors were ordered to answer at the bar the charge brought against them. They refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Peers, and appealed to the Commons against this infraction of their chartered privileges. The Lords decreed judgment, by awarding £5,000 damages to Skinner, upon which the Commons passed some condemnatory resolutions regarding the Upper House, and seizing the successful petitioner, sent him to the Tower. The Lords, in reprisal for Skinner's incarceration, ordered Sir Samuel Barnadiston and three other leading members of the contumacious company into confinement, and declared their memorial false and scandalous: while the Lower House in turn, resolved, that whoever should execute the sentence of the Lords in favour of Skinner, would prove himself a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the Commons of England. To such a height did these contentions proceed, that the king prorogued parliament seven times on this account; and at length, in 1670, when, after some intermission, the controversy again revived, he sent for the members of both

servants in India to borrow the money necessary for procuring investments or cargoes for Europe, "without being limited either in the amount, or the rate of interest."* In the year 1673–'4, the president of Surat stated that the Indian debts amounted to £100,000, exclusive of the rapid accumulation of them by the payment of high interest;† and for the liquidation of these sums, the only source as yet available was the balance of trade. Nor was it always practicable to raise loans on any terms; for the native bankers and dealers, called Shroffs and Banians, who took off the imports of European traders in large quantities, and advanced money when the supply sent out was insufficient to provide cargoes for the expected shipping, were themselves constantly exposed to the arbitrary exactions of their own government, which they strove to escape by calling in their capital, and burying it till better times enabled them to employ it with impunity. These difficulties induced the president and council to urge that money should be borrowed in England at four per cent., rather than taken up in India at double the cost, or, as frequently happened, no funds being available to provide investments, the ships kept waiting for return cargoes until the arrival of a fresh supply of bullion. Territorial revenue began to be looked to as the remedy for these evils, and political influence courted as a means of commercial prosperity. There was no established power under whose protection foreign traders could place themselves, and to whose legitimate authority they could offer, in return, hearty and undivided allegiance. Their earliest territorial suzerain, the rajah of Chandragiri, had been overpowered by Meer Jumla, the general of the King of Golconda, about the year 1656, and Mohammedan rule extended over the territory in which Madras was situated. The English suffered no inconvenience from the change; but were, on the contrary, especially favoured by the usurping sovereign, who suffered their money to pass current, and conferred upon them several valuable privileges. They continued to pay him an annual quit-rent of 1,200 pagodas, until about 1687–'8, when his power being considerably weakened by the aggressions of Aurungzebe, they appear to have taken advantage of some flimsy pretext to withhold their tribute. By the Great Mogul the English were likewise well treated; and had he possessed unquestioned supremacy over the places in which their trade was situated, their policy would have been comparatively plain and easy, and their difficulties would have consisted almost exclusively in the rivalry of the Portuguese, Dutch, and Danes, to which list the French‡ had been recently added. But the rise of

houses to Whitehall, and by personal persuasion, induced them to erase from their journals all their votes, resolutions, and other acts relating to the subject. The company came off victors; for Skinner, it would appear, never got any portion of the compensation adjudged to him.—(Anderson, ii., 461.)

* Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 202. † *Idem*, 342.

‡ The ministers of Louis XIV., Cardinal Richelieu and the great Colbert, had directed their attention to the commercial and naval interests of France. Colbert, especially, laboured in this cause with extraordinary zeal and success. In 1642, a settlement was made in Madagascar, preparatory to the extension of French power in the Eastern seas; but the adventurers, through their wanton cruelty, became involved in contests with the brave natives (Malagash), and notwithstanding repeated attempts, were unable to secure a footing in this rich island. In 1664, Colbert formed an E. I. Cy. on the model of that of Holland, with a very privileged charter for fifty years, and a stock of £625,000, partly raised by loan. Four ships were sent to Madagascar; and in 1668 a factory was commenced at Surat, then the general resort of European nations. But the French soon looked to political rather than to commercial prospects; and under the direction of an experienced man, named Caron (who, disgusted with the ill-treatment received from the Dutch after long and valuable service, had quitted their employ), surveyed the coasts of India for an eligible site whereon to lay the foundation of French power. The fine harbour of Trincomalee, in Ceylon, was judiciously selected, and taken possession of by a French squadron, under La Haye: hostilities ensued between the French and Dutch E. I. Companies; but the former losing many men by sickness, were soon expelled, and proceeded to the coast of Coromandel, where they captured St. Thomas, or Meliapoor. The Dutch co-operated with the King of Golconda, and the French garrison being reduced to the extremity of famine, were compelled to surrender. The survivors, under the guidance of a Mr. Martin, who, like Caron, had previously been in the service of the Dutch company, purchased from the King of Beejapoor, a village upon the coast called Pondicherry, with a small adjacent territory, and there formed the settlement eventually of so much importance. By his prudent measures the place became rapidly populous, and being desirous to put it in a state of defence during the disturbed state of the country, he obtained permission for the erection of fortifications, notwithstanding the opposition of the Dutch, who endeavoured to bribe the King of Beejapoor to withdraw his protection, and permit them to expel the new settlers; but the firm reply was, "The French have fairly purchased the place; I shall not be so unjust as to take it from them."—(Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 260.) The Beejapoor monarchy was overthrown by Aurungzebe in 1686. The Dutch overpowered the French garrison, and drove them out in 1693; then, desirous to secure their conquest, immediately improved and strengthened the

the Mahrattas, under Sevajee—a native power under a native leader—greatly changed the state of affairs. At first, the English were disposed to follow the example of their imperial patron, and treat the new leader as a mere marauder—a captain of banditti—whose attempts at friendly communication were to be evaded, without however, unnecessarily provoking a foe whose anger and alliance were both to be avoided.

When Sevajee advanced against Surat in 1664, the terror of his name had already taken such deep root, that the governor shut himself up in the castle, and the inhabitants fled from the city. The Dutch and English remained in their factories; and the latter, calling in the ships' crews to their aid, by courage and determination succeeded in preserving their own property, and that of their immediate neighbours, from pillage. Aurungzebe rewarded this service by a firmaun, conceding one per cent. out of his three per cent. custom duties, and a total exemption from all transit charges. In 1670, the place was again approached by Sevajee. The French, who had established a factory there, preserved it by paying a contribution:* the Dutch station being without the town, was not attacked: the English, having transported the greater part of their goods on board ship to Swally, prepared to guard the remainder at all hazards. The factory was assailed, but successfully defended by the English, though several lives were lost, as well as some property in detached warehouses. The Mahrattas then threatened to set the factory on fire; but Sevajee was unwilling to proceed to extremities, being desirous to induce them to return as traders to Rajapoor, which they had quitted on account of his exactions. A complimentary present offered to Sevajee, was very gratifying to him. He extended his hand to the English deputies, with an assurance that he would do them no wrong; and on several subsequent occasions negotiations were set on foot, which, however, the English endeavoured to evade bringing to any definite conclusion, by demanding compensation for the injuries received from the Mahrattas at Surat and elsewhere. This stipulation was conceded in 1674, and a treaty formed, by which 10,000 pagodas were promised to the aggrieved party, and the long-maintained right deemed inherent in the sovereign over all wrecks on the shores of his territory, relinquished in favour of English vessels. The enthronement of Sevajee took place at this time, and the envoy beheld with amazement a portion of the magnificent ceremonial, with its costly and characteristic feature,—the weighing of the person of the new sovereign against gold coin to be distributed among the Brahmins, as an act of reverence to their order, accompanied by the performance of many munificent acts of charity.† The Mogul government watched with jealous distrust this growing intercourse, and the English found great difficulty in maintaining a neutral position. In 1677–'8, the directors of the E. I. Cy., or, as they were then termed, the Court of Committees, "recommended temporising expedients to their servants as the rule of their proceedings with the Mogul, with Sevajee, and with the petty rajahs," as the means of obtaining compliance with the various firmauns and grants already acquired; and desired them to endeavour, by their conduct, to impress the natives with an opinion of their commercial probity. "At the same time," says Bruce, "they gave to President Aungier and his council [at Surat] discretionary powers to employ armed vessels to enforce the observance of treaties and grants: in this way the court shifted from themselves the responsibility of commencing hostilities, that they might be able, in any questions which might arise between the king and the company, to refer such hostilities to the errors of their servants."‡ This writer is too intimately acquainted with the company's proceedings, and too decidedly their champion, to be accused of putting an unfair construction on any of their directions. It was evidently necessary that considerable latitude should be given by masters so far removed from the scene of action; but subsequent events indicate that plans of terri-

works: but their labour proved ill-bestowed; for the place was restored to its rightful owners by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697.—(Raynal's *E. and W. Indies.*)

* Wilson's note on Mill, vol. i., p. 99. Grant Duff says, "the French purchased an ignominious neutrality, by permitting the Mahrattas to pass through their factory to attack an unfortunate Tartar prince who was on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca, and whose property [including a vast treasure in gold, silver, and plate, a gold bed and other rich furniture], became part of Sevajee's boasted spoils on this occasion."—(*History of Mahrattas*, i., 247.)

† Dr. Fryer mentions that he weighed about 16,000 pagodas, equal to about ten stone. The titles assumed by Sevajee were,—*the head ornament of the Cshatriya race, his majesty, the rajah Seva, possessor or lord of the royal umbrella.*

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 406-'7.

torial aggrandisement, to be carried out by force of arms, were already entertained.

The governmental expenses of Bombay (civil and military) were found to be very heavy; and as a means of meeting them, taxes were raised and salaries diminished; that of the deputy-governor, the second in rank in the service, being reduced to £120 per annum. Great dissatisfaction was created by these changes, especially by the diminution of the garrison; soon after which the trade of the place was menaced by two sterile isles in the neighbourhood (Henery and Kenery) being taken possession of respectively by Sevajee and his opponent, the Siddee, or Abyssinian leader, who held the position of admiral of the Mogul fleet.* The English were obliged to conclude a humiliating truce with both parties, and thus purchase freedom from interruption to their trade, until the abandonment of these barren rocks relieved them from alarm on that score.

The death of Sevajee, in 1680; the appointment of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Child as president of Surat, with a council of eight members, in 1681; the erection of an independent agency in Bengal, in 1682; and the expulsion, in the same year, of the English from Bantam,† were rapidly followed by other important events. The system of injudicious retrenchment attempted at Madras and Surat, and persevered in at Bombay,‡ ended in producing a revolt in that island. Captain Keigwin, the commander of the garrison, which comprised 150 English soldiers and 200 topasses (natives), seized the deputy-governor, with such of the council as adhered to him, assembled the militia and inhabitants, and being by them appointed governor of the island, issued a proclamation declaring the authority of the company to be annulled in Bombay, and that of the Crown substituted in its place. President Child had no force wherewith to compel the submission of the insurgents; and his attempts at negotiation were decidedly rejected, on the plea that the measures which had led to the rebellion, had originated solely in the selfish policy of himself and his brother, Sir Josiah Child, the chairman of the Court of Committees.

The king was appealed to by both parties; and in November, 1684, the island was delivered up by Keigwin to Sir Thomas Grantham, as the representative of the Crown, on condition of a free pardon for himself and all concerned. To prevent the recurrence of a similar disturbance, the seat of government was removed from Surat to Bombay; and for the suppression of the interlopers, who were believed to have been intimately concerned in the late revolt, admiralty jurisdiction was established in India, by virtue of letters-patent granted by James II., in 1686. Sir John Child was appointed captain-general and admiral of the forces of the E. I. Cy., both by sea and land, in the northern parts of India, from Cape Comorin to the Gulf of Persia, and he was likewise entrusted with supreme authority over all the settlements. The weapons thus furnished were used with an unhesitating determination, which has rendered the conduct of the plenary representative of the powers delegated to the company a subject of unqualified panegyric, and of equally exaggerated blame. The truth probably lies between these extremes. The brothers Child were men of considerable ability, and deeply interested in the fortunes of the company, whose affairs devolved chiefly on their management. They were led, by a very natural process, to contrast the flourishing state of the Dutch trade with their own depressed condition, and to seek for the cause of the comparative, if not complete exemption of the rival company from the unlicensed competition of their countrymen,

* Siddee, or Seedee, is a corruption of an Arabic term, signifying a lord; but in the common language of the Deccan, it came to be applied indiscriminately to all natives of Africa. The Siddees of Jinjeera took their name from a small fortified island in the Concan, where a colony had been formed on a jaghire, granted, it appears, in the first instance, to an Abyssinian officer, by the king of Ahmednuggur, on condition of the maintenance of a marine for the protection of trade, and the conveyance of pilgrims to the Red Sea. The hostility of Sevajee induced the Siddee, or chief, to seek favour with Aurungzebe, by whom he was made admiral of the Mogul fleet, with an annual salary of four lacs of rupees (£40,000) for convoying pilgrims to Judda and Mocha. The emperor himself sent an annual donation to Mecca of three lacs.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, Bruce, and Orme.)

† In 1677, the principal agents at Bantam were assassinated by some of the natives, on what ground, or by what (if any) instigation, does not appear. The company persevered, nevertheless, in endeavouring to maintain commercial intercourse; and friendly embassies, accompanied by presents of tea on the part of the King of Bantam, and of gunpowder on the part of the English sovereign, were continually dispatched, until a civil war, instigated by the Dutch, terminated in the deposal of the old king by his son, who, in obedience to his domineering allies, expelled the English from their factory in 1682, and never permitted their re-establishment in his territories.

‡ In 1682-'3, the European garrison, reduced to at least 100 men, "were daily murmuring at the price of provisions, which their pay could not afford."—(Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 489.)

and from the delinquency of their servants. Whether they examined and compared the commercial details of the two associations does not appear, nor whether they made due allowance for the heavy drain occasioned by the large subsidies, or, as the anti-monopolists called them, bribes, furnished to Charles II. and James II., not, however, for the private use of these monarchs, since the monies in question are said to have been paid into the exchequer for the public service.* Be this as it may, the remedy for existing evils constantly put forth by the company during the administration of Sir Josiah Child, was a close imitation of the policy of the successful and unscrupulous Dutch, whose aggressive conduct towards the natives had its counterpart in the sanguinary decree for the infliction of capital punishment on all interlopers and deserters. Sir Josiah Child certainly understood the mind of the English public at the close of the seventeenth century far too well to press the adoption of such a law, whatever his own wishes on the subject might have been. He contented himself with urging the suppression of private trade by more gentle means, at the same time advocating the attainment of independent power in India, by the enlargement and strenuous assertion of the authority of the company over British subjects within the limits of their charter; and, secondly, of retaliative, if not aggressive hostilities against the Indian princes. The administration of Shaista Khan, as "Nabob,"† or governor of Bengal, was alleged to have been vexatious and oppressive in the extreme; and amicable negotiations having failed in procuring redress, it was thought practicable to obtain better terms by force of arms. Accordingly, the largest military armament‡ ever yet assembled by the company, was dispatched to India, with orders to gain possession of the city and territory of Chittagong as a place of future security, and thence retaliate upon the Nabob, and even upon the Mogul himself, the injuries and losses which had already been sustained. Bombay was elevated to the rank of a regency, after the example of the Dutch at Batavia and Columbo; and orders were given to increase the fortifications, and render the island "as strong as art and money could make it."§ Madras was formed into a corporation, to consist of a mayor and ten aldermen (of whom three were to be the company's servants and seven natives), with 120 burgesses.‖ An offer was made by the garrison of Fort St. George (Madras), to aid the King of Golconda against the Dutch, with whom he was then at war; and in return, a firmaun was to be solicited to coin rupees, together with the grant of St. Thomas as an English possession. Thus the company were desirous of attaining political influence in all directions; and their views were seconded with much energy by Sir John Child, who, following the spirit of the instructions cited in a previous page, resolved to commence hostilities against Aurungzebe, as if on his own responsibility; so that in the event of an unfavourable issue to the expedition, an opportunity might be provided of negotiating for the restoration of former privileges and trade, upon the same basis as they had stood previously to his apparently unsanctioned proceedings.

By some casualty the whole force did not arrive in the Ganges at the same time; and an insignificant quarrel between three English soldiers and the "peons," or native police of the Nabob, brought on the contest in an unexpected manner, in October, 1686. Hooghly was cannonaded by the fleet under Captain Nicholson, and 500 houses were burnt, upon which the foujdar, or military governor, made overtures for peace; but the demands of the English were so exces-

* Grant's *Sketch of History of E. I. Cy.*, pp. 105-'6.

† An English corruption of the Arabic word *Naib* or the Persian *Nawab* (meaning deputy), applied to the imperial soubahdars or governors.

‡ Ten armed vessels, from twelve to seventy guns, and six companies of infantry, without captains, whose places were to be supplied by the members of council, in Bengal. In addition to this force, application was made to the king for an entire company of regular infantry, with their officers.

§ Bruce, vol. ii., p. 586. It was stated in 1691-'2, that £400,000 had been spent in fortifying and improving Bombay, including the harbour, docks, &c.

‖ The aldermen were to be justices of the peace, and to wear thin scarlet gowns, and the burgesses black silk gowns: a town-clerk and recorder were to be appointed; a sword and mace to be carried before the mayor, and a silver oar before the judge-advocates—ceremonies which must have been very puzzling to the native aldermen. Some difficulty occurred in carrying this project into execution; for although the inhabitants soon recognised the beneficial effect of the new measure, the mixed description of persons considered proper for the court of aldermen could not be obtained. No Armenian could be induced to act; the Jews left the place; the Portuguese feared their countrymen and the Inquisition too much to accept office; and the local authorities considered it unsafe to "confide in the Moors or Mussulmen."—(Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Cy.*, ii., 593; 659: iii., 111; 156.) With regard to the Hindoos, no objection appears to have been raised either by or against them.

sive, amounting to above sixty-six lacs of rupees, or nearly £700,000, that they could scarcely have expected compliance. On the side of Surat considerable advantage was at first gained by the capture of a number of Moorish vessels, richly freighted;* and also in Bengal, through the determined conduct of Job Charnock, the company's agent, by whom the Nabob's forces were repulsed in repeated assaults, the fort of Tanna stormed, the island of Injellee seized and fortified, and the town of Balasore partially burned, with forty sail of the Mogul fleet: the factories, however, at Patna and Cossimbazar were taken and plundered by the enemy, and the agents placed in irons. At this period, Muchtar Khan was appointed governor of Surat, and with him a sort of provisional convention was entered into, which was to be the basis of a treaty with the Mogul. The court in London, overjoyed at the prospect of such favourable terms, voted Sir John Child a present of 1,000 guineas,—a very large sum in proportion to the moderate salaries then apportioned to Anglo-Indian functionaries.†

The negotiation fell to the ground. According to the account given in the official records, Muchtar Khan never intended to carry it out, and only affected to entertain the proposition as a means of gaining time until the results of the contest of Aurungzebe with Beejapoor and Golconda, and also with Sumbajee, should be fully manifest. This seems contradicted by the fact, that after these two kingdoms fell into the power of the Mogul, the English authorities of Madras solicited and received from the conqueror a confirmation of the privileges accorded to them by the deposed monarch. In fact, they followed the example of a neighbouring Hindoo governor, who quietly remarked, that "as the world turned round like a wheel, he had beaten his drums and fired his guns, for the victory of the mighty Aurungzebe over his old master."‡ Sir John Child severely reprimanded the Madras agency for their conduct, as implying a doubt of the ultimate issue of the struggle of their countrymen with the Mogul; but since he had himself evinced pretty clearly a similar feeling, by affecting to act on his private authority, without the knowledge of his employers, it is hard to censure the Madras agents for taking measures against their otherwise certain destruction or captivity. The annals of this period are very confused: even Bruce, more than once, alludes to their defectiveness; but it appears, that in October, 1688, Sir John Child, suspecting duplicity on the part of the Mogul governor, embarked at Bombay, and appeared off Surat with a fleet of seven ships, his intention being to deter Muchtar Khan from any breach of the provisional agreement. In this same month, Captain Heath reached Bengal, in command of a large armed ship, the *Defence*, attended by a frigate, and bearing instructions from the Court of Committees for the active prosecution of hostilities. His proceedings are thus related by Bruce:—"Captain Heath, on the 29th of November (contrary to the opinion of the agent and council, and notwithstanding a perwannah [*order*] for peace with the English had been received by the governor from the Nabob), attacked and took a battery of thirty guns, and plundered the town of Balasore. The English factory, on this occasion, was burned by the governor; and the company's agents, who had been previously taken prisoners, were carried up the country, where all subsequent efforts for their release were unavailing." Under these circumstances, it would seem unjust to accuse the Moguls of breaking the armistice, since it was not till the 26th of December that Muchtar Khan seized and imprisoned Mr. Harris and Mr. Gladman, ordered the company's goods in Surat to be sold, demanded a contribution of five lacks of rupees, and offered a large reward for the person of Sir John Child—alive or dead. The island of Bombay was attacked by the Siddee, the greater part of it occupied by the enemy, and the governor besieged in the town and castle. Aurungzebe issued orders to expel the English from his dominions. The factory at Masulipatam was seized, as also that at Vizagapatam, where the agent and four factors were slain.

The unequal contest could not, it was evident, be prolonged without occasioning the destruction of those by whose ambition and imprudence it had been provoked. Solicitations for peace were presented, in December, 1688, and received with a show of indifference—rather affected than real; for the imperial treasury, drained by constant warfare, could ill bear the sub-

* According to the writers of that day in the interloping interest, the advantage in question was purchased at the expense of a flagrant breach of faith; but this allegation the company denied.

† Harris, the successor of Child as president of Surat and governor of Bombay, had only £300 a-year. The regency scheme was abandoned.

‡ Orme's *Historical Fragments of Mogul Empire.*

traction of any source of income. The application of the English for the restoration of commercial privileges, was doubtless the more welcome, for being presented under circumstances which enabled Aurungzebe to carry out the policy evidenced in his dealings with the Portuguese, of reducing the pretensions of European maritime powers trading to the Indies to a complete dependence on his authority; thus keeping down attempts at political influence while desirous of promoting mercantile intercourse. In February, 1689, a new firmaun was issued, which declared that "the English having made a most humble and submissive petition that the crimes they have done may be pardoned;" and having promised "to restore the merchants' goods they had taken away to the owners thereof, and walk by the ancient customs of the port, and behave themselves for the future no more in such a shameful manner; therefore his majesty, according to his daily favour to all the people of the world, hath pardoned their faults, and mercifully forgiven them." Out of his princely condescension, the Great Mogul further agreed to permit a present of 150,000 rupees to be placed in the treasury of Surat. The firmaun concludes with an express stipulation "that Mr. Child, who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled." The translation of this document is apparently faulty; but it suffices to convey an idea of its tone and tenor, and fully bears out the declaration of Bruce, that the result of all the projects of the company to become an independent power in India, was to reduce their agents to a more abject position than any in which they had been placed since the first establishment of an English factory in India.*

Sir John Child, who had provided in his own person a scape-goat for the wrath of the emperor, died at Bombay during the progress of the negotiation, and the office of president devolved on Mr. Harris, then a prisoner at Surat. On payment of the fine and restoration of goods decreed in the firmaun, Mr. Harris and other English prisoners were immediately released from their long confinement in irons; but it was not until the 22nd of June, 1690, that the Siddee, by order of Aurungzebe, vacated his different posts at Bombay (Mazagon, Mahim, and Sion), after about a twelvemonth's occupation. On the same day, the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England was proclaimed in this island, as it had been at Madras eight months before. Ignorant of the disasters attending their ambitious projects, the court, in the instructions addressed to their servants in 1689, declare —"The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade: 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India; without that we are but as a great number of interlopers, united only by his Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us; and upon this account it is, that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices which we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of our revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade."† Being chiefly concerned in monopolising the spice-islands, the Dutch appear to have followed their policy of territorial aggrandisement far less strenuously on the continent of India than at Ceylon, Java, and throughout the Eastern Archipelago, at Formosa (China), at the Cape of Good Hope, at New York, Guyana, and other widely-spread localities.

The disastrous issue of the recent expedition, compelled the English to adopt a more deferential manner towards the native powers, but made no change in their ultimate intentions. Shortly after the conclusion of peace, the town and harbour of Tegnapatam,‡ on the Coromandel coast, a little to the south of the French settlement of Pondicherry, was obtained by purchase from Rajah Ram,

* Bruce, ii., 639-'40; 646—653. The firmaun contains no reference to the privilege of coining money, which had long been a point in dispute.

† "Dispatch from the Court of Committees in Ann. Comp., 1689-'90: written, there seems good reason for believing, by Child."—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 101.)

‡ In the instructions for the establishment of this new settlement, special encouragement is directed to be given to Armenians, as also in Vizagapatam and Madras. In the latter place, one quarter of the town was to be allotted to them, with permission "to build a church at their own cost," a duty sadly neglected by the company. These Armenians were a Christian sect formed during the power of the successors of Constantine. When the countries they inhabited were over-run by the Mohammedan arms, they were forcibly transplanted by Shah Abbas, and other belligerent monarchs, into Persia, and dispersed among the surrounding countries, where they earned a livelihood as merchants and brokers. Some of them made their way into India, and obtained a character for successful trading, which rendered the company desirous to employ them in vending English woollens, and procuring fine muslins and other goods. The project seems to have failed, the Armenians being pre-engaged in the service of the Levant company.

the Mahratta sovereign, and the sanction of the Mogul authorities of the Carnatic obtained for its occupation. It was strengthened by a wall and bulwarks, and named Fort St. David.*

About the same time a more important acquisition was made in Bengal. During the late hostilities, the agent and council at Hooghly, fearing to continue in so exposed a position, removed to Chuttanuttee, a village about twenty-four miles lower down the river, where they hoped to remain in security under the protection of their ships. The Nabob ordered them to return to Hooghly, and forbade their building, with either stone or brick, at Chuttanuttee; but, on the pacification with the court of Delhi, permission was obtained for the establishment of a factory there. Repeated attempts were made to obtain leave to fortify the new position, and for a grant of jurisdiction over its inhabitants, as also over those of the adjoining villages of Calcutta and Govindpoor. Similar applications were made by the Dutch at Chinsura (about a mile southward of Hooghly), and by the French at Chandernagore (two miles lower down the river), but without success; for Aurungzebe never permitted any foreigner to erect a single bastion on Mogul territory, though he tolerated the continuance (at Madras for instance) of such European fortresses as his conquests over Mohammedan or Hindoo princes drew within the borders of the empire. At length, one of those intestine divisions which have so often placed India at the feet of strangers, procured for the agencies before-named the privilege long vainly solicited. Soobah Sing, a petty Hindoo chief, being dissatisfied with Rajah Kishen Rama, of Burdwan (who must have been either tributary to, or in the service of, Aurungzebe), united with Rehim Khan, an Afghan, then considered the head of that clan remaining in Orissa, in an attempt to overturn the government, in 1695-'6. The three European settlements hired a number of native soldiery to guard their property: the Dutch and French professed themselves staunch allies of the Mogul: the English endeavoured to preserve a semblance of neutrality, but united in requesting permission to fortify their factories against the attacks of the insurrectionists. The Nabob directed them, in general terms, to defend themselves, and they, taking for granted what was not absolutely forbidden, laboured day and night in raising walls with bastions round their stations. A pitched battle between the insurgents and Kishen Rama, terminated in the defeat and death of the latter, and the capture of his family. His beautiful daughter was among the prisoners: Soobah Sing strove to dishonour her; but the attempt cost him his life; for the hapless girl, aware of his intention, had concealed a sharp knife in the folds of her dress; and when he strove to seize her, she inflicted upon him a mortal wound, and then, with mistaken heroism, stabbed herself to the heart. By this catastrophe, the rebel army fell under the sole control of the Afghan chief, who became master of Hooghly, Moorshedabad, and Rajmahal: the Dutch and English factories, at the latter place, were pillaged of considerable property. Chuttanuttee and the fort of Tanna† were unsuccessfully attacked. But the general progress of the rebels was almost unchecked; and in December, 1696, their force comprised 12,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry: the revenue of the country in their possession was estimated at sixty lacs of rupees per annum; and Rehim Shah assumed the style and dignity of a prince. The remissness of the Nabob being deemed the chief cause of the rapid spread of the insurrection, Prince Azim (second son of Prince Mauzim)‡ was sent at the head of the Mogul army for its suppression, and was at the same time appointed to the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The death of Rehim Shah in battle, in 1698, and the submission of the Afghans, was followed by a general amnesty. The Europeans were suffered to continue their fortifications; and in 1698, the English, by the payment of a considerable sum of money, obtained per-

* The precise period of the introduction of the Dutch into Bengal is not recorded; but the French established themselves about 1676, and the Danes in the same year at Serampore.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 346.)

† Tanna, ten miles west of Calcutta, on the opposite side of the river, was defended by an English frigate, sent at the request of the foujdar of Hooghly to support the fort against the rebels. Calcutta, according to Stewart (properly called Calicotta), takes its name from a temple dedicated to Caly, the Hindoo goddess of Time. The territory purchased from the zemindars in 1698, extended about three miles along the *Hooghly* (or *Bhagaruttee*), and one mile inland.

‡ It was a part of the policy of the wily Aurungzebe, to bring forward his grandsons and place them in positions of honour and emolument; so that they might be disposed, in any emergency, to side with him rather than with their own fathers.

mission to purchase Chuttanuttee and the adjoining villages, with authority to exercise justiciary power over the inhabitants. The designation of Calcutta came to be applied to the whole, and the name of Fort William was given to the defences in honour of the English monarch.

Notwithstanding these cheering indications of progress in Bengal, the general condition of the E. I. Cy. at this period was one of extreme political and financial depression; their difficulties from private trade and piracy being aggravated by the national hostility of the French, and the domestic rivalry of a new association. The death of Sir John Child made no change in the policy pursued by his brother in England: at his instigation, the Court of Committees continued to wield, to the fullest extent, the somewhat questionable authority conveyed by their charters, which, although intended to confer the privilege of exclusive trade, left loopholes sufficient to encourage unauthorised ventures on the part of speculators inclined to balance ultimate risk, against the present safety and prospect of gain afforded by the want of any power on the part of the company to seize vessels at the outset or on the voyage, however evident the intention of the equipment. The consequence was, that although the court might occasionally bring offenders before the King's Bench, and did, at one time (1685–'6), threaten to prosecute as many as forty-seven of the principal interlopers, yet the brunt of the battle fell to the share of their servants in India; and they, if the evidence of Captain Hamilton* may be trusted, shrank from the responsibility of carrying out the stringent orders forwarded on this head, declaring that the laws of England were contrary to the measures proposed. Apart from the testimony of any unfavourable witness, there are indications, in the selected Annals of the E. I. Cy., of a tendency to confound private and unlicensed trade with piracy,† which probably conduced to the increase of the latter disgraceful crime, while it aggravated the hostility of the interlopers, who must have possessed considerable influence if they were, as described in an official despatch, "malcontents, quondam committee-men, and adventurers, who have sold their stocks at high rates, and want to buy in again at low."‡ The change in the government of England paved the way for discussions regarding the validity of rights proceeding from a grant of the Crown simply, or rights proceeding from a grant founded on an act of the legislature. The strong desire of the nation for extended commerce with India was manifested in the eagerness with which one large class of persons recommended an open trade; while another united for the formation of a new joint-stock association. Petitions and remonstrances were on all sides presented both to parliament and the king; and while parliament passed repeated resolutions in favour of the new company, the king as often granted charters to the old. The letters-patent of 1693 confirmed the monopoly of the latter, but only for a period of twenty-one years; terminated the "permission trade," by prohibiting the grant of licences to private ships; decreed the annual exportation of British manu-

* According to this writer, Mr. Vaux, the governor of Bombay, who had obtained that position by favour of Sir Josiah Child, in answering a communication on the subject of interlopers, took occasion, while thanking his patron for past benefits, to assert his resolution to abide by the laws of his country. Sir Josiah, in reply, "wrote roundly to Mr. Vaux, that he expected his orders to be his rules, and not the laws of England, which were a heap of nonsense compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make laws for the good government of their own families, much less for the regulating of companies and foreign commerce. I am the more particular," adds Hamilton, "on this account, because I saw and copied both those letters in anno, 1696, while Mr. Vaux and I were prisoners at Surat, on account of Captain Evory's [Avery] robbing the Mogul's great ship, the *Gunsway*" [Guj Suwaee]—*East Indies*, i., 233.) Considering the preponderance of country gentlemen in parliament at this period, the satire is not without point; and Hamilton's assertion regarding the letter is so clear and positive, that it can hardly be set aside without unwarrantable disparagement to the character of an intelligent though prejudiced writer. Such vague statements as the following may be reasonably viewed with more suspicion:—"The power of executing pirates is so strangely sketched, that if any private trader is injured by the tricks of a governor, and can find no redress, if the injured person is so bold as to talk of *lex talionis*, he is infallibly declared a pirate."—p. 362.

† An illustration of this tendency may be found in the records of 1691-'2. "The court continued to act towards their opponents (the interlopers) in the same manner as they had done in the latter years of the two preceding reigns, and granted commissions to all their captains proceeding this season to India, to seize the interlopers of every description, and bring them to trial before the admiralty court of Bombay, explaining that as they attributed all the differences between the company and the Indian powers to the interlopers, if they continued their depredations on the subjects of the Mogul or King of Persia, they were to be tried for their lives as pirates, and sentence of death passed, but execution stayed till the king's pleasure should be known."—(*Annals of E. I. Cy.*, vol. iii., p. 103.)

‡ *Idem*, p. 112.

factures, to the value of £100,000; and directed the dividends to be paid, for the future, exclusively in money. In defiance of this charter, a vote of the House of Commons declared it to be "the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies or any part of the world, unless prohibited by act of parliament."* This state of strife and confusion reached its climax in 1695, when it became known that a system of direct bribery had been pursued towards men in power. The Lower House, though some of its leading members were deeply implicated, came forward actively in the matter, and ordered the books of the company to be examined, from whence it appeared, that previous to the Revolution the annual expenditure in "secret services" had scarcely ever exceeded £1,200; but that since that epoch it had gradually increased, and in the year 1693, whilst Sir Thomas Cooke was governor, had amounted to upwards of £80,000. Many persons of eminence were involved in these nefarious transactions with the most unprincipled schemers: the Duke of Leeds, then lord president of the council, vehemently defended the company, and was himself impeached by the Commons, on the charge of having received a bribe of £5,000; but the principal witness against him was sent out of the way; and it was not till nine days' after it had been demanded by the Lords, that a proclamation was issued to stop the fugitive. The inquiry, at first urged on with all the violence of party-spirit, soon languished; the rank and influence of a large number of the persons directly or indirectly concerned, opposed an insurmountable barrier to its prosecution, and by the prorogation of parliament, though nominally only suspended, it was actually abandoned. Sir Thomas Cooke had been committed to the Tower for refusing to disclose the names of the individuals who had received bribes: his temporary confinement was compensated by a present of £12,000, bestowed upon him by the Court of Committees "some years after the bustle was over."†

The result of these proceedings was greatly to degrade the company; nor could it be otherwise, while any sense of honesty existed in the public mind. Yet the weight of blame rests unquestionably less heavily on those who offered the bribes than on the sworn guardians of the national interests, who, by accepting them, showed themselves tainted by that unholy covetousness which, under a despotism, is the chief source of the perversion of justice; and, among a free people, must tend to destroy the very basis of all sound principle and impartial legislation.

In a pecuniary sense, these disbursements were unwarrantable, being made at a time when the funds of the association barely sufficed to meet the necessary and legitimate expenditure called for by the occupation of new settlements, and the heavy losses entailed by the hostility of the French, after the declaration of war against that people by England and Holland, in 1689. For the next eight years sharp conflicts occurred between the fleets of the rival nations, which were happily terminated by the treaty of Ryswick, 1697. In a commercial point of view, the French inflicted more injury upon themselves by their lavish and ill-directed expenditure, than upon their old-established opponents;‡ but the improvement in the condition of their marine, through the exertions of the ministers of Louis XIV., rendered their enmity peculiarly disastrous to the mercantile shipping of their foes. During the war, no less than 4,200 British merchant-vessels were captured, including many East-Indiamen, which were intercepted

* Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., p. 142.

† Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, ii., 608. Tyssen, the deputy-governor, and other persons shared the imprisonment of the governor, and probably also received proportionate gratuities. Among them was the notorious Sir Basil Firebrass, or Firebrace, who had been recently bought off from the interloping interest, and who played a leading part in 1701 in the arrangements for the union of the two E. I. Companies, and demanded in return a per centage equal in value to £30,000, on a portion of the joint stock.

‡ The French East India trade appears to have been from the first a losing concern. Notwithstanding the pecuniary and political support of the government, Colbert's company (according to the Abbé Raynal), had often to subscribe for the payment of losses, while their European rivals were dividing thirty per cent. on mercantile ventures; and in 1684, their accounts being examined by commissioners appointed by the king, it appeared that their sales, in twenty years, amounted to no more than 9,100,000 livres, and that three-quarters of their capital-stock were totally lost. Assistance from the state again propped up the association, and a slight gleam of prosperity followed; for in the years 1687 and 1691, two dividends, each of fifteen per cent., were for the first time paid from profits. The war with England and Holland was not beneficial in its general results; for although the French Cy. made extensive captures, their very success helped to encourage the swarms of privateers, which covered the seas and carried into the ports of France a great number of English and Dutch prizes with rich cargoes, to be sold at any price they would fetch. This proceeding caused a glut in the market, and obliged the company to sell their goods at unremunerative prices, or not at all.

both on the Indian seas and on the middle passage; particularly off the coast of Galway, in 1695, when all the four homeward-bound vessels of the company were captured by a French fleet.*

In India, the wrath of the emperor had been excited by the frequent piracies committed on the shipping of Mogul merchants,† and especially by the plunder of his own vessel the *Guj-Suwaee*, while engaged in conveying pilgrims to Mecca, in 1695. Aurungzebe himself could not detest these sacrilegious sea-robbers more heartily than did the whole body of European traders; but they being at war with one another, could make no united effort for the suppression of the common foe. The tide of popular feeling among the Mohammedans rose against the English agencies at Surat and Swally with so much violence, that the governor placed the factors and others, to the number of sixty-three persons, in irons—not from any voluntary harshness on his part, but as a necessary measure to preserve their lives amid the tumult. Large rewards were held out, both by the government of England and by the E. I. Cy., for the apprehension of the leading offenders. A sum of £1,000 was offered for the person of Captain Avery; but he escaped, having proceeded to the Bahamas, where his ship was sold and the crew dispersed; several of them were, however, seized and executed. From this difficulty the English found means of extricating themselves, and prevailed upon Aurungzebe to confide to them the task of convoying pilgrim vessels to Mecca, at a charge of 40,000 rupees for a large, and 30,000 for a small vessel. The good understanding thus restored was soon destroyed by the daring piracies committed by a Captain Kidd and others off Surat. The emperor could no longer be appeased with assurances that such and such culprits had been executed in different British colonies, or hung in chains at Tilbury;‡ and he declared, that since all other means had failed to check these disgraceful proceedings, he would put an end to European commerce with his subjects, unless the English, French, and Dutch would consent to sign a bond, engaging to make good any future depredations committed by pirates on the Indian Seas—an arrangement to which the European agents were most reluctantly compelled to assent.§

The list of difficulties which environed the E. I. Cy., at this period, is still incomplete. While weighed down by pecuniary involvements, and unable, for years together, to pay a dividend, the project for a new Scottish company was again brought for-

* Although the merchantmen of the E. I. Cy., at this period, proved unable to cope with French ships-of-the-line, and were even captured by the desperate hardihood of privateering adventure, they were, nevertheless, by no means ill-provided with the appliances of war. To encourage the building of ships of above 550 tons burden, and capable of defence against the pirates of Algiers, then termed the "Turkish Rovers," it was enacted by parliament, soon after the restoration of Charles II., that for a certain number of years, whoever should build ships with three decks, or with two decks and a-half, and a forecastle, with a space of five feet between each deck, and mounted with at least thirty cannon, should for the first two voyages receive one-tenth part of all the customs that were payable on their export and import lading.—(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i. A *Vindication of the E. I. Cy.*, generally attributed to Sir Josiah Child, published in 1677, states that they employed from thirty to thirty-five ships of from 300 to 600 tons burden, carrying from 40 to 70 guns, which must of course have been very light.—(Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, 133.) In an official statement of their affairs, published in 1689, the company assert, that in seven years they had built sixteen ships of from 900 to 1,300 tons, and had in India or on the homeward voyage eleven of their own, and four "permision ships" (*i. e.*, licensed by them) with cargoes worth above £360,000, besides a fleet comprising fourteen of their own and six permission ships bound for India, China, and other southern isles, with cargoes valued at £660,000.

† Mocha and Judda are the seaports of Mecca.

‡ Captain Kidd and several of his associates, being eventually captured, were executed at Tilbury Fort.

§ One of the negotiations between Aurungzebe and the English factors, regarding piratical seizures, is recorded by Khafi Khan, an author frequently quoted in the previous section on the Mohammedan portion of Indian history. He makes no mention of the war which had previously taken place; but says, that in the year 1693, a ship bound to Mecca, carrying eighty guns and furnished with 400 muskets, was attacked by an English vessel of small size. A gun having burst in the Mogul ship, the enemy boarded, and "although the Christians have no courage at the sword, yet by bad management the vessel was taken." Khafi Khan was sent by the viceroy of Guzerat to demand redress at Bombay. He describes his reception as being conducted with great dignity and good order, and with a considerable display of military power. He negotiated with elderly gentlemen in rich clothes; and although they sometimes laughed more heartily than became so grave an occasion, yet he seems to have been favourably impressed with their sense and intelligence. The English alleged that the king's ships had been captured by pirates, for whom they were not answerable, and explained their coining money in the name of their own sovereign (which was another complaint against them), by stating that they had to purchase investments at places where the money of the emperor would not pass. No definite result appears to have attended this interview.—(Elphinstone, ii., 556.)

ward, and a very advantageous charter granted to these adventurers, in 1698, with authority to trade to the East as well as West Indies, Africa, and America. This enterprise—which issued in the formation of the ill-fated Darien settlement—was soon succeeded by another more directly hostile to the E. I. Cy., and which was, in fact, a complete triumph on the part of the interloping interest. On the termination of the French war, the government of England looked around eagerly for means to liquidate the heavy expenses thereby incurred. The E. I. Cy. offered a loan of £700,000, at four per cent. interest, provided their charter should be confirmed, and the monopoly of the Indian trade secured to them by act of parliament. Their opponents tried a similar expedient, with more success, by proposing to raise a sum of £2,000,000 sterling, at eight per cent., on condition of being invested with exclusive privileges, and unfettered by any obligation to trade on a joint-stock. After much discussion, a bill was passed by the legislature, by which it was enacted that a loan of £2,000,000 should be raised, by subscription, for the service of government. Natives and foreigners, bodies politic and corporate, were alike at liberty to contribute their quota towards the total sum, which was to bear an interest of eight per cent. per annum. In return for this accommodation, letters-patent were issued, incorporating an association, called the *General Society trading to the East Indies*.* The members were authorised to adventure severally, to the amount of their subscriptions: or, if they so desired, might be formed into a joint-stock company. This new monopoly was to last until 1711; after that time, it was to terminate whenever the government chose, upon three years' notice, the original capital of two million being first refunded to the subscribers. The old company were treated in it very summarily; the proviso of three years' notice‡ was, in their case, just so far regarded as to ensure them leave to trade to India till 1701. With regard to both associations, it was decreed that the private fortunes of the adventurers should be responsible for the liquidation of liabilities incurred in their public capacity; and if further dividends were made by the old company before the payment of their debts, the members who accepted them were to be held responsible for the sums thus unduly received.

This measure, like all others based on injustice, produced much evil and little good to any party. The conduct of the government, in expecting a trading body to traffic largely and profitably, after the abstraction of its entire capital, under the name of a loan, was in itself as glaring an absurdity as to have opened the veins of a man in full health, and then, after leaving him just blood enough to prolong a feeble existence, to expect from his emaciated frame vigorous and healthy action. As for the old company, they determined to persevere under all circumstances. The trade was too long-established, and too valuable, to be relinquished easily; and they wrote out to their servants in India, that they had resolved to bear up against ill-fortune with "a true Roman courage."† Taking advantage of the clause which permitted corporations to hold stock in the new company, they resolved to trade separately and in their own name, after the three years of their own charter should have expired, and devoted the sum of £315,000 to this purpose; at the same time avowing their belief "that a civil battle was to be fought" between them and their adversaries; for that "two E. I. Companies in England could no more subsist without destroying each other, than two kings at the same time regnant in the same kingdom;" adding, that "being veterans, if their servants abroad would do their duty, they did not doubt of the victory: that if the world laughed at the pains the two companies took to ruin each other, they could not help it, as they were on good ground, and had a charter." ‡

The world—at least the Indian portion of it

* Mill, i., 141. Bruce says, the old association were obliged to assume the name of the *London company*, in contradistinction to the new corporation, which bore the more popular because national name of the *English company* (iii. 250); but these terms, used only for a few years, would but confuse the reader if interwoven in the text.

† Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Cy.*, iii., 685.

‡ Bruce, iii. 257. The old company declared their rivals "invaders of their rights, and authorised interlopers only." The new association were yet more violent in their invectives; and the charge of piracy," says Mill, "became a general calumny with which all the different parties in India endeavoured to blacken their competitors" (i. 136.) Sir Nicholas Waite openly denounced the London company to the Mogul as "thieves and confederates with pirates" (Bruce, iii. 337); and even applied to the governor of Surat to have their servants put in irons for an insult which, he asserted, had been offered to the ambassador of the King of England. Unfortunately, a great deal of personal ill-feeling existed between the representatives of the two societies, which led to the impolitic harshness of their measures.

did not laugh, but was simply amazed by the hostilities of two powerful trading bodies, each professing to act under the direct patronage of their mutual sovereign. Aurungzebe listened incredulously to the representations of Sir William Norris, who was dispatched to the Mogul court at the cost of the new company, but in the character of royal ambassador. Norris is accused of having conducted himself with unjustifiable violence towards the rival officials; and the same complaint is urged still more strongly against Sir Nicholas Waite, who had formerly acted as agent to the old company, but had been dismissed their employ. The new corporation in this, as in several other cases, were glad to avail themselves of the local knowledge possessed by the discarded servants of their opponents; and Waite was appointed their representative at Surat, with the title of president; to which that of consul was superadded by the king, as also to the chief of the three projected presidencies at Hooghly in Bengal, Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast, and in the island of Borneo. Each party maligned the other to the Mogul government, and lavished large sums of money for the purpose of gaining exclusive privileges. Prince Azim, the governor of Bengal, received presents from both sides—16,000 rupees from the old company, and 14,000 from the new;* but without understanding their ground of difference. The emperor, equally puzzled by these proceedings, wrote privately to Seyed Sedula, "an holy priest at Surat,"† desiring him to search out which of the two parties was really authorised by the English nation. The reply of the Seyed is not recorded; probably it was indefinite and unimportant: but had the same question been addressed to a European versed in the politics of the day, the answer might have involved a revelation of quite a new order of things to the mind of the despotic but philosophical monarch.‡ What a text full of strange doctrines would have been contained in the fact plainly stated, that both companies represented the will of different sections of a free though monarchical nation;—that, indeed, "the whole of this contest was only one division of the great battle that agitated the state between the tories and the whigs, of whom the former favoured the old company, and the latter the new."§

The fierce contention and excessive competition of the rival associations, proved almost equally injurious to both. The new company, upon the first depression of their stock in the market, had manifested an inclination to unite with the old body; but the latter held off, hoping to drive the enemy out of the field; and they succeeded in obtaining an act of parliament continuing them as a distinct corporation. The struggle, however, cost them dearly; and their stock, in these times of fluctuation and anxiety, varied in value between 300 and 37 per cent.‖ The market was overladen, there being at one time as many as sixty ships abroad in India and returning. Great quantities of Indian-wrought silks, stuffs, and calicoes were imported, and from their low price, worn by all classes. The silk-weavers of London became extremely tumultuous; and in 1697, attempted to seize the treasure at the East India-house.¶ Order was restored

* Stewart's *History of Bengal*, 342.

† Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Cy.*, iii., 466.

‡ Bernier, while serving Danechmund Khan in the capacity of physician, heard from the lips of this nobleman the particulars of a singular interview which he had just returned from witnessing between Aurungzebe and his former tutor. The latter had enjoyed for many years a jaghire, bestowed upon him by Shah Jehan. Upon the triumph of the schemes of his ambitious pupil, the old man presented himself as a candidate for office. Aurungzebe, wearied by his importunity, dismissed him, declaring that he owed him no gratitude for his ill-directed labours and erroneous instruction. "You taught me," he exclaimed, "that the whole of Frangistan (Europe) was no more than some inconsiderable island, of which the most powerful monarch was formerly the King of Portugal, then the King of Holland, and afterwards the King of England. In regard to the other sovereigns of Frangistan (such as the King of France, and the King of Andalusia), you told me they resembled our petty rajahs; and that the potentates of Hindoostan eclipsed the glory of all other kings." A profound and comprehensive knowledge of the history of mankind; familiarity with the origin of states, their progress and decline; the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions have been effected;—these were subjects which Aurungzebe pronounced to be of more importance to a prince than the possession "of great skill in grammar, and such knowledge as belongs to a doctor of the law," or even proficiency in the difficult Arabic language, which no one could hope to attain without "ten or twelve years of close application." This mighty prince is certainly not the first who has lamented the waste of the precious hours of youth "in the dry, unprofitable, and never-ending task of learning words:" yet, considering the importance attached by Mussulmans to the power of reading the Koran in the original tongue, it seems strange that so zealous a believer should have expressed himself thus forcibly on that point.—(Brock's *Bernier*, ii., 165-'6-'7.)

§ Grant's *Sketch of History of E. I. Cy.*, 119.

‖ Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, ii., p. 43.

¶ *Idem*, 633.

for the time; but the discontents were renewed by the augmented imports of the years 1688–'9; and the loud complaints from Spitalfields, Norwich, Canterbury, Coventry, &c., of the detrimental effect on the nation, occasioned by the numerous manufacturers thrown out of employ, and likewise of the largely increased exportation of silver,* succeeded in procuring the enactment of a law prohibiting the use in England or sale, except for re-exportation, of silks wrought, or calicoes printed in Persia, China, or the East Indies, either for apparel or furniture, under a penalty of £200, after Michaelmas, 1701; and a duty of fifteen per cent. was soon afterwards imposed upon muslins. These regulations materially reduced the value of the Eastern trade; and probably helped to accelerate the union of the two associations,—a measure strenuously urged by King William, but not carried out till after the accession of Anne. An indenture tripartite was entered into by the queen and the rival companies in 1702, by which it was agreed that a full and complete union should take place at the termination of the ensuing seven years, the intermediate time to be occupied in winding up the separate concerns of each party. The coalition took place before the lapse of the stated interval, being hastened by the alarm occasioned by the demand of government for the subscription of a new loan of £1,200,000, without interest. The companies, knowing from the experience of the past, the danger of the present crisis, dreaded the formation of a fresh body of adventurers, or renewed discussions on the subject of open trade with India. They forthwith laid aside all separate views, and agreed to furnish jointly the amount required. Their differences were submitted to the arbitration of Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, then lord high treasurer of England; and an act was passed, in 1708, constituting them one corporate body, under the name of *the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies*, with continuance only until the year 1726, and then "to cease and determine, on three years' notice and repayment by government of their capital stock of £3,200,000."†

While this matter was in progress of arrangement, the long-expected death of the aged emperor took place, and was immediately followed by the fierce war of succession, with equal anxiety anticipated by the native and European inhabitants of Hindoostan. When the news reached Surat, the English president (Sir John Gayer), anxious to transmit the intelligence to the company, yet fearful of plainly stating circumstances which, in a political crisis, might either by their truth or falsehood expose the promulgator to danger, took a middle course, by stating in an allegory easy to be understood, "that the sun of this hemisphere had set, and that the star of the second magnitude being under his meridian, had taken his place; but that it was feared the star of the first magnitude, though under a remoter meridian, would struggle to exalt itself."‡

The victory of Prince Mauzim (the star of the first magnitude) over his brothers, Azim and Kaumbuksh, and his elevation to the throne, have been already related (*see* p. 154); as also the rapid decay of the once

* From 1698 to 1703 inclusive, the silver exported from England to the East Indies amounted to £3,171,405; the gold to £128,229: total, £3,299,634, or, on an average, £549,939 per ann. The East India goods re-exported from England from 1698 to 1702 inclusive, were estimated at the value of £2,538,934, or, on an average, £507,787 per ann.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, i., Introduction, p. xii.)

† To equalise the shares of the two companies, it was agreed that the old, or London company, should purchase at par as much of the capital of the new or English company lent to government, as, added to the £315,000 which they had already subscribed, should equalise their respective portions. The dead stock of the London company was estimated at £330,000; that of the English company at £70,000: therefore, the latter paid the former £130,000 to place the shares of this part of the common estate on the same basis. The assets or effects of the London company, in India, fell short of their debts; and Lord Godolphin decreed that they should pay by instalments to the United company the sum of £96,615: the English company, having their balance on the right side of the account, were to receive from the same fund the sum of £66,005. The debts of both companies in Britain were ordained to be discharged before March, 1709; and as those of the London body amounted to nearly £400,000, the directors were empowered to call upon their proprietors, by three several instalments, for the means of liquidation. The £1,200,000 now advanced to government, without interest, being added to the previous sum of £2,000,000, constituted a loan of £3,200,000, yielding interest at the rate of five per cent. on the whole.—(Bruce, iii., 635—639; 667—679.) To assist them in raising the required loan, the company were empowered to borrow, on bonds, to the extent of £1,500,000 on their common seal, over and above what they were legally authorised to do before, and also to make calls of money from their proprietors.—(*Charters of E. I. Cy.*, pp. 243—367; Anderson, iii., 29.)—The company continued to bear the title now assumed until the year 1833.

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 616.

mighty fabric of Mogul power, which had made perceptible progress even before the death of Aurungzebe.

Before proceeding to describe the growth of English ascendancy, it may be needful, for the sake of readers not conversant with the sources from which the narrative of European intercourse with India has been derived, to notice the grievous dearth of native history, which has largely contributed to render many ponderous tomes published on Anglo-Indian affairs, almost as unreadable as a Blue-Book, or the ledger of a commercial firm. The valuable work of Bruce is professedly compiled from the records of the E. I. Cy.; but as he has very judiciously thought fit to give an able, though brief sketch of the general state of European politics in successive reigns, it would have been no less pertinent to the subject to have selected from the voluminous despatches of the Indian presidencies, various interesting illustrations of the condition and character both of the Hindoo and Mohammedan population. Such knowledge is useful even in a purely commercial point of view; and there is the greater cause for surprise that it should have been neglected by this writer, because in almost the only instance in which he deviates from his general rule by relating an affray with the Hindoos, occasioned by an act of wanton aggression on the part of the crews of two of the company's vessels, he introduces it as "one of those untoward events which strongly mark the necessity of attention to the rights, as well as to the prejudices of the natives."* Nearly at the close of his third and last quarto volume, he quotes the humiliating observation of President Pitt (the grandfather of Lord Chatham), that "when the Europeans first settled in India, they were mightily admired by the natives, believing they were as innocent as themselves; but since, by their example, they are grown very crafty and cautious; and no people better understand their own interest: so that it was easier to effect that in one year which you sha'nt do now in a century; and the more obliging your management, the more jealous they are of you."†

This evidence of the effect of communication between nominally Christian nations and a people still unenlightened by the teaching of the Gospel, is unhappily confirmed by the common testimony borne by impartial witnesses regarding the state of various native populations after their intercourse with Europeans. The bigotry of Romish communities, and the indifference (masked under the name of toleration) of Protestants, had rendered the profession of Christianity in the mouth of the former a pretext for cruel persecution, and in that of the latter little better than an unmeaning sound; the shameless immorality of Europeans in general, giving cause for the Indians to doubt whether they had really any religion at all.‡

* These vessels had gone from Surat to Carwar to bring off the pepper, &c. The crew of one of them stole a cow and killed it, thus offending both the rights and prejudices of the Hindoos; being resisted, they fired at and killed two native children of rank. The factory was in danger of destruction, and the agents of imprisonment; but proceedings were suspended by reason of the impending battle between the Mahratta rajah Sumbajee, and Aurungzebe. Bruce adds, that the Malabar trade received a severe check; which would be the natural result of such an aggression, as the produce was chiefly procured through native merchants.—(ii., 545.)

† *Annals*, iii., 658-'9. Hamilton asserts, that a terrible catastrophe occurred at Batecala about the year 1670, in consequence of a bull-dog belonging to the English factory having killed a cow consecrated to a pagoda or temple. The enraged priests, believing the injury to have been intentional, raised a mob and killed the whole of the English (eighteen in number) while engaged in a hunting party.—(i. 280.) The same writer describes the neighbouring kingdom of Canara as being generally governed by a female sovereign; and he adds, "the subjects of this country observe the laws so well, that robbery or murder are hardly heard of among them; and a stranger may pass through the country without being asked where he is going, or what business he has."—(*New Account of East Indies*, i. 279.)

‡ The Dutch, from the first commencement of their intercourse with the East Indies, made strenuous efforts for the conversion of the natives of Java, Formosa, Ceylon, and the Spice Islands generally, by the establishment of missions and schools, and the translation of the Scriptures; but on the continent of India their stations were small and temporary, and their spiritual labours partook of the same character. The good and zealous minister, Baldæus, visited the Dutch possessions of Tuticorin and Negapatam on the Coromandel coast, in 1660, and extended his visitation along the southern coast of the continent as far as Coulan (Quilon.) He describes the state of the Parawar, or cast of fishermen converted by Francis Xavier and other Romish missionaries, as little else than a peculiar phase of idolatry, their religion consisting in the mere outward acts of worshipping images, counting beads, and crossing themselves. The Danes, afterwards so justly celebrated for their earnest and well-directed labours in the missionary field, made no efforts of this description until they had been eighty years in India—that is, until 1706-'7. Before that time the impression they had endeavoured to make upon the natives by the scrupulous integrity of their commercial dealings, was greatly impaired by their irreligion and immorality.—(Hough, iii., 181.) With regard to the English, the description given by Ferishta, at the commencement of the 17th century, was pro-

The E. I. Cy. followed the example too generally shown by the government of England throughout the seventeenth century, excepting, perhaps, during the Protectorate. They contented themselves with sending out a few chaplains, not always well selected; and made no provision for the establishment of places of worship, consecrated to the decent celebration of the observances of their common faith. The first English church in India was erected in 1680, in Fort St. George, Madras, for the use of the factory, by the governor, Streynsham Masters. This good and earnest man completed the building "without any aid or countenance of the company in order thereto."* In fact, the missionary spirit intimately connected with the earliest colonial and commercial enterprises of the nation had been swallowed up (at least for a time) in the thirst for gain; and this circumstance is in itself a sufficient reason for the disastrous condition to which the E. I. Cy. found themselves reduced. No body of men, either in a private or public capacity, ever yet (in popular phraseology) "made their ledger their Bible" with impunity; and the punishment of an erring community is usually more perceptible than that of an individual, for the evident reason that the one has only a present existence, while for the other there is a judgment to come. We are all inclined to pass too lightly over such facts as these: we do not care to trace the workings of a superintending Providence, checking by adversity, or encouraging by prosperity, the every-day concerns of a mercantile company; nevertheless, the pith of the matter—the true philosophy of history—is in all cases the same. The flagrant blunders made by men noted for shrewdness and intrigue—the total failure of their most cunningly-devised schemes, bear daily witness amongst us of the fallibility of human judgment:—would that they taught us also the wisdom of implicit reliance on revealed truth, and of constant obedience to its pure and consistent dictates!

The century did not, however, close without some promise of better things, at least on the part of the English government; for the letters-patent of 1698 contain a special proviso, binding the general company to provide a chaplain on board every ship, and for every garrison and superior factory, in each of which a decent and convenient place was to be set apart for divine service only. These ministers were to learn Portuguese, and likewise the native language of the country where they should reside, "the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be servants or slaves of the said company, or of their agents in the Protestant religion."† These provisions were, it is evident, intended for the exclusive benefit of British subjects. The duty of spreading the Gospel among Indian populations was one which England was slow to recognise. Portugal, Spain, and France, Holland and Denmark, all took precedence of her in this great field; and it was not until after a long and arduous struggle, that the advocates of missionary exertion in our land succeeded in obtaining the sanction of government for their attempts to place before the people of India those divinely-revealed truths, which must be either entirely disbelieved, or else accepted as the only solid basis whereon to establish that "public virtue" which is as necessary to the true greatness of a nation, as integrity to the character of an individual. The progress of Christianity in India belongs, however, to a distinct section of this work; and its history, so far as England is concerned, is far subsequent to the present period, of which the chief interest lies in the succession of events immediately preceding the struggle between the French and English for political ascendancy in Hindoostan.

bably regarded by his countrymen as a correct account of the protestant creed at its close; so little effort had been made to set forth, in its truth and purity, the doctrines of the reformed faith. The Portuguese Jesuits, who were long in attendance on the court of Akber, were very likely to have accused their rivals of participation in the Nestorian heresy (which they had made the pretext for persecuting the Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast); otherwise it would be difficult to account for some of the assertions of Ferishta. "The persuasion of this nation," he writes, "is different from that of other Europeans, particularly the Portuguese, with whom they are in a state of constant warfare. They assert that Jesus was a mortal, and the prophet of God; that there is only one God, and that he is without equal, and has no wife nor child,—according to the belief of the Portuguese. The English have a separate king, independent of the King of Portugal, to whom they owe no allegiance; but, on the contrary, these two people put each other to death wheresoever they meet. At present, in consequence of the interference of Jehangeer Padshah, they are at peace with one another, though God only knows how long they will consent to have factories in the same town, and to live on terms of amity and friendship with one another."—(Brigg's *Ferishta*, iv., 541.)

* Hough's *Christianity in India*, iii., 377.

† *Charters, Treaties, and Grants of E. I. Cy.* (English and Indian), from 1601 to 1772.

INDO-EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—The death of Aurungzebe and the junction of the two companies, mark the commencement of a new epoch; before entering upon which it may be useful to sketch the position of the various European nations whose settlements and factories dotted the coast-line of the continent of India. On the western side of the great peninsula, the Portuguese still retained possession of the city of Goa; the fortresses of Damaun, Bassein, and Choul; and of Diu in Guzerat;* but the prestige of their power was gone for ever: by land, the Dutch, the Mogul, the Mahrattas, and their old foe the zamorin of Calicut, plundered them without mercy; and from the seaward they were harassed by the restless and vengeful hostility of the Muscat Arabs,† until the once haughty invaders were so completely humbled, that the English president and council at Surat, during their worst season of depression, could find no stronger terms in which to describe their own degradation, than by declaring that they had become "as despicable as the Portuguese in India, or the Jews in Spain."‡

The possessions of THE DUTCH were, for the most part, conquests from the Portuguese. On the *Coromandel coast* their chief settlement was that of Negapatam: in *Bengal,* they had posts or factories at Chinsura, Hooghly, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Patna, and other places: in *Guzerat,* a station at Surat of considerable importance in a commercial point of view; and dependent posts at Ahmedabad,§ Agra,‖ and Baroach. Cochin, Cranganore, Coulan (Quilon), and Cananore, on the *Malabar coast,* were clogged with heavy military expenses, which greatly outweighed the profits of the trade connected with them. As many as a thousand soldiers were, for some years, maintained here,¶ chiefly with the object of overawing the Hindoo princes, who, though frequently conquered, had never been completely subjugated either by the Portuguese or the Dutch; but on the contrary, were always ready to take advantage of any symptom of weakness on the part of their oppressors, to put forth an unexpected amount of armed hostility. The Malabar pepper is considered the finest in India; and the Dutch, although obliged to pay double the price for which they could obtain abundant supplies in Bantam and Jambee, made strong efforts to monopolise the market, but without effect. They stigmatised the sale of pepper to other nations as a contraband trade, and endeavoured to blockade the ports of Malabar; but with so little effect, that they could not even prevent the natives from maintaining an open

* Gemelli, quoted by Anderson, ii., 644.—He adds, that they had "the islands of Timor, Solor, and Macao subject to China; and in Africa, Angola, Sena, Sofala, Mozambique, and Mombas—many in number, but of no great value."

† The Arabs expelled the Portuguese from Muscat about the middle of the 17th century, and maintained almost incessant warfare against them for the next fifty years, but did not molest other European traders till nearly the expiration of that period. In 1697, the Portuguese joined the King of Persia against the Arabs, whereupon these latter divided their fleet into two squadrons; sent one of them to burn the Portuguese settlement at Mombas, and employed the other in destroying the factory at Mangalore. The Persian monarch offered the English the same privileges conceded to them at Gombroon for co-operation in the capture of Ormuz, if they would now assist him in attacking Muscat. The company's troops and shipping were not in a condition to comply with this request, as they were otherwise inclined to do, and an evasive answer was returned. The suspicions of the Arabs were probably aroused by the negotiation; for they shortly afterwards commenced hostilities against the English, which their improvement in naval tactics rendered increasingly disastrous; until, in the year 1704-'5, we find the court of the London company expressing their determination, so soon as the war in Europe should terminate, "to equip armed vessels to clear the seas and to root out that nest of pirates, the Muscat Arabs."—*Annals,* iii., 557.

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.,* iii., 307.

§ Founded in 1620, and abandoned in 1716.

‖ Founded in 1618, and abandoned in 1744.

¶ A great trade was at this period carried on at Surat by Moorish, Armenian, and Arabian merchants, with Persia, Mocha, Acheen, and elsewhere. The English, Dutch, and French had establishments here, under the protection of the Mohammedan government. Excellent ships, costly but extremely durable, were built of teak; and one of the resident merchants (a wealthy and enterprising Moor) is said to have possessed as many as fifteen or sixteen sail, of from 100 to 500 tons burthen.—(*Account of Trade of India;* by Charles Lockyer: London, 1711.) The Dutch factory here proved the most advantageous of any formed by them in India, and continued extremely lucrative until Bombay usurped the place of Surat, and the dominancy of the English became established. Admiral Stavorinus writes from official documents, that the Dutch company, in the ten years ending 1698, gained, upon an average, a sum of about £46,315 sterling, or about 850 per cent. upon the finer spices; and on their other goods a profit of £23,266, although only in the proportion of about 59 per cent. on the prime cost. Valentyn, an excellent authority, states the gain of the Dutch at Surat, on various articles, as follows:—Upon cloves, 665; nutmegs, 1,453; mace, 718; copper in bars, 128; ditto in plates, 31; benzoin, 40; gumlac, 34; quicksilver, 27; and vermillion, 19: and he adds, that the clear profit of the head factory amounted yearly to between six and seven tons of gold, or from £55,000 to £64,000 sterling. (Quoted in Stavorinus' *Voyages,* iii., 112—114.)

traffic with the notorious pirate Kidd. The Dutch governor, writing in 1698, remarks "that it is to be regretted the company carried so much sail here in the beginning, that they are now desirous of striking them, in order to avoid being overset."* The Dutch committed the common error of putting forth pretensions unjust in themselves, and maintainable only by force. The attempt failed, and the means employed produced disastrous consequences. The reduction of the land establishments, and the breaking up of the fleet heretofore stationed on the coast, accompanied by the avowed determination of no longer obstructing the navigation, were tokens of weakness which the native princes were not likely to view in the light of voluntary concessions. In 1701, war broke out with the zamorin, or Tamuri rajah, the existing representative of a dynasty which had for two centuries formed a bulwark to India against the inroads of European powers in this direction; and hostilities were carried on at the epoch at which we are now arrived.†

The efforts of THE DANES, based on a very slender commercial capital, had not prospered. In 1689, Tranquebar, their only settlement of importance, was nearly wrested from them by their territorial sovereign, the rajah of Tanjore, in consequence of the intrigues of the Dutch; and was preserved to its rightful owners solely by the armed interference of an English detachment sent to their relief from Madras, after the siege had lasted six months.

THE FRENCH, as traders, were equally unfortunate with the Danes. The home manufacturers had become discontented on perceiving the increasing use of gold and silver brocades, and painted cottons. Like their fellow-traders in England, they succeeded in procuring an edict (in 1687) for the immediate prohibition of this branch of commerce; and it was with considerable difficulty that the company obtained permission to dispose of their imports on hand, or expected by the next ships. The sale of piece-goods even to foreigners was forbidden, on the supposition that those of France would be purchased instead; and a high duty was laid on raw silk, then imported in considerable quantities. Under these discouraging circumstances the trade languished; and in 1693, received a fresh blow from the capture of Pondicherry (the chief French settlement) by the Dutch. New walls were raised, and the fortifications strengthened by the victors; but their labours proved ill-directed; for, upon the conclusion of the peace in 1697, the place was decreed to be restored to its former owners, with all its additional defences, on payment of £5,000 to the Dutch government, for the expenditure thus incurred. The French company received orders from the king to take measures to prevent the recapture of Pondicherry, and frequent reinforcements were sent there. The national treasury must have furnished the funds; for the finances of the association were exhausted, and in 1708 they became absolutely bankrupt; but Louis XIV., fearing that the trade to India might otherwise entirely cease, staid all prosecutions at law against them for debt, and granted them permission to lease out their privileges, upon the best terms they could, to any private person who should be able to adventure the necessary capital. Arrangements were actually formed on this basis with a M. Croizat, and afterwards with some merchants of St. Malo.‡

The possessions of THE ENGLISH are clearly set forth in the enumeration of "dead stock," made by the two companies at the time of their union.§ The central points

* Stavorinus' *Voyages*, iii., 238.

† The Dutch had governments or factories in Ceylon, in Java (where stood the fine city of Batavia, called by its owners the *Queen of the East*), in Malacca, Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Bantam, Siam, Macassar, Tonquin, Japan, Gombroon (in the Persian Gulf), with chiefships at Ispahan and Bussora. At Arracan, they purchased rice and slaves; and they had also many temporary stations in different parts of Asia, which it would be needless to enumerate.

‡ Milburn's *Commerce*, i., 384.

§ The PRESIDENCY OF BOMBAY held command over the factories of Surat, Swally, and Baroach, of Ahmedabad, Agra, and Lucknow (from which three last places the factors had been temporarily withdrawn): on the *Malabar coast*, they had the forts of Carwar, Tellicherry (established by permission of the Hindoo rajah, about 1695), Anjengo (with the sanction of the ranee or queen of Attinga, accorded at the same time, probably in both cases with a view of procuring the aid of the English against the aggressions of the Dutch), and the factory of Calicut. On the *Coromandel coast*, the company had establishments at Jinjee and Orissa; the factories depending on the MADRAS PRESIDENCY, the city, and Fort St. George, Fort St. David, Cuddalore, Porto Novo, Pettipolee, Masulipatam, Madapollam, and Vizagapatam. The factories dependent on the PRESIDENCY OF CALCUTTA, or FORT WILLIAM, were—Balasore, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Hooghly, Malda, Rajmahal, and Patna. The above forts and factories, with their stores and ammunition, together with the rents and customs arising therefrom, and the firmauns by right of which they were enjoyed, constituted the "dead stock" of the old or London company on the Indian continent. Some

were then, as now, formed by the three presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, the last of which was created in 1707. They had at this time no dependence upon one another; each was absolute within its own limits, and responsible only to the company in England. The presidents were respectively commanders-in-chief of the military force maintained within the limits of their jurisdiction. The numbers comprised in the several garrisons is not stated: but they were composed partly of recruits sent out from England; partly of deserters from other European settlements in India; and also (at least at Bombay and Surat) of Topasses—a name applied to the offspring of Portuguese and Indian parents, and also given, though with little reason, to Hindoo converts to the Romish church. Natives of purely Indian descent — Rajpoots for instance—were already, as has been noticed, employed by the company in military service, under the name of *Sepoys*, a corruption of *Sipahi* (soldier.) As yet little desire had been shown to discipline them after the European custom. They used the musket, but in other respects remained armed and clothed according to the country usage, with sword and target, turban, *cabay* or vest, and long drawers. Officers of their own people held command over them, but were eventually superseded by Englishmen.

Fort St. George (Madras), is described by a contemporary writer as "a port of the greatest consequence to the E. I. Cy., for its strength, wealth, and great returns made yearly in calicoes and muslins."* The citadel or inner fort had four large bastions with curtains, on which were mounted fifty-six guns and a mortar; the western, or main guard, was kept by about thirty soldiers; the east by a corporal's guard of six. The English town, or outer fort, was furnished with "batteries, half-moons, and flankers, at proper distances, whereon are about 150 guns and three mortars, mounted for defence, besides thirty-two guns more on the outworks, with eight field-pieces." The garrison comprised 250 Europeans, each paid at the rate of ninety-one fanams, or £1 2*s.* 9*d.* per month; and 200 topasses, at fifty or fifty-two fanams a-month; with some twenty experienced European gunners, at 100 fanams a-month. The captains received fourteen, ensigns ten, serjeants five pagodas† monthly; and corporals received the same salary as the artillerymen. The chief gunner of the inner fort had fourteen, and of the outer works twelve pagodas. About 200 peons, or native police, were constantly retained; and the Portuguese portion of the population were obliged to furnish a company or two of trained bands at their own charge, on any disturbance. The *Black City* —that is, the native town, situated outside the fort to the northward—was encompassed with a thick, high brick wall, and fortified after the modern fashion. Maqua Town, where the Mussulah‡ boatmen live, lay to the southward. The sway of the company extended beyond these limits; for they owned several villages two or three miles further in the country, such as Egmore, New Town, and Old Garden, which they rented out to merchants or farmers for 1,100 pagodas per annum. The "singular decorum observed by the free merchants, factors, servants, and other inhabitants," is especially noticed by Lockyer, who adds, that the excellent arrangements of Madras, together with "good fortifications, plenty of guns, and much ammunition, render it a bugbear to the Moors, and a sanctuary to the fortunate people living in it."§

By this account, it is evident that a blessing had attended the Christian labours of Streynsham Masters. His church, as yet the only building in India consecrated by Englishmen to divine worship, is described as a large and stately pile, adorned with

of these posts had probably proved sources of expenditure rather than gain; Masulipatam, Pettipolee, and Madapollam, for instance, are stated by Bruce, in 1695-'6, to have involved a dead loss of above £100,000.—(*Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 184.) The London company's further possessions were—the island of St. Helena: in Persia, a factory at Gombroon, with the yearly rent of about £3,333. still paid by the Persian monarch (*see* p. 208); and trading posts at Shiraz and Ispahan. On the island of Sumatra they had the settlements at York Fort, Bencoolen, Indrapore, Priaman, Sillebar, Bencoolen with dependent stations; and also a factory at Tonquin. The dead stock of the new, or English company, for which they were to be allowed £70,000 in the united funds, consisted of factories at Surat, in the Bay of Bengal, at Masulipatam, Madapollam, on the island of Borneo, and on the island of Pulo Condore, (coast of Cochin China), with the stores and ammunition belonging to each.—*Vide* the "*Quinque Partite Indenture*," in charters of *E. I. Cy.*, pp. 316—344.

* *Account of the Trade of India*, by Charles Lockyer, pp. 3-'4: London, 1711.

† A gold coin varying in value at different times from about nine to ten shillings.

‡ The planks of the large and flat-bottomed Massulah boats are sewn together with twine, which prevents their starting even under the most violent shocks. Their hire was then eighteen-pence a trip.

§ *Account of Trade*, p. 15.

curious carved work, with very large windows, and furnished with a fine altar, organ, and other appurtenances usual to the most complete edifices of its kind, with the exception of bells, which had perhaps been purposely omitted, on account of their intimate connexion with the superstitions of the Brahminical creed. Two ministers were attached to the church, in which services were performed twice a-day. On Sunday, the customary rites were "most strictly observed," and "country Protestants were examined in the catechism." A school, "held in a large room under the library," was open to all children free of charge. According to Lockyer, the ecclesiastical establishment was altogether well conducted, and deserved the high character it bore among the people. Pious persons gave or bequeathed considerable sums to "the church," for charitable purposes; and dying parents chose its representatives as trustees for their children,* a course of proceeding calculated, it is true, to place dangerous weapons of oppression in the hands of a dominant priesthood; but which, in the isolated and unpatronised condition of the religious establishments at Madras, can hardly be viewed in any other light than as evidence of the respect inspired by devout and upright conduct. The project for the formation of a municipal body had been carried out, and a mayor and six aldermen held a court twice a-week.

The total amount of revenue derived from Madras does not appear:† the scale of salaries was extremely moderate,‡ and probably affords a fair specimen of that laid down for the presidencies of Bombay and Calcutta, to which Lockyer's interesting sketches unfortunately do not extend.§ Disappointment and reverses had by this time greatly modified the ambitious views entertained by the managers of the East India trade. The belligerent and costly policy introduced by Sir Josiah Child and his brother, was succeeded by a directly opposite system—to conciliate rather than to defy and overawe the native princes, was the order of the day; and to this end the Indian officials were directed to carry on their business "without the affectation of pomp and grandeur, as merchants ought to do."|| The large sums spent by the rival companies in outvying and thwarting each other, constituted a departure from the general rule—at least in the case of the older body; but upon their union, this unsatisfactory expenditure ceased, and the leading members of the new concern, who now, under the name of the Court of Directors, took the place of the Court of Committees,¶ enjoined upon their agents the most rigid frugality, which they continued to enforce

* The church stock of unemployed money was lent out at seven per cent. per ann.—(Lockyer, p. 18.)

† Lockyer mentions a seagate custom of £5 per cent., yielding 30,000 pagodas per ann.; and a choultry, or land custom of two-and-a-half per cent. on cloth, provisions, and other goods brought in from the country, yielding 4,000 pagodas. Anchorage and permit dues, licences for fishing, arrack and wine, tobacco and beetle-nut farms, mintage, &c., furnished various sums; but the total must have fallen far short of the expectations expressed by the company in 1691-'2 of drawing as much from Madras as the Dutch did from Batavia; namely, a yearly income of £260,000.—(Bruce, iii., 110.)

‡ The governor had £200 a-year, with a gratuity of £100: of the six councillors, the chief had £100 per ann.; the others in proportion,—£70, £50, and £40 per ann.: six senior merchants had annual salaries of £40; two junior merchants, £30: five factors, £15: ten writers, £5: two chaplains, £100: one surgeon, £36: two "essay masters," £120: one judge, £100: and the attorney-general, fifty pagodas. Married men received from five to ten pagodas per month, as diet money, according to their quality; inferior servants, dining at the general table had no other allowance beyond their salaries than a very trifling sum for washing, and oil for lamps.—(Lockyer's *Trade of India*, p. 14.) The highest appointment at Bombay did not exceed £300 per ann.

§ The condition of several of the minor English settlements at this period is well sketched by Lockyer:—*Tegnapatam*, or *Fort St. David*, he describes as "a port of great profit, as well for the rents and income arising immediately thereon, as for the great quantities of calicoes and muslins that are brought thence for Europe. *Metchlepatam* [*Masulipatam*], *Vizigapatam*, and *Madapollam*, are factories continued for the sake of red-wood and the cotton-manufactures, which are here in the greatest perfection."—(p. 13.) The factory at Carwar, on the Malabar coast, was provided with eight or nine guns and twenty-six topasses, "to defend it against the insults of the country people."—(p. 269.) The native chief, or rajah, received custom dues of one and-a-half per cent. on all goods imported by the English. At *Tellicherry*, a small fort with a slight guard was maintained to protect the trade in pepper and cardamums, coir, cowries, and chanks from the Maldives. At *Anjengo*, the company possessed a small fort with guns, and a garrison of forty "mongrel Portuguese," to protect the traffic (chiefly pepper), and the "go-downs," or warehouses. Business was carried on by a chief agent, assisted by three or four counsellors, and a surgeon was included in the establishment. At *Calicut*, where there was considerable trade, the English factory was a large old house without fortifications or guns, which the zamorin, like the Mogul, would probably not have suffered any foreigners to maintain within his dominions.

|| Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 452.

¶ *Committees*;—in the sense of persons to whom something is committed.

so strictly, that in 1724, the outlay of about £100 in the purchase of a chaise and pair of horses for the president at Calcutta, was reprehended as an unwarrantable proceeding. The directors ordered the amount to be refunded, remarking, that if their servants desired "such superfluities" they must pay for them.* It is certain that the regular salaries given even to the highest functionaries could have barely covered the necessary expenses of Europeans living in a tropical climate. But they had other sources of emolument more or less legitimate. Each *employé* was suffered to prosecute an independent traffic, which he had the best opportunity of doing, as the coasting-trade and likewise the intercourse with all eastern ports north of the equator, except Tonquin and Formosa, had recently† been relinquished by the company to their servants, or to Englishmen licensed to reside in India as free merchants, by which latter arrangement an independent community was gradually formed.

The plan of allowing officials to prosecute business in two distinct capacities, was fraught with evils for which the attendant saving in the item of salaries could make but poor amends. Convenience of situation for the affairs of each individual was the first object to be desired, and as all power of appointment (saving where the rule of seniority applied) was lodged in the president and council jointly, they naturally distributed among their own body the most advantageous offices. The employment and consequent absence of a member of council as chief of an important factory, did not disqualify him for retaining his position in the government; but it could scarcely fail to detract from his efficiency, since few men have sufficient energy, and fewer still sufficient integrity, to perform at one time the arduous duties of a judge, legislator, and politician, and of the head of an extensive commercial establishment in conjunction with the business of a private merchant. No doubt, in most cases, the last-named interest would absorb the others, and neglect of the affairs of government would necessarily follow: to this single cause many of the defects observable in the management of affairs in India, may probably be attributed.

Upon the union of the two companies, a manifest preference was evinced to the agents of the elder body, and especially to Mr. Thomas Pitt,‡ the president of Madras before mentioned, whose ability and discre-

* Thornton's *British Empire in India*, i., 75.

† The commerce had formerly been circuitous: the E. I. Cy's ships went first to Surat and other northern ports, and disposed of part of their English cargoes in exchange for piece-goods and other commodities, with which they sailed for the southern ports, where these articles were in demand; and procured instead pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and various articles for the European market. This tedious and expensive mode of traffic was abandoned towards the close of the 17th century; direct intercourse was established between London and the Indian ports, and the "country," or coasting-trade, disposed of as above related. The mode of conducting the inland traffic had likewise undergone considerable change. "The sale of the commodities imported from Europe," says Mill, "was transacted in the simplest and easiest of all possible ways; namely, by auction—the mode in which they disposed of Indian goods in England. At the beginning of this traffic, the English, as well as other European adventurers, used to carry their commodities to the inferior towns and markets, transporting them in the hackeries [cars] of the country; and established factories and warehouses where the goods were exposed to sale."—(iii., p. 12.) During the confusion, however, which prevailed while the empire of the Moguls was in progress of dissolution, an order was issued forbidding persons in the E. I. Cy.'s service, or under their jurisdiction, to proceed far into the country without special permission; and the care of distributing the goods inland, and of introducing them to the consumers, was left to native and other independent dealers. The collection and custody of the goods which constituted a European "investment," was a more complicated business, especially the purchase of the produce of the loom. The extreme indigence of the weaving class, and the consequent necessity of at all times furnishing them with the materials of their work, or the means of purchasing them, involved considerable advances of capital and a large amount of superintendence, compelling the employment of several distinct sets of agents (banyans, gomashtahs dallâls, and pycârs), who made their profit at the expense both of the company and the weaver; the latter, as the weaker party, being naturally the most open to oppression. When the piece of calico or muslin was finished, the *gomashtah*, or broker, holds a "kattah,"—examined the work, fixed its price, and paid the workman, who, it is said, was often obliged to accept fifteen or twenty, and often thirty or forty per cent. less than the result of his labour would have fetched in the market.—(Mill, iii., 15.)

‡ Another individual of the same family figures in the history of East Indian affairs: first, as "Pitt the interloper", then as "president and consul Pitt" in the service of the new or English association; and lastly, as one of the highest officials in the employ of the united company, in which position he died in 1703, leaving behind him heavy personal debts and a very questionable reputation as regarded his public dealings. The only doubtful point which I have met with regarding the character of his cousin, Mr. Thomas Pitt, relates to the manner in which the famous diamond, bearing his name, came into his possession. Captain Hamilton avers, that the gem was procured through the intervention of a person named Glover, who, seeing it at Arcot, prevailed upon the proprietor to offer it for sale to the English at Fort St. George, and he placed in his hands

tion had been evinced in the late season of disaster and embarrassment. When the coalition of their employers in England rendered it of the first consequence that their representatives in India should lay aside their contentions, and, if possible, subdue the ill-feeling raised by systematic hostility, Mr. Pitt set a good example, by addressing a communication to the English company, in which he applied to himself "the great saying of King William of blessed memory, to the French king's plenipotentiary at Ryswick, on concluding the peace,—*'twas my fate, and not my choice, that made me your enemy*; and since you and my masters are united, it shall be my utmost endeavour to purchase your good opinion, and deserve your friendship."*

The treaty of Utrecht happily terminated the long war with France, and England enjoyed a season of commercial prosperity, of which the rapid growth of Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham afford remarkable evidence.† The company likewise prospered, and their imports rose in value from £493,257 in 1708, to £1,059,759 in 1730. The export branch of their trade was far from exhibiting so favourable a result;‡ but the rate of profit steadily increased up to 1723; the dividends augmenting from five per cent. per annum to the proprietors, upon £3,163,200 of capital, until they reached ten per cent.; they then declined to eight per cent., at which annual rate they continued until 1732, when they were reduced to seven per cent., and remained there until 1744, in which year they returned to eight per cent. The interval between 1708 and 1745 is marked by but few important events. In England the company were employed at various times in procuring decrees against interlopers,§ and obtaining extensions of their exclusive privileges. The opposition of the free trade party was very violent in 1730; and the East India association obtained a renewal of their charter only on condition of the payment of a premium of £200,000, and the reduction of the interest of their capital lent to government from five to four per cent. The term now fixed was to terminate upon three years' notice from March, 1766.

In India the servants of the company watched with alarm the successive contests for the throne, which took place between the death of Aurungzebe and the accession of his great-grandson, Feroksheer, in 1713. Moorshed Kooli Khan (sometimes called Jaffier Khan), who had previously filled the office of dewan, or comptroller of the revenues in Bengal, was appointed subahdar, or viceroy of that province, and subsequently obtained a grant of Bahar and Orissa. The English found his rule arbitrary and extortionate; and, in the hope of obtaining from the emperor a decree for especial protection and concessions, persuaded the directors at home to allow them to send an embassy to the Mogul court. Two factors, selected for their intelligence, were dispatched from Calcutta to Delhi, with an Armenian merchant for their interpreter; and the report of the costly presents of which they were the bearers having preceded them, the governors of the provinces through which their road lay were ordered to show them every respect.‖ They

3,000 pagodas of his own as a guarantee that no compulsion should be used to oblige him to sell unless he were so inclined. The pledge was broken by Mr. Pitt, and the money forfeited by Glover.—(*New Account of East Indies*, i., 366.) The tale is not very clearly told; the seller, if a native, was probably not the legitimate possessor of the diamond, because all stones, above a certain weight, found in the mines, were claimed by the emperor. This, however, is no excuse for the conduct of Mr. Pitt, if Hamilton's accusation be correct. The traffic in jewels was, it should be stated, considered of much importance, and had been alternately monopolised by the company, and conceded to their servants as an especial privilege.

* *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, year 1702–'3.

† Liverpool, which was not formed into a separate parish till 1699, increased so rapidly, that in 1715, a new parish with a church was erected; and its extent was doubled between 1690 and 1726. Manchester grew with equal rapidity, and was computed, in 1727, to contain no less than 50,000 inhabitants; and at the same period, the metal manufactories of Birmingham, which thirty years before was little more than a village, are represented as giving maintenance to upwards of 30,000 individuals.—(Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, iii., 143–'4.) To London several new parishes had been added in a short period. And from the year 1708 to 1730, the imports of Great Britain, according to the valuation of the custom-house, had risen from £4,698,663 to £7,780,019; and the exports from £6,969,089, to £11,974,135.—(Sir Charles Whitworth's *Tables*, part i., p. 78.—Mill, iii., 25.)

‡ The exportation of 1708 was exceedingly small compared with years immediately following: that of 1709, was £168,357; that of 1730, only £135,484.

§ In 1718, the company were authorised, by act of parliament, to seize all British subjects found trading within their limits, under the commission of a foreign government, and to send them to England, subject to a penalty of £500 for each offence.

‖ They seem to have especially dreaded passing through the country of the Jats, near Agra: in communicating their progress to the authorities at Calcutta, the deputation relate having accomplished this part of their journey,—"not meeting with much trouble, except that once in the night, rogues came

reached the capital after journeying three months: but the influence of Moorshed Kooli Khan, through his party, in the divided counsels of the state, prevailed; and, notwithstanding their offerings of gold coin, a table-clock set with precious stones, a *unicorn's horn*, a gold escrutoire, a map of the world, japan, lacquered, earthen and cutlery ware, with looking-glasses and red and yellow broad cloth in abundance, the negotiation languished;* and Ferokshe‌er, engaged in preparing for his nuptials with the daughter of the Marwar rajah, Ajeet Sing, would probably have paid no attention to their solicitations, had not the medical skill of one of the party (a surgeon in the company's service) been offered at an opportune moment for the cure of a malady from which he had been long suffering.

Under the treatment of Mr. Hamilton the emperor recovered; and the marriage, which had been delayed on account of his illness, was forthwith consummated. Feroksheer, of whom it has been said that "his only quality was an ill-placed liberality,"† presented his physician with a magnificent *khillut* (*see* p. 168), 5,000 rupees in coin, and models of all his surgical instruments in pure gold; at the same time assuring him that any favour he might solicit should be granted. Again, the disinterestedness of a medical officer of the company proved equal to his skill,‡ and Hamilton requested the emperor to concede to the embassy the important privileges they had come to ask; namely:—1st. "That a 'dustuck,' or passport, signed by the president of Calcutta, should exempt the goods it specified from being stopped or examined by the Mogul government, under any pretence: 2ndly. That the officers of the mint at Moorshedabad should at all times, when required, allow three days in the week for the coinage of the East India Company's money: 3rdly. That all persons, *whether Europeans or natives*,§ who might be indebted or accountable to the company, should be delivered up to the presidency at Calcutta on the first demand: 4thly. That the English might purchase the lordship of thirty-eight towns, with the same immunities as Prince Azim Ooshan had permitted them to buy with Calcutta, Chuttanuttee, and Govindpoor."

The petition was granted, notwithstanding the representations of the friends of Moorshed Kooli Khan, the viceroy of Bengal,|| who

on our camp, but being repulsed three times, they left us."—(Auber's *Rise and Progress of British Power in India*, i., 16.)

* The value of the presents was about £30,000, but Khojeh Serhaud, the Armenian employed, had given out their value at more than three times that amount—a deception which could not fail to produce disappointment.

† Scott's *History of the Deccan*, ii., 135.

‡ The case of Broughton has been related. According to Orme, the medical skill engaged in the service of the company was likewise instrumental in gaining favour with Aurungzebe, about the time of the first occupation of Calcutta—an English physician being serviceable in administering relief to the emperor, when "sorely tormented with carbuncles," which his own medical attendants could not cure.—(*Historical Fragments of Mogul Empire*, p. 284.)

§ The company lost no opportunity of strengthening and enforcing their authority over their countrymen in India. Independent traders, licensed or unlicensed, were alike on sufferance; and in addressing their presidencies, the directors expressly desire that care should be taken to let even the uncovenanted merchants know "that by the laws, no subject of his majesty can stay in India without our leave; and therefore, as they are there only during good behaviour, so you will let them continue no longer than they deserve it."—*Letter to Bengal*, 1722.

|| According to European and Hindoo writers, the sway of Moorshed Kooli Khan was marked by a degree of barbarous and fiend-like cruelty, which certainly formed no part of the character of Aurungzebe, who, though he never scrupled to make away with the life of a human being if it suited his policy, was nevertheless, as a ruler, decidedly opposed to capital punishment or the infliction of tortures. The viceroy of Bengal, on the contrary, seems to have used by preference such means of enforcing his authority as were best calculated to strike terror into the minds of all beneath his sway. He never placed confidence in any man, but examined the state of his exchequer daily. Any zemindar found remiss in payment, was put under arrest, guards were placed to prevent his eating and drinking till the deficiency was supplied, and spies watched over the guards to inform if they were bribed, or negligent in their duty. When a district was in arrear, the delinquent zemindar was tormented by every species of cruelty, such as hanging up by the feet, bastinadoing, exposure to the sun in summer, and in winter frequent sprinklings of the bare flesh with cold water. The deputy dewan of the province, Seyed Rezah Khan, who had married the grand-daughter of the Nabob, "in order to enforce payment of the revenues, ordered a pond to be dug, which was filled with everything disgusting, and the stench of which was so offensive, as nearly to suffocate whoever approached it"—to this place the dewan, in derision of the Hindoos, gave the designation of *Bickoont* (a term which signifies their Paradise)—"and after the zemindars had undergone the usual punishments, if their rent was not forthcoming, he caused them to be drawn by a rope tied under the arms through this infernal pond. By such cruel and horrid methods, he extorted from the unhappy zemindars everything they possessed, and made them weary of their lives." Wherever a robbery was committed, the foujedar was compelled to find out the thief, or to recover the property; and the robber, when caught, was impaled alive, or the body split in two, and hung upon trees on the high road. The Mussulman writers speak of

seems to have been constantly on the watch to repress every indication of increasing power on the part of either Europeans or Hindoos. This lesson he had doubtless learned from his early patron, Aurungzebe; and in practising it, together with other maxims derived from the same school, he earned the cordial detestation of the classes whose views he steadily opposed, and the unbounded admiration of Moguls and Mussulmans as the champion of their political supremacy and religious creed. The firmaun (comprising thirty-four patents),* issued at the intercession of Hamilton,† was imperative, but the viceroy contrived to impede the operation of its most important clauses. The thirty-eight villages which the company had obtained leave to purchase, would have given them a district extending ten miles from Calcutta on each side of the river Hooghly, where a number of weavers, subject to their own jurisdiction, might have been established. This arrangement Moorshed Kooli Khan circumvented by using his influence to deter the holders of the land from consenting to its sale. The privilege of granting dustucks or passports, was at first exercised by the president of Calcutta unchallenged, but the extension of immunity from duties from the goods of the company to those of their servants, soon had the effect of exempting not only articles of foreign commerce, but also the produce of the province itself, in its passage by land from one district to another. This the viceroy declared it his determination to prevent, as a practice equally destructive to his revenue and ruinous to the native traders, on whom heavy duties were imposed; and he commanded that the English dustucks should be respected solely in the case of goods imported by sea, or purchased for exportation. The company remonstrated, but in vain; and their servants, checked in their endeavours to grasp the inland trade, directed their ardour to the maritime branch; and their superior skill soon induced the merchants of the province, Moors, Armenians, and Hindoos, to freight most of their exports in English vessels. Within ten years from the period of the embassy, the shipping of the port of Calcutta increased to 10,000 tons.

The non-acquirement of the thirty-eight villages apparently occasioned no great disappointment to the company, who had already adopted the wary and reluctant tone they ever afterwards maintained regarding the increase of their territory. When aware of the sanction obtained by their representatives, they bade them purchase only so much of the lands in question as were immediately contiguous to Calcutta, remarking, that "when Jaffier Khan [Moorshed Kooli Khan] or any other governor, finds you desire only half of what you might insist on, he or they may be the easier to give their consent, and not pick future quarrels; for as our business is trade, it is not political for us to be encumbered with much territory." In a subsequent paragraph, the directors speak of the benefit derivable from the possession of a good dock; and add, "if ever we should be forced to the necessity of it, our settlement there would enable us to command the river; but this is not to be so much as publicly hinted at, lest it alarm the government." Again, in the same month (Feb., 1721), they write to Bengal, "remember we are not fond of much territory, especially

Moorshed Kooli Khan as severe in the extreme, but equally impartial, showing favour to no one, and always rewarding merit wherever he found it. His jurisdiction certainly afforded room for praise as well as censure, were it only for his earnest efforts to ward off the terrible calamity of famine, and prevent the monopoly of grain. In private life, he was learned, temperate, and self-denying; refrained wholly from spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs; despised all the refinements of luxury, whether in dress or food; always kept constant to one lawful wife, and would not suffer any strange women or eunuchs to enter the apartments of his seraglio. Every year he sent Korans of his own writing to Mecca, Medina, and other holy places; and during the period of twelve days, which include the anniversaries of the birth and death of Mohammed, he feasted people of all conditions, and caused a road three miles in length to be illuminated with lamps, representing verses of the Koran, mosques, trees, and other figures. He also kept, with great state, another favourite Moslem festival, in which the chief feature is the setting afloat of boats made of bamboo and paper, ornamented with flags, lamps, &c., as a religious offering.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, pp. 378—411; and *Sketches of Bengal*—anonymous.) As a climax to his oppressions in the eyes of the Hindoos, and laudable zeal in those of his fellow-believers, the viceroy, in his old age, caused all the Brahminical temples in Moorshedabad to be pulled down to furnish materials for his tomb.

* Other privileges of less importance than those cited in the previous page, were comprised in these patents, which long constituted the great charter of the English in India. Among them was a decree that the annual payment of a fixed sum to the government of Surat should free the English trade at that port from all duties and exactions; that three villages contiguous to Madras, formerly granted and afterwards resumed by the government of Arcot, should be restored to the company; and the island of Diu, or Divi, near Masulipatam, conceded to them on payment of a fixed rent.—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 128.)

† Mr. Hamilton died in Calcutta, in 1717. His tombstone was discovered about sixty years after, in digging for the foundations of a new church.

if it lies at a distance from you, or is not near the water-side; nor, indeed, of any, unless you have a moral assurance it will contribute directly or in consequence to our benefit."*

In Indian affairs, as in the ordinary course of all collective or individual enterprise, successes and reverses† came at the same period from different but equally unexpected quarters. About the date of the successful embassy, a new and powerful rival appeared on the stage. In the year 1716, the governor of the French settlement at Pondicherry, announced to the British at Fort St. David, that there were off the Malabar coast two 40-gun vessels under the imperial colours. These ships belonged to the Ostend East India Company, who were just commencing their operations, but did not gain a regular charter from their sovereign, the Emperor of Austria, till four years afterwards. Dutch, French, and English, immediately made common cause against the intruders, who had now to combat the opposition every nation had encountered from its predecessors in the field of Indian commerce since the Portuguese first interrupted the navigation of the Arabs and Moors. In the present case it was argued, that the concession of a charter by the emperor to the Ostend company, was a breach of faith towards the English and Dutch, inasmuch as it was by their united prowess that the ten provinces of the Netherlands, which remained in allegiance to Spain during the war of independence, were transferred from that kingdom to the crown of Austria. The Dutch insisted upon the continuance of the restriction forcibly imposed by them on the trade of these provinces while they constituted a portion of the Spanish dominions; and asserted that this prohibition was implied in the very terms of the barrier-treaty from which the emperor derived his authority. They seconded their arguments by active hostile measures: seized the vessels of the Ostend company, with their cargoes; and forbade the subjects of the states from all concern in the undertaking on the severest penalties,—even, it is said, on pain of death. France and England adopted the same selfish policy, though they did not carry it out with equal asperity. Louis XV. published a declaration denouncing various forfeitures, and in some cases, imprisonment and exile on any of his people who should enter into the service of the Ostend association, or hold shares in their stock. Similar punishments were held forth by George I. and his parliament, to deter British subjects from taking part in the new adventure; and one instance, at least, occurred of an Ostend ship, homeward-bound and richly freighted, being captured by a British privateer. All this persecution did not deter the Netherlanders from their object: it was to them as a breathing time from oppression; and they struggled with determination, and in a commercial point of view, with success, against their foes. Their charter was granted in 1723; in less than twenty-four hours their subscription-books were filled up; and within a month the shares were sold at a premium of fifteen per cent. At a meeting of proprietors in 1726, the remaining instalment on the subscriptions, equal to a dividend of thirty-three and one-third per cent., was paid up from the gains of the trade. Thus far, the emperor had persevered in upholding the company, and in granting them commissions of reprisal, in which course he had been confirmed by an article in the treaty of Vienna in 1725, by which Spain guaranteed the continuance of the association. But this alliance was of brief duration, and only served to rouse the jealousy of, other European powers. It was followed by a combination which resulted in the treaty of Hanover, between France, England, Holland, and Denmark, by which among other provisions, the contracting parties mutually guaranteed their respective commercial claims to the exclusion of the Ostend company.‡ The emperor, deserted by his only ally the King of Spain, could not oppose this formidable confederacy with-

* Auber's *Rise and Progress*, vol. i., 25.

† During the first half of the 18th century the English East India trade experienced some severe checks in China and the eastern islands. It seemed as if, *nolens-volens*, they were to be driven to expend all their energies on the Indian peninsula. Their factors were compelled, with great loss of goods and stores, to quit Chusan, where they had commenced a settlement, and a worse result attended their endeavours to establish themselves on Pulo Condore, an island subject to the Cochin Chinese, and at Banjar Massin, in Borneo. The British at Pulo Condore were barbarously massacred by the soldiery, in 1705, and nearly two years afterwards the same fate overtook those at Banjar Massin, only a few escaping with life. In Sumatra (at Bencoolen), a severe and prolonged struggle took place: the natives compelled the British to evacuate Fort Marlborough, in 1718; but fearing to fall into the hands of the Dutch, suffered the English to return and resettle their factories, in 1721.—(Grant's *Sketch.*)

‡ The Ostend company, though not expressly named, are plainly alluded to in this treaty, to which Prussia and Sweden were likewise parties.

out endangering the object he had most at heart—namely, to secure the transmission of his crown to his daughter and only child, Maria Theresa; and he was reluctantly compelled to sign a treaty, in 1727, by which the Ostend company was suspended for seven years; and before the expiration of that term, he, by the treaty of Seville, pledged himself to its complete dissolution.

The whole of these transactions, while affording strong evidence of the value attached to the Asiatic trade, certainly exhibit the exclusive companies of the most powerful European states of the period in a very unpleasing light, as concurring, in the open face of day, to crush the attempt of a persecuted people to regain their lost prosperity, and draw from the deep fountain of foreign commerce their portion of the invigorating streams by which other countries had been long fertilised.*

At this time the commerce of Sweden had recovered from the depression caused by the wars of Charles XII. Brilliant victories cannot neutralise the disastrous and exhausting effect of war on the energies of a people; and many Swedish citizens forsook their native land for countries in which they could hope to sow the seed and reap the harvest of their labours unmolested. The restoration of tranquillity gave the signal for the return of those wanderers, who brought with them in some cases comparative wealth, and for the most part a spirit of enterprise yet more beneficial to the state.

An opulent merchant of Stockholm, named Koning, observed the temper of his countrymen, and connecting with it the number of men possessed of capital and of commercial and nautical knowledge turned adrift by the destruction of the Ostend company, considered that a favourable opportunity had arrived for the establishment of an East India trade in Sweden. A company was formed, and a royal charter granted in 1731, empowering them to trade to all countries between the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, provided they refrained from entering havens occupied by any European power without permission. Gottenberg was to be the sole port of outfit and arrival, and for the disposal of the imports, which might be done only by public sale. In all points regarding duties the regulations were extremely liberal. The direction was to be entrusted to native or naturalised subjects of Sweden, and to Protestants only. The Dutch opposed the new association at the onset; and the chief of their two first vessels,† the *Frederick*, was seized in the Straits of Sunda, and carried into Batavia; but the representations of the Swedish minister procured its liberation, and both the States-General and the company disavowed having given any order for its interception. The poverty and low commercial reputation of Sweden, probably yet more than the total absence of any pretext for questioning her right of intercourse with other independent kingdoms, prevented any systematic opposition being set up by the leading European powers to this new candidate for eastern trade. The Swedes, from

* The ten provinces, it will be remembered, which remained under the possession of Spain, were bestowed by Philip on his daughter and her husband, the Archduke of Austria, with a stipulation in the deed of conveyance prohibiting their subjects from sailing to America or the East Indies. Vainly the Netherlanders presented petition after petition to the court of Madrid: they could obtain no redress. The wealth and industry of the country took refuge in Protestant lands,—in the congenial atmosphere of civil and religious freedom. Cities, once the hives of industry, were deserted; and even Antwerp, lately the commercial capital and emporium of Europe, was reduced almost to a solitude;—its harbour abandoned by shipping—its exchange by merchants. Upon the death of Isabella, in 1698, the sovereignty reverted to Spain; and the king was persuaded to grant to the Netherlands the liberty of trading to those parts of the Indies settled by Portugal, then under his sway. The revolt of the Portuguese in 1640 was attended with the resumption of such of their Indian possessions as had not fallen into the power of the Dutch; and the hopes of the Netherlanders were again disappointed. In 1698, Carlos II., the last of the Austrian kings of Spain, granted them permission to trade with such parts of India and the coast of Guinea as were not preoccupied by Europeans; but before they could take advantage of this charter, the death of their royal patron occurred, A.D. 1700, and was followed by the long and sanguinary war of succession which convulsed Europe for thirteen years. At the conclusion of peace they fell under the dominion of the house of Austria; and the emperor, desirous of encouraging the commerce of his new subjects, but fearful of provoking the enmity of the maritime powers (as England and Holland were then termed), he at first, as has been shown, could only be prevailed on to sanction separate voyages, the success of which incited the formation of a temporary association, which was soon followed by that of the chartered company, whose efforts were brought to an untimely termination in 1727. Among the accusations made against the Ostend company was that of being most determined smugglers, especially of tea, which they imported largely into Great Britain. However, as one wrong, though it cannot justify, is usually held to palliate another (at least in the sight of human tribunals), the Ostenders might well plead that excuse for their adoption of the sole means of retaliation in their power.

† The *Frederick* and *Ulrica*; named after the king and queen of Sweden.

the beginning, traded almost entirely with China,* and tea formed at least four-fifths of their exports, of which a very small part was consumed in Sweden, the remainder being sold for ready-money to foreigners, chiefly for the purpose of being smuggled into Great Britain—a practice which the heavy duties levied upon this article greatly encouraged.

To return to the business of the three presidencies. The death of the aged viceroy of Bengal, in 1725, seems to have occasioned fear and regret, and the English, after so long complaining of his cruelty and extortion, now openly lamented his loss. The truth was, that Moorshed Kooli Khan, in common with the Nizam Asuf Jah, and other statesmen of Aurungzebe's stamp, had imbibed from their imperial master habits of unflagging and methodical application to the whole duties of their position, whether civil or military, which raised them in a remarkable manner above the sensual and sluggish condition into which the Moguls had sunk under the enfeebling influence of an eastern climate and unchecked luxury.† Moreover, the English had other reasons for viewing any change of this kind with anxiety; for the weakness of the present representative of the house of Timur, rendered it doubtful whether the succession to the viceroyalty might not prove a question to be decided by force of arms. This fear was removed by the uncontested appointment of Shuja Khan, the son-in-law of the deceased; but upon his death, in 1739, a struggle ensued between his son, Serferaz Khan, and his ungrateful but able dependent, the famous Ali Verdi Khan, who, after slaying the heir of his patron in battle, usurped the government, in which he contrived to establish himself. The piracies of the sons of Kanhojee Angria,‡ a Malabar chieftain, about this period, sensibly affected the advancement of the English trade, and injured yet more deeply the failing strength of the Portuguese. The invasion of Nadir Shah, in 1739, was a shock which was felt through the length and breadth of the Indian continent: it announced in language not to be misunderstood the downfall of a once mighty empire, and was as the tocsin of war in the ears of the governors of the various provinces, who, though still maintaining a semblance of respect to their nominal master, were really anxious only about one another's intrigues, and the increasing power of the Mahrattas. The incursions of this nation into Bengal, and their demand of *chout*, or a fourth of the total revenues, was resolutely opposed by Ali Verdi Khan; and, while strengthening his own defences, he granted permission to the English at Calcutta to form a trench round the city to the extent of seven miles (the company's bounds), still known as the *Mahratta ditch*.

Meanwhile events were occurring in Europe destined to produce very important consequences in India. On the death of the emperor, Charles VI., in the year 1740, a violent war, kindled by competition for the imperial dignity, and for a share in the spoils of Austria, commenced in Germany. In this contest France and England (the latter through her Hanoverian connexions) had both engaged, and, in the end, had become nearly, or rather altogether, principals. In 1744, the two governments exchanged declarations of war, and before long their most distant settlements experienced the devastating consequences of international strife.

No material changes had taken place in the position of the European settlements since the commencement of the century. A single deviation from the exclusive policy pursued by the sovereigns of PORTUGAL occurred in 1731, when the king granted permission for a single ship to make a single voyage to Surat and the coast of Coromandel, and back to Portugal. A company was formed for the purpose, but the experiment being attended with little success, was not repeated.

The DUTCH continued to exercise a profitable, though (as far as India was concerned) a diminishing trade. The war with the zamorin commenced in 1701,—was terminated by a treaty of peace in 1710; but again renewed in 1715, when the zamorin surprised the fort of Chittua, which had been constructed in order to keep him in check. This event was followed by the invasion of

* The supercargo of the *Frederick*, a Mr. Colin Campbell, was invested with the character of ambassador to the emperor of China, and some other eastern princes.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 308.)

† The directors of the E. I. Cy. continued extremely desirous to prevent their servants from acquiring habits of indulgence which might impair their usefulness; and in 1731 they addressed a serious remonstrance to their Bengal agents, in the style of one already quoted, on their extravagant way of living, desiring them especially to eschew the "foppery of having a set of music at table, and a coach-and-six, with guards and running footmen, as we are informed is now practised, not only by the president, but by some of inferior rank."

‡ *See* page 168.

his country by an army of fully 4,000 men (Europeans and natives); and, in 1717, a new treaty was concluded on terms, according to Stavorinus, by no means advantageous to the Dutch, "in comparison with what might and ought to have been insisted on."* The same authority states, that during the continuance of hostilities "the English, or rather their commandant at Tellicherry, had assisted the zamorin with money, ammunition, and gunners." The evidence on which this assertion is made does not appear. Without any such auxiliary, the neighbouring rajahs were probably quite strong enough to compete with the Dutch, whose military proceedings increased in cost as they decreased in efficiency. The "supreme government," as it was termed, at Batavia, addressing the local authorities at Malabar, in 1721, express astonishment at the renewed spirit of hostility towards the native powers manifested by them, and also at their extravagant expenditure. They added, that "in case the zamorin thought fit to attack the rajah of Cochin, who had so long enjoyed the protection of the company, they should not take an active part in the quarrel." This direction was nothing less than the ungrateful abandonment of a dynasty which, from the time of the hostilities provoked by the aggressions of the Portuguese under Alvarez Cabral, in 1501, had sided with the Europeans. The Cochin rajahs had, it would seem, been little more than tools in the hands of the Dutch, who now so ungenerously abandoned them to their incensed countrymen. The impolicy of this proceeding, in a worldly sense, equalled its injustice as a question of principle. The zamorin and the rajah of Travancore extended their dominions by the diminution of those of the chiefs dependent on the Dutch; until the Travancore prince, in 1739, by his repeated successes acquired a reputation which rendered him respected and feared throughout the Malabar coast. His attachment to the English was another argument against him with the Dutch officials; and one of them, Van Imhoff, who came over from Ceylon, in 1739, to examine into the state of affairs, represented that a total reformation was absolutely necessary, and could be effected only in two ways. The first was, to follow the market price for pepper; the second, to enforce the contracts into which the natives were said to have entered, of traffic with the Dutch only, by forcibly exacting penalties in case of their non-performance, "or by surprising and carrying off to Batavia one or other of those princes, who showed themselves the most refractory, which would create so much terror among them, that it would not be necessary to resort to the same expedient a second time." This latter method M. Van Imhoff concluded would be the best; nor does it appear that any exception was taken at the cruelty and injustice of the plan thus suggested.† Happily for the Malabar rajahs, and possibly still more happily for the Dutch, no opportunity occurred for carrying it into execution, and the Malabar officials were compelled to adopt a more open mode of warfare, which they did without even asking orders from Batavia on the subject, though they were soon obliged to send there for assistance, against the consequences of an unprovoked attack made by them on the

* Stavorinus' *Voyages*, vol. iii., p. 239.

† Other officials in the service of the Dutch E. I. Cy. appear to have possessed and acted upon principles of the same character displayed by M. Van Imhoff. A terrible catastrophe occurred in Batavia, in 1740. The identical accusation brought forward against the English at Amboyna, was here urged against the Chinese inhabitants, who, it was alleged, had conspired to extirpate the Dutch, and were able to muster 90,000 men. On this pretext a pitiless massacre of the Chinese commenced, and the quarter of the town occupied by them was burnt to ashes, being set on fire, as was said, by themselves in despair. The number of the Chinese slaughtered on this occasion is estimated at from 12,000 to 30,000; and the amount of plunder taken from them was enormous. No clear account of the origin of the business ever appeared, to refute the statement of the suffering party,—that the conspiracy had been on the side of the Dutch, who were heavily indebted to the persons they accused. The governor himself shipped property for Holland to an amount stated at half a million sterling. No public trial took place; but the reason is evident from the fact, that two members of the council, and the fiscal, were deprived of their offices and put in prison, together with the governor, who remained there till the day of his death. Although most anxious to hush up the matter, it was deemed necessary to send an embassy to the Emperor of China, and explain away, as far as possible, or at least palliate the fearful crimes committed, by representing it as an act of justice, much fear being excited that, on the persons of the Dutch at Canton, the emperor might find vent for the wrathful feelings likely to be roused by the slaughter of his people. The answer proved the needlessness of such anxiety; the ambassador being informed that this paternal sovereign "took no concern in the fate of unworthy subjects, who had abandoned their native country, and the tombs of their ancestors, to live under the dominion of foreigners for the greed of gain;" a very impolitic as well as unfeeling sentiment to proceed from the mouth of the ruler of so densely populous an empire.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*.)

rajah of Travancore. The Dutch company could ill bear this addition to the burthen already imposed by the war in Macassar,—a locality which, as it had been the arena of some of their most cruel aggressions, in devastating the land, and carrying off the inhabitants in large numbers as slaves, so it became the scene of many of their greatest calamities and embarrassments.*

The DANISH East India Company had endeavoured to take advantage of the suppression of the Ostend society; and their king, Frederick IV., lent a willing ear to arguments similar to those which had been successfully urged by Koning upon the Swedish monarch, regarding the advantage of enlisting in the service of Denmark the capital and ability of the Netherland merchants, prohibited from trading under their own flag. A charter was granted, in 1728, authorising the opening of an additional subscription-list for new members, and an India House was established at Altona, a Danish town adjacent to Hamburgh. The English and Dutch companies remonstrated warmly against this measure, as little less than the reproduction of the Ostend association under a fresh name. Their jealous opposition succeeded in procuring the abandonment of the Hamburgh establishment; but it raised, in the minds of the Danes, a strong feeling of the importance of the commerce so sharply watched by rival societies, and induced a large number of persons to take part in it. A new and very favourable charter, granted to the company in 1732, for a term of forty years, contains among its clauses two which are interesting, even after the lapse of more than a century. One was a proviso, "that the strictest attention should be paid to the morals of the people sent out to India in the company's service"—a point which had been heretofore sadly disregarded; the other threw a shield round the individual interests of the proprietors, by enacting that "no money should be lent or borrowed without the consent of a general meeting of the proprietors."† The trade carried on after this period, though never very extensive, became decidedly prosperous, and continued so during the remainder of the eighteenth century.

FRANCE had advanced far more perceptibly towards the close of the epoch now under consideration. In 1714, the E. I. Cy. again applied for and obtained a renewal of their charter. Exhausted funds, and a debt amounting to 10,000,000 livres, seemed to afford little prospect of remunerative trade during the ten years for which their exclusive privileges were continued; but before the expiration of that period, their separate existence was merged in the extraordinary association formed by the famous schemer, John Law.‡ In the year 1720, England and France exhibited to the world at large the disgraceful spectacle of the governments of two great nations struggling to shake off

* Their general trade continued, notwithstanding these drawbacks, steadily lucrative. During the first twenty-one years of their existence—that is, from 1602 to 1622—the company divided thirty million florins; being more than quadruple the original stock. From the year 1605 to 1728 the dividends amounted to about twenty-two per cent. per annum, sometimes paid in bank money, sometimes in cloves. Thus, on the original capital of £650,000, eighteen million sterling were paid as dividends, besides the necessary accumulation of property in territory, forts, and ships. The price of the stock, between 1723 and 1760, bore a premium varying from 320 to 650 per cent. The annual fleet dispatched from Holland was very large. From the year 1720 to 1729, inclusive, the number amounted to 372 vessels (giving an annual average of thirty-seven), with crews comprising nearly 70,000 men. The dividends, during the same period, averaged twenty-three per cent. Various renewals of their charter had been obtained, at different times, from the States-General, notwithstanding considerable opposition on the part of the public, which was silenced, in the ears of government, by the payment of large sums of money on various occasions. In 1740, unusual difficulties appear to have been met with, and the company could only obtain a prolongation of their privileges for a single year; nor was it until 1748 that they succeeded in procuring the desired grant, which was then conceded for a term of twenty-seven years.—(Milburn, Macpherson, and Stavorinus.)

† Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 239.

‡ This remarkable man (the son of an Edinburgh goldsmith), persuaded the Duke of Orleans, regent of France, in 1716, to adopt his plans of finance and commerce as a means of honourably relieving the government and nation from a debt of about £90,000,000 sterling, (mainly caused by the lavish expenditure of Louis XIV.,) in preference to the disgraceful alternative actually propounded of disavowing the large quantity of depreciated paper-money, which had been issued from the Parisian treasury. The first step taken by Law was the formation of a public Bank, with a capital of six million livres, divided into 1,200 shares; its business to be confined to receiving money on deposit, and lending it at a moderate rate of interest on personal or proprietory security. The project became immediately popular; hoarded coin found its way to the coffers of the Bank, the notes of which became current throughout Europe: the West India Company furnished £3,937,500; and the increased circulating medium gave new energy to agriculture, commerce, and the arts. During the excitement which ensued, Law wielded unlimited power, and his personal health became a matter of intense anxiety and eager speculation. In 1617, he founded the *Mississippi company*, with which was subse-

the involvements caused by war and lavish expenditure, and to lessen their public debts by sanctioning schemes which, being manifestly unjust in principle, could not fail to prove injurious to the multitudes who, unaccustomed, under any circumstances, to examine into the truth of plausible statements, would accept them without hesitation when made current by the approbation of the legislature, and thus cruelly misled, rush headlong into ruin. The conduct of the ministry and parliament of England, though deeply blamable in regard to the South Sea bubble, was far surpassed in dishonesty and infatuation by the proceedings of the rulers of the French nation, in carrying out the complication of incongruous projects called "Law's system." The "Royal Bank" constituted the leading and absorbing feature of the whole; and of the numerous societies whom their own credulity or the manœuvring of stock-jobbers had impelled within the vortex, the East India body alone appear to have survived the general wreck.

This company arose strong in the "perpetual and irrevocable"* privileges inherited from its defunct associates, and secured in its pecuniary welfare by the arbitrary measures enacted in 1721 for the diminution of its shares, which benefited the corporation by a method peculiar to despotic governments—of annihilating the property of their own subjects by a few strokes of the pen, without so much as a pretence of compensation. At the same time, the nomination of directors was claimed for the Crown, and likewise the right of appointing one, two, or even three commissioners, with considerable controlling powers over the directors, with whom they were constantly at variance. Notwithstanding this great drawback, the company pursued their eastern trade with much energy. Their Indian debts—the accumulation of a long series of years—were paid off; and, on the appointment of the able and upright Orry as minister of finance, measures were adopted for the improvement and defence of the Indo-French settlements. Pondicherry, after its surrender by the Dutch, in 1697, had been restored to the superintendence of M. Martin. By his prudence and integrity the basis of its prosperity was laid in the confidence of the natives, who gladly settled under his protection; and in course of time the village grew into a large and regular city, containing 70,000 inhabitants, of whom the European proportion continued, of course, extremely small. The French had also factories or *comptoirs* at Mahé, not far south from Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast; and at Chandernagore, on the Hooghly, in Bengal. Dumas, the governor-general appointed by Orry, increased the revenues of the company by obtaining permission from the Mogul, in 1734, to coin money in the fort of Pondicherry; and the rupees struck there yielded a profit of nearly £20,000 per annum for several years. In

quently incorporated the *Canada*, *China*, *Senegal*, *St. Domingo*, *Guinea*, *and East India* associations. The united body became generally known as the *Company of the West*—or sometimes *of the Indies*—and had a capital stock of one hundred million livres, it being the scheme of Mr. Law to pay the holders of government paper with the stock (or shares) of this company. All the nations of Europe became infected with the mania of suddenly growing rich by the issue of paper-money, and capitalists flocked by thousands to Paris from every metropolis: the shares bore a premium of 1,200 per cent., and the government granted to the company various privileges,—such as the sole vending of tobacco, the mint, and general farming of all the revenues, in consideration of a loan to the king of fifty million sterling towards the liquidation of the public debt. Capital was nominally added by several expedients: gold was forbidden in trade; and the coin successively diminished in value, until the people of France gladly brought their specie to the Bank, and converted their stock in the public funds into shares of the company, by which proceeding the national debt would, it was supposed, be paid off. The mania lasted about a twelvemonth, and then the bubble burst, in spite of every endeavour to continue its inflation. A terrible panic ensued, and was followed by a long season of individual misery and general depression. Multitudes of all classes awoke from their dream of wealth to the realities of want, and the government reeled under the shock which attended the downfall of its splendid projects for re-establishing the public credit. The "Sieur Law," comptroller-general of the finances and inspector-general of the Royal Bank, and all its associate societies, disappeared from France, and died in obscurity, without having acquired any thing very considerable for himself, although he had it once in his power (so far as human judgment can decide) to have become the richest subject in Christendom.—(Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, years 1716 to 1720. Macpherson's *European Commerce with India*, pp. 264 to 276. Justamond's translation of the Abbé Raynal's *European Settlements in the East and West Indies*, vol. ii., pp. 61 to 68.)

* Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 269. It is a trite remark, but singularly apposite to the present case, that governments are never so ready to concede unlimited privileges as when their own authority stands on a tottering and precarious footing. In examining into all questions regarding the grant of exclusive privileges, and their bearing in a national point of view, it is always important to understand clearly the condition of the acting prince or government at the time of making such concessions.

1739 the French took forcible possession of Karical, on the Coromandel coast, which was confirmed to them by a grant from the rajah of Tanjore. Meanwhile, war was being carried on between Dost Ali, the governor or nabob of Arcot, and the Mahrattas under Ragojee Bhonslay, which terminated in the defeat of the former. His family, and several of his subjects, took refuge in Pondicherry, whither Ragojee pursued them, and threatened to besiege the place, unless they were surrendered. This Dumas positively refused; and at length, after plundering far and near, the Mahrattas accepted a small subsidy, and retired from the field in April, 1741. Sufder Ali, the son of the deceased nabob, is alleged to have made a princely return for the protection bestowed upon his relatives, by ceding to Dumas personally three districts, in value amounting to nearly £100,000 sterling per annum. The emperor Mohammed is stated, by the same authority, to have confirmed this grant, and further to have sent Dumas a dress of honour, bestowed on him the title of nabob (a dignity never before conferred on a European), and made him a *Munsubdar* of 4,500—that is, a commander entitled to the rank and salary associated with the control of that (often almost nominal) number of cavalry. These distinctions were, it is added, transferred to his successor, the afterwards famous Dupleix.*

Another justly celebrated man was then at the head of the presidency established by the French in the Indian seas, which comprised the two islands of Mauritius and Mascarenhas, otherwise called Isles of France or Cerné, and of Bourbon. M. de la Bourdonnais was a native of St. Malo, and had been at sea since the age of ten years. In the course of his voyages he had the opportunity of observing the advantages of the coasting trade of India, in which he was the first of his nation to embark. In a few years he realised a considerable fortune, and by sheer force of character, acquired much influence over those with whom he associated. A violent quarrel between the crews of some Arabian and Portuguese ships, in the harbour of Mocha, was amicably adjusted through his intervention; and the viceroy of Goa, greatly relieved by this termination of an affair which threatened fatal consequences, invited the successful mediator to enter the service of Portugal, gave him the title of agent for that power on the coast of Coromandel, together with the command of a royal ship, the rank of Fidalgo, and enrolled him as a member of the order of knighthood profanely termed "of Christ." In this honourable position he remained for two years, and then, in 1733, returned to France, where his reputation for ability and uprightness procured him the appointment of governor-general of the Mauritius and Mascarenhas, where he arrived in 1735. His conduct here was truly admirable. He found the people poor, indolent, and ignorant; but by dint of unwearied application, and a capacity for taking the initiative in everything connected with the material welfare of the settlements over which he had been chosen to preside, he effected improvements which seemed, says Raynal, "owing to enchantment."† The functions of governor, judge, surveyor, engineer, architect, agriculturist, were alternately performed by this one man, who could build a ship from the keel, construct vehicles, and make roads; break in bulls to the yoke, or teach the method of cultivating wheat, rice, cassava, indigo, and the sugar-cane. He established an hospital for the sick, and notwithstanding his multifarious occupations, visited it regularly every morning for a whole twelvemonth. Neither his unwearied labours, nor the extraordinary success with which they were attended, sufficed to shield him from the shafts of calumny. Some ship-captains and other visitants of the island, whom he checked in their unreasonable demands, laid unfounded charges against him before the directors, and the high-spirited governor was consequently exposed to treatment which induced him to return to France, in 1740, with the intention of resigning his harassing and thankless office.‡ This Orry would not permit, but induced him to return to the Isles, and encouraged his plans for the extension of French power in the East, and of hostility

* See Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, i., 389. This usually correct writer possibly attributes to Dumas honours conferred on or assumed by Dupleix a few years later. Dost Ali was himself an interloper, unconfirmed by the emperor or the viceroy of the Deccan; and it is strange that the extravagant grant made by his son should have received the imperial sanction, even though bestowed in reward of opposition to the common foe of Mohammedans, the Mahrattas.

† *European Settlements in E. & W. Indies*, ii., 75.

‡ Raynal states, that La Bourdonnais, being asked how he had conducted his private affairs with more ability than those of his employers, replied: "I managed mine according to my own judgment, and those of the company according to their directions."

against the English. La Bourdonnais could not, however, procure adequate means for the execution of his extensive projects; but the force entrusted to him was usefully employed in raising the siege of Mahé, invested by the Mahrattas in 1741, after which he again occupied himself with the same energy as before in the details of his own government.

Dupleix, the French governor-general in India, was perhaps equal to his colleague in a certain description of ability, and probably superior to him in education and social position (his father having been a farmer-general of the revenues, and a director of the East India Company); but in manliness and integrity he was incomparably the inferior. In 1720, Dupleix was appointed first member of the council at Pondicherry; and here he continued for ten years, carefully studying the politics of the epoch, and accumulating property by engaging in the commerce of the country, from which the poverty of the servants of the French company for the most part debarred them. In 1730 he was sent to superintend the settlement at Chandernagore, which he found in a very neglected condition. Under his rule a great change took place, and the increase of wealth and population was marked by the erection of no less than 2,000 brick houses. A new trading establishment was formed at Patna through his exertions, and the French commerce in Bengal became an object of envy to all other Europeans. These indubitable proofs of legislative ability, aided probably by the influence of family connexion at home, procured for Dupleix the position of governor-general. It would seem as if the peculiar vices of his character had lain dormant while he remained in a subordinate position, but were called into action by the possession of supreme authority over his countrymen in India, checked only by responsibility to a distant and ill-informed body of directors. Ambitious in the extreme, inordinately vain, and no less restless and intriguing, Dupleix, from this period, constantly manifested a degree of littleness which made his really remarkable talents a matter of doubt in the sight of many who deemed such opposite qualities incompatible.

It may be imagined that a man of this character would neglect no opportunity of distinguishing himself and extending the power of his nation at the expense of the English; but his appointment at Pondicherry had been accompanied by such stringent commands for a general diminution of outlay, that he dared not commence hostilities, but was compelled to content himself by taking measures (in contravention to his instructions) for placing Pondicherry in a strongly defensible condition.

The state of the English Company at this period has been sufficiently shown in preceding pages. They do not appear to have numbered among their servants any leader fitted by experience and ability to oppose with success the generalship of La Bourdonnais, or the wiles of Dupleix. Happily for England, want of union in the councils of the enemy, tended to diminish the danger of their hostile attempts.

Before proceeding to narrate the struggle between the two nations, it is necessary to pause and briefly notice the leading territorial divisions of India at the epoch when the Mogul yoke changed from an iron chain to a rope of sand, and imperial viceroys or subahdars, nabobs or deputy governors, rajahs and ranas, naiks, wadeyars, polygars, zemindars, and innumerable chiefs of lesser note and differing titles, strove each one for the aggrandisement and independence of himself or his own family. A similar summary has been given previous to the invasion of India by the followers of Mohammed (pp. 39 to 43); as also at the epoch formed by the accession of Akber in 1556 (pp. 93 to 107): it is now important to note the origin and condition of several newly-created principalities, and also the changes which had taken place in the older states, in the course of the intervening period of nearly two centuries, for the sake of affording a means of reference, the value of which will be apparent when the narrative of European progress brings into prominent notice nabobs and rajahs taking their titles from places as yet unheard of.

Indian States—1740 to 1745.—The invasion of Nadir Shah, in 1739 (as has been shown in previous pages), left the Great Mogul in the dismantled palace of his ancestors, with an exhausted treasury and an empire diminished by the severance of Cabool, Sinde, and Moultan. A few years later, and another jewel was snatched from the imperial crown. The lovely valley of Cashmere, ever since its acquisition by Akber, had been the favourite retreat of successive monarchs from the intense summer-heats of Delhi or Agra. Here Jehangeer had held many a Bacchanalian revel, and spent long hours in dalliance with the gifted but unprincipled Nour Mahal, watch-

ing her distilling the far-famed essence of the rose, or listening to her magnificent projects for the erection of public edifices, mingled, too often, with unworthy schemes of ambition or revenge. Here Shah Jehan passed many bright summers before death took away Taj Mahal, the wife whom he truly loved, and before the quarrels and rebellion of the children she had borne, brought to him, in retribution for the unsparing cruelty which had attended his accession to the throne, an old age of sorrowful captivity. Here Aurungzebe, proof alike against the enervating influences of climate, the charms of the seraglio, the seductions of wine, or the intoxicating drugs which had been the bane of his race, pondered in austere seclusion over the complicated web he spent a life in weaving, with the bitter result of finding himself at last entangled in his own toils. Here, lastly, Mohammed Shah came, in the first flush of regal grandeur, to forget, amid a crowd of giddy courtiers, the heavy responsibilities of the inheritance of despotic power which his indolent, easy nature rendered peculiarly burdensome; and here, too, he came in age, and beholding the vessel of the state, committed by Providence to his guidance, reduced almost to a wreck, by calamities brought on by internal corruption, rather than by external strife, he probably learnt the causes of evils it was too late to remedy, but which he encountered with a quiet dignity and forbearance that served to keep together some of the shattered remains of imperial power. Cashmere was, however, seized by Ahmed Shah Abdulli, and incorporated in the new kingdom of Candahar; and the conqueror proceeded to invade the Punjaub, and had even crossed the Sutlej, when he was met by the Mogul army (under his namesake the heir-apparent), completely defeated, and driven back. This victory was followed almost immediately by the death of Mohammed Shah, and the accession of Prince Ahmed. The period, however, of which we are treating commences with the departure of the Persian invaders (1739.) The intrigues of viceroys and governors were speedily resumed when the first stunning effect of the late calamity had passed away. In Oude, Sadut Khan had been succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Sufder Jung. In the Punjaub, the rebellion of the Mogul viceroy soon produced renewed incursions from the Afghan border, and the province of Guzerat fell completely into the hands of the Mahrattas. The three chief Rajpoot states of Jeypoor (Amber), Joudpoor (Marwar), and Oodipoor (Mewar), were still, to some extent, tributary to the emperor. The two last-named had been subjected to partial devastation from the Mahrattas; but the intimate connexion subsisting between Rajah Jey Sing and Bajee Rao, prevented such aggressions in the districts of Jeypoor, at the cost to the empire of the province of Malwa. The Jats, established in the territory between Agra and Jeypoor, were rapidly gaining ground; and after the Mahrattas crossed the Chumbul, they, for the most part, maintained a friendly intercourse with their fellow-marauders.* The principality afterwards known by the name of Rohilla, was in progress of establishment in the Doab, little more than a hundred miles to the southward of Delhi.† Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa were under the sway of Ali Verdi Khan, but subject to the exactions of the Mahrattas, to whom the whole of India was rapidly becoming more or less tributary. When one pretext failed, another could easily be found by those who had the power of enforcing their most unreasonable demands. A district once overrun, was said to be under tribute from usage, whilst chout and surdeshmooki were extorted from the others by virtue of letters patent.‡ Thus, on various pretences the Mahrattas, says Duff, "went plundering and burning on the east and on the west, from the Hooghly to the Bunass, and from Madras to Delhi;" while the Europeans, in their profound ignorance of native history, watched with amazement the progress of a people whom they still called

* The rise of the Mahrattas materially aided the Jats, by withdrawing Aurungzebe from the neighbourhood of Agra; but the statement of Grant Duff, that the plunder of the imperial army enabled them to fortify Bhurtpoor, is contradicted by Elphinstone. —(*India*, ii., 511. *See* also Thornton's *Indian Gazetteer*, in four vols., London, 1854—article, Bhurtpore.)

† *See* p. 171.—The founder of the Rohillas is described by Duff as the son of a Hindoo *Aheer*, a class of shepherds nearly similar to the *Dhungurs* of Maharashtra. An Afghan adopted him when a boy, and gave him the name of Ali Mohammed Rohilla. His followers assumed the same designation; and from being the commander of a small party of Afghan cavalry, in the service of the deputy-governors of Moradabad, he gradually obtained possession of lands, and encroached by degrees, until the force sent for his expulsion by the imperial viceroy, proved insufficient for the purpose.

‡ It does not appear that any deed for collecting general *chout* over the empire was ever granted by Mohammed Shah: sums of money and convenient assignments were the modes of payment.—(Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, i., 457.)

"the Sevajees," after their great leader, instead of by their own distinctive appellation.

The centre of the diffusive power of the Mahrattas was MAHARASHTRA, the region where their peculiar language was spoken. The whole of this territory had, in 1573, during the reign of Akber, been subject to the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur, with the exception of a part of Candeish (which was held as an independent principality by the sultan of Boorhanpoor), of the northern Concan belonging to Guzerat, and the possessions of the Portuguese.* At that period Golconda was the third important Mohammedan state in the Deccan, Beder (the seat of the Bahmani dynasty) and Berar having been annexed to the dominions of their more powerful neighbouring states, which, as we have seen, were themselves in turn extinguished by the encroachments of Sevajee on the one side, and the levelling policy of Aurungzebe on the other. The six Mogul subahs or provinces of THE DECCAN† were, in 1741, in so far as the Delhi emperor was concerned, an independent government, under the irresponsible rule of the old nizam, Asuf Jah, who divided the revenues with the Mahrattas; the advantage being, as has been shown, increasingly on their side. The fixed possessions of the Mohammedans, for many centuries after their first invasion of the peninsula, did not extend south of the Kistna; and, indeed, the term of "the Deccan," by writers of this religion, and even by Wilks and other English authorities, is commonly used to denote the countries lying between the Nerbudda and Kistna; the territory below the latter river being distinguished as THE SOUTH OF INDIA. It is with this portion of the continent that we are more particularly concerned, from its having been the scene of the first struggle for supremacy between European powers. Previous to the battle of Talicot, in 1565, the whole of this territory was, more or less, under the sway of the government of Beejanuggur, or Vijeyanuggur; but many districts were held by families who ruled as tributaries or feudatories, with hereditary power. The defeat and slaughter of the brave old Rama Rajah, and the destruction of his capital by the conjoined exertions of the four Mohammedan sovereigns of the Deccan, were not followed by any systematic attempts for the annexation of Beejanuggur by the conquerors to their own dominions, private jealousies and international disputes preventing any permanent arrangement between them regarding the division of the spoil. Venkatadri, the brother of the late rajah, established himself at Penconda, about 140 miles south-east of the former capital, and from thence the seat of government was shortly afterwards transferred to Chandragiri. About the year 1597, a descendant of the ancient *Rayeels* (as the rajahs of this dynasty were called) ruled with some degree of magnificence at Chandragiri and Vellore, where he still held at least nominal sway over the governors or naiks of Jinjee, Tanjore, Madura, Chennapatam, Seringapatam (Mysoor), and Penconda; and in 1640, the last representative of this ancient house, Sree Ranga Raya, sanctioned the establishment of the English at Chennapatam, or Madras. About six years afterwards, he was driven by the forces of Golconda from his occasional places of residence and nominal capitals at Chandragiri and Chingleput, and compelled to take refuge with the chief

* *See* pp. 43 and 140. Hindoo writers differ materially as to the extent of Maharashtra, which they designate one of the five principal divisions of the Deccan. According to the *Tutwa* (one of the books of the *Jotush Shastra* or *Hindoo Astronomy*), Maharashtra extends no farther than the Chandore range of hills, where Kolwun, Buglana, and Candeish are represented as its northern boundaries; and all beyond those countries is indiscriminately termed *Vendhiadree*. Duff adds, "that the tract between Chandore and Eroor Manjera, on the Kistna, is certainly the most decidedly Mahratta, and in it there is the least variation in the language; but following the rule adverted to in its more extended sense, Maharashtra is that space which is bounded on the north by the Sautpoora [? Vindhya] mountains, and extends from Naundode, on the west, along those mountains to the Wyne Gunga, east of Nagpoor."—(i., 3.) A waving line from Mahoor to Goa, with the ocean on the westward, form the chief remaining limits. Wilks states, that the Mahratta language spreads from Beder to the north-west of Canara, and of a line which, passing considerably to the eastward of Dowlatabad, forms an irregular sweep until it touches the Taptee, and follows the course of that river to the western sea, on which the district of Sedashegur, in North Canara, forms its southern limit. In the geographical tables of the Hindoos, the name of Maharashtra—and by contraction, Mahratta dasum (or *country*)—seems to have been more particularly appropriated to the eastern portion of this great region, including Baglana, part of Berar, and Candeish: the western was known by its present name of Concan.—(*Historical Sketches of the South of India*, or *History of Mysoor*, i., 5-6.)

† 1st. Candeish, capital Burhanpoor. 2nd. Aurungabad, which comprised the territory formerly called the state of Ahmednuggur, governed by the Nizam Shahi dynasty. 3rd. Beejapoor or Viziapoor, the capital of the Adil Shahi dynasty. 4th. Beder. 5th. Berar. 6th. Hyderabad, capital of the Golconda or Kootb Shahi dynasty.

of Bednore or Nuggur (now included in Mysoor.) Sera, Bangalore, and Colar, with the important fortresses of Vellore and Jinjee, were seized by Beejapoor, the ambitious and short-sighted rulers of that kingdom continuing, to their last gasp of power, to endeavour to increase a superstructure already too extensive for its slender and tottering base. Aurungzebe's great political error, in destroying states it was his interest to uphold in dependence upon him, brought both them and him a fitting reward for the ungovernable lust of conquest. It levelled the only barrier to the rapid spread of Hindoo power; and in a short period of years, the supremacy of the Mahratta state was acknowledged, more or less decidedly, over all the south of India; and this, notwithstanding the incongruities of its internal constitution with its capitals of Sattara, where the rajahs lived (kings in name, captives or pageants in reality); and of Poona, where the peishwas (ministers in name, sovereigns in reality) held their now sumptuous courts and exercised sway, checked however materially by the private designs and unsleeping watchfulness of the Dhabaray family, Rugojee Bhonslay, and other noted leaders. With these turbulent chieftains, the peishwas were glad to compromise matters, by suffering them to invade Guzerat, Bengal, and other Mogul provinces on their own account; the authority of the rajah being a convenient pretence, occasionally resorted to in confirmation of such arrangements, and which, strange to say, still carried considerable weight in the minds of the people, it being quite inconsistent with the character of the Brahminical cast to govern, except after the fashion of an English "lord-protector" or a French cardinal.

The death of Bajee Rao, the famous antagonist of the nizam, in 1740, has been narrated (p. 169), as also the events which attended the accession to the peishwaship of his son Ballajee Bajee Rao. It is not necessary to enter further into the Mahratta history of this period, save in so far as it is connected with that of the various distinct principalities now fast rising into importance beneath the sway of native rulers or usurping governors. Under the latter head may be classed TOOLAVA, the region (formerly part of Dravida) distinguished in European maps as the CARNATIC—a tract, says Colonel Wilks, which "by a fatality unexampled in the history of nations, neither is nor ever was known by that name to the people of the province, or of any part of India."* The misnomer originated in the conquest of Toolava by the government of Canara Proper,† not long before the partition of the dominions of that state between the kings of Golconda and Beejapoor. These sovereigns, in dividing a country of whose condition and history they were wholly ignorant, were satisfied with the sweeping designations of the Carnatic Bala Ghaut and Payeen Ghaut (above and below the Ghauts)‡—appellations which were transferred with the dominion over the region thus arbitrarily renamed—when all other Mohammedan governments were swallowed up in Mogul supremacy. In 1706, a chief named Sadut Oollah Khan (through the influence of Daud Khan Panni,§ then viceroy of the Deccan), was appointed by the emperor nabob of the Carnatic Bala Ghaut and Payeen Ghaut,|| and he continued to fill that position after the death of his patron and the accession of the nizam. Sadut Oollah is supposed to have fixed the seat of his government at ARCOT about the year 1716, no inscription or authority (says Colonel Wilks) having been discovered to prove the previous existence of a capital on that site. He died in 1732, leaving no issue male; but through the precautions taken in behalf of his nephews and adopted sons, Dost Ali and Bâkir Ali, the latter continued to be governor of Vellore, while the former succeeded in establishing himself as nabob of the Carnatic, despite the opposition of the nizam, whose jealous interference prevented his procuring an authentic commission from Delhi. At the period of his accession, the new nabob had two sons; the elder, Sufder Ali, had reached manhood: he had also several daughters, one of whom was married to a distant relative, the afterwards famous Chunda Sahib, who first acquired notoriety by his treacherous acquisition of TRICHINOPOLY. This little

* *History of Mysoor*, i. 8.

† Situated on the western coast of the Indian peninsula, between the Concan and Malabar (formerly named Kerala.)

‡ The great geographical feature of the south of India is a central eminence of 3,000 to 5,000 feet in height, above the level of the sea, separated by abrupt declivities from the low flat countries to the east and west, which form a belt of small and unequal breadth between the hills and the ocean. This central eminence is usually named the Bala Ghaut; and the lower belt, the Payeen Ghaut—*Ghaut* signifying a mountain pass or break.

§ *See* page 156.

|| Called also the Carnatic Beejapoor Bala Ghaut, and the Carnatic Hyderabad Payeen Ghaut.

state, like the neighbouring principality of Tanjore, although at times subject to the exactions of the Mohammedan rulers of Beejapoor and Golconda, had maintained its independence from a remote date. The death of the rajah, in 1736, gave rise to disputes concerning the succession. Minakshi Amman, the reigning queen, upheld the cause of her adopted son against a rival claimant, and was actively supported by Chunda Sahib. Grateful for his assistance, and unsuspicious of any sinister motive, the queen was induced to give her ally free access to the citadel, and he abused her confidence by taking possession of the government in his own right, and imprisoning the ill-fated lady, who soon died of grief. This unworthy conduct excited strong dissatisfaction throughout the neighbouring states. The nabob viewed with alarm the ambitious and unscrupulous temper of his son-in-law, and the nizam was exceedingly annoyed by the growing power of a family, whose members, though disunited among themselves, would, he well knew, at any time coalesce against him as their common foe. The Hindoo princes participated in the jealous feelings of the nizam, and were likewise, it may be supposed, moved with honest indignation at the cruel treatment sustained by their fellow-sovereign. The result was, the invasion of the Carnatic by a Mahratta army under Rugojee Bhonslay, in 1740, and the defeat and death of Dost Ali; followed, in 1741, by the siege of Trichinopoly and the capture of Chunda Sahib, who was carried prisoner to Sattara. Sufder Ali, the new nabob, was assassinated at the instigation of his cousin, Murtezza Ali, the governor of Vellore;* and the murderer, after vainly endeavouring to take advantage of his crime, by establishing himself as ruler of the province, shut himself up in his own citadel.

The nizam having determined on quitting Delhi, arrived at Arcot in 1743. He found that the infant son of Sufder Ali had been proclaimed nabob; and the popular feeling on the subject was so decided, that not caring openly to dispute the hereditary succession tacitly established in the family of Sadut Oollah, the wily politician affected to intend confirming the boy in office so soon as he should arrive at years of discretion. In the interim, he placed two of his own followers in the government. The first of these, Khojeh Abdulla, died in a very short space of time—it was supposed from the effects of poison administered by his successor, Anwar-oo-deen: shortly afterwards, the youthful expectant of the nabobship, who had been very improperly committed by the nizam to the care of this same person, so notoriously unfit for such a charge, was mortally stabbed at a public festival, by a guard of Patan soldiers, under pretence of revenging the non-payment of arrears due to them by the father of their victim. Anwar-oo-deen and Murtezza Ali were suspected of having conspired for the commission of this new crime—an opinion which gained strength by the efforts each of them made to cast the odium wholly on the other. The nizam would not listen to the accusations brought against Anwar-oo-deen by the friends of the unfortunate family of Sadut Oollah, but caused him to be formally installed as nabob of the Carnatic, notwithstanding the opposition of the people of the province, who found in the arbitrary and parsimonious administration of the new governor additional cause to remember the lenient and liberal conduct of their former rulers. It has been necessary to enter thus far into the domestic history of the Carnatic, in elucidation of its condition at the period when this very Anwar-oo-deen became an important personage in Indo-European history. For the same reason, a few words must be said regarding the native state of TANJORE—a relic of the ancient Hindoo kingdom of Madura—which, owing to domestic dissensions, had fallen into the hands of a Mahratta ruler. The sovereignty became an object of contest to the grandsons of Venkajee, the half-brother of Sevajee. One of these, named Pertab Sing, the son of a concubine, succeeded in gaining possession of it, in 1741, to the exclusion of Syajee, the legitimate heir of the late rajah. Syajee, some years after, sought help from the English.

The MYSOOR state, long a dependency of the kingdom of Beejanuggur, was founded under romantic circumstances,† by a youth

* Murtezza Ali is described by Orme as the model of a cruel and suspicious tyrant: he "never moved, not even in his own palace, without being surrounded by guards, nor ever ventured to taste anything that was not brought to him in a vessel to which his wife had affixed her seal." He is stated to have procured the assassination of his unsuspicious relative, by the hand of a Patan officer whom Sufder Ali had deeply injured by the seduction of his wife, and who availed himself of the opportunity of wreaking a deadly revenge by entering the tent of the nabob at midnight, and stabbing him while attempting to escape.—(*Military Transactions*, i., 46—48.)

† Two brothers left the court of Beejanuggur to

of the famous tribe of Yedava, which boasts among its eminent characters, Crishna (the celebrated Indian Apollo), one of the incarnations of Vishnu. The first chieftain or rajah of this family whose date is established, succeeded to power in 1507, and was surnamed Arbiral, or the six-fingered, from the personal trait thus described. A fort was constructed or repaired in 1524, at Mahesh Asoor,* contracted to Mysoor; but it was not till after the battle of Talicot (forty years later), that its petty chieftains began to assume any importance among the princes of the south. In 1610 they acquired possession of Seringapatam, which thenceforth became the seat of government; and from this period their territories increased rapidly, and continued to do so, even after becoming avowedly tributary both to the Mogul emperor and to the Mahratta rajah Shao.

South Canara, Malabar, and Travancore remain to be noticed, having as yet escaped Mohammedan invasion. In the first of these was situated the country of Bednore, under the sway of a family, who from a small establishment at Caladee, in 1499, had gradually extended their limits to the sea-coast of Onore, and southward to the limits of Malabar, over the dominions of the former ranee of Garsopa, the "pepper queen" of Portuguese authors; while, on the north, they successfully opposed the further advance of the forces of Beejapoor along the sea-coast. Sree Ranga Raya, when expelled from his last fortress, Chandragiri, took refuge here; and the Bednore rajah, formerly a servant of his family, availed himself of the pretence of re-establishing the royal house of his liege lord, as a cloak for his own ambitious designs. The district belonging to Sumbajee, the Mahratta chief of Kolapoor, formed the limits of Bednore on one side; and to the southwards, lay the mountainous principality of Coorg, between the coast of Malabar and Mysoor. Malabar itself brings us to the familiar territory of Calicut, governed by the zamorin or Tamuri rajah, bounded to the southward by Cochin, on the opposite side of which, at the extreme end of the Peninsula, was the state of Tanjore, once an integral part of Malabar, known in the records of the E. I. Cy. as the country of the queen of Attinga,† by whose permission an English factory was formed at Anjengo, in 1694. Since then Tanjore had become famous in the annals of the Dutch, through the determined opposition of its rajah to their encroachments and oppression.

Besides the states enumerated in the above sketch, there were many others of less note; such for instance as those formed by the rajah of Soonda and the dessaye of Carwar, (who had taken part with the Portuguese in their late conflict with the Mahrattas); also by the Patan chiefs of Kurnoul, Kurpa, and Savanoor, descendants of governors under the dynasties of Beejapoor and Golconda. The three last-named were closely connected with some of the leading Mahratta chieftains, and had been for some time nearly independent.

---

Struggle for supremacy between England and France.—Allusion has been made to the commercial crisis which convulsed these nations in 1720, brought on by imprudence and the absence of sound principle on the part of their respective governments. A quarter of a century later we find them exchanging declarations of war; and after being, in the first instance, drawn into the vortex as auxiliaries in the disputed Austrian

seek their fortunes, and having in the course of their wanderings alighted near the border of a tank, beside the little fort of Hadana, a few miles from the site of the present town of Mysoor, they overheard some women, who had come to fetch water, bewailing the fate of the only daughter of their *wadeyar* (*i.e.*, lord of thirty-three villages), who was about to be given in marriage to a neighbouring chief of inferior cast, as the only means of preserving her family from immediate hostilities, which, owing to the mental derangement of the wadeyar, they were quite unprepared to resist. The young knights-errant offered their services to rescue the afflicted damsel from the impending disgrace; and after slaying the bridegroom and his companions at the marriage feast, marched, at the head of the men of Hadana, upon his territory of Caragully, which having captured, the conquerors returned in triumph to Hadana; and one of them, Vijeya, married the lady, nothing loth, and by the general voice of her people was elected wadeyar, first changing his creed from that of a disciple of Vishnu to a *jungum* or *lingwunt*—Hindoo terms, which will be hereafter explained.

* Mahesh Asoor, "the buffalo-headed monster," whose overthrow is the most noted exploit of Cali, the consort of Siva. This goddess is still worshipped under the name of Chamoondee (the discomfiter of enemies) on the hill of Mysoor, in a temple famed at one period for human sacrifices. (Wilks' *Mysoor*, i. 34.)

† Hamilton states, that from remote antiquity the male offspring of the *tamburetties*, or princesses of Attinga, had inherited the sovereignty of Travancore, and continued to do so until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the reigning "tamburetty" was prevailed upon to transfer the authority to the male line. The conquests made by the Tanjore ruler, between 1740 and 1755, are attributed to the efficiency of a body of troops disciplined after the European manner by Eustachius de Lanoy, a Flemish officer.—(*East India Gazetteer*, ii., 674.)

succession, becoming themselves fired with the fierce excitement, they continued the contest as principals, on one pretext or another; the actual end desired by either party being the attainment of complete mastery in all points, whether as regarded political ascendancy in Europe, transatlantic dominion, trading monopolies, or maritime power. In this unhallowed rivalry both kingdoms lavished unsparingly life and treasure, deeply injuring each other's resources, and grievously retarding their mutual growth in Christian civilisation and commercial prosperity. Spain, then a great colonial and naval power, sided with France, while England had to withstand their united force, and, at the same time, to bear up against the disturbances connected with the Hanoverian succession, and the long struggle which terminated in the independence of the United States. Sea and land witnessed the strife. In *North America*—at Quebec, Louisberg, and on the Mississippi; in the *West Indies*—at Martinique, Guadaloupe, and the Caribbee Islands; in *Africa*—at Goree and Senegal; in the *Mediterranean* and *Atlantic*—at Minorca and Belleisle; and on the *European continent*, prolonged hostilities were waged: while in India a contest commenced which lasted sixty years, the prize there fought for being nothing less than the establishment of a powerful European dominion in the very heart of Asia. It is not to be supposed that the trading societies who first gained a footing amid the confusion of falling dynasties and usurping chiefs, foresaw from the commencement of the conflict the marvellous results with which their operations were to be attended. With the exception, perhaps, of the brothers Child, none of the officers of the old-established English company had any desire for the acquisition of sovereignty, nor had they the inducement which might have been afforded by an insight into the actual condition of India. The general indifference manifested by the servants of the various European companies towards the attainment of Asiatic languages, long tended to prevent their acquiring this knowledge, even when the course of events plainly demonstrated its importance. Moreover, the English and French associations were both poor, and extremely unwilling to enter upon a costly warfare, respecting the issue of which no reasonable conjecture could be formed. The representatives of the latter body became first inspired with an irrestrainable desire to take part in the strife and intrigue by which they were surrounded; and the connection which subsisted between the government and the French company, enabled La Bourdonnais and Dupleix to obtain, through the influence of Orry the minister, a sanction for their daring adventures, which the partners of a purely mercantile association would, if they could, have withheld. Even had the two states in Europe continued at peace, it was next to impossible that their subjects in India should bear a share in the disputes of neighbouring princes without soon coming to open hostility with each other; and the national declarations of war brought matters to an immediate crisis.

The English were the first to receive reinforcements from home. A squadron of four vessels appeared off the coast of Coromandel, in July, 1745, having previously captured three richly-laden French vessels on their voyage from China. The garrison of Pondicherry contained only 436 Europeans, and the fortifications were incomplete. Dupleix, fearing that the place would be taken before La Bourdonnais could answer his appeal for succour, made earnest representations to the nabob, Anwar-oo-deen, and succeeded in inducing him to interfere for the protection of Pondicherry, by threatening to revenge upon Madras any injury which should be inflicted upon French possessions within the limits of his government. At the same time, the nabob declared his intention of compelling the French, in the event of their acquiring additional strength, to abstain equally from offensive proceedings. Mogul power had not yet lost its prestige: that of England was still to be won; consequently the determined language of the nabob intimidated the Madras presidency, and induced them to prevent the fleet from attacking Pondicherry, and to confine their operations to the sea. In the June of the following year a French squadron arrived in the Indian ocean, under the command of La Bourdonnais, who had equipped the ships with great difficulty at the Mauritius; and when afterwards dismantled by a hurricane, had refitted them at Madagascar. An indecisive action took place between the rival fleets, after which the French commander proceeded to Pondicherry, and there requested a supply of cannon, wherewith to attack Madras. The hearty co-operation of Dupleix and his council was, at this moment, of the highest importance; but jealousy of the renown which would attend the success of the enterprise, induced them to receive the solicitations of their

colleague with haughty and insulting indifference. La Bourdonnais, already severely tried by the miserable unfitness of the greater portion of his crews, consisting of sailors for the first time at sea, and soldiers who needed instruction how to fire a musket—their inefficiency increased by sickness, by which he was himself almost prostrated—had now to struggle against the aggravating tone adopted towards him by those to whom he looked for aid and sympathy. Under these circumstances, he behaved with singular discretion and forbearance, and having at length obtained a scanty reinforcement of guns, set sail for Madras, against which place he commenced operations on the 3rd of September, 1746.*

The fortifications of the city had been neglected, owing to the financial embarrassment of the E. I. Cy. There was little ammunition in store, and the soldiers were few, and of a very indifferent description. The total number of Europeans in the settlement did not exceed 300, and of these about two-thirds were included in the garrison. As might be expected, no very determined resistance was offered. The town was bombarded for several days, and four or five of the inhabitants were killed by the explosion of shells, after which a capitulation was agreed upon, by virtue of which the assailants entered Madras as victors, without the loss of a single man, but on the express condition that the settlement should be restored on easy and honourable terms. This arrangement was in strict accordance with the instructions laid down by the French directors, who expressly forbade the extension of territory until their existing settlements should be more firmly established, and ordered their servants, in the event of capturing the possessions of any foreign foe, to abide by the alternative of destruction or a ransom. The very day of the surrender of Madras, a messenger, dispatched for more expedition on a camel, arrived at Pondicherry with a letter from Anwar-oo-deen, expressing his great surprise at the conduct of the French in attacking Madras, and threatening to send an army there if the siege were not immediately raised. Dupleix returned a deceitful answer, promising that the town, if taken, should be surrendered to the nabob, with liberty to make favourable terms with the English for the restitution of so valuable a possession. Meanwhile, La Bourdonnais, relying on his own commission, proceeded to arrange the treaty of surrender without regard to the remonstrances or threats of Dupleix, who, notwithstanding the recent assurance given by him to the nabob, now insisted that Madras should be either retained as a French settlement, or razed to the ground. Three men-of-war arrived at this period at Pondicherry; and, thus increased, says Orme, the French force "was sufficient to have conquered the rest of the British settlements in Hindoostan."† La Bourdonnais had resolved on making the attempt, but his plans were contravened by Dupleix; and after much time having been wasted in disputes regarding the evacuation of Madras, a storm came on which materially injured the fleet, and compelled its brave commander to return in haste, before the change of the monsoon, to his own government at the Mauritius,‡ without staying to complete the shipment of the seized goods, which was to be followed by the restoration of the town. The machinations of Dupleix had thus succeeded in thwarting the views he ought to have promoted, and at the same time in acquiring an important addition of 1,200 trained men, left behind in consequence of the damage done to the squadron by the late tempest: accessions of strength were also received from other quarters, which raised the number of European troops at Pondicherry, in all, to about 3,000 men.

* The forces destined for the siege comprised about 1,100 Europeans, 400 sepoys, and 400 Madagascar blacks; 1,700 or 1,800 European mariners remained to guard the ships.—(Orme, i., 67.)

† *Military Transactions*, i., 73.

‡ From thence La Bourdonnais returned to France to vindicate himself from the complaints preferred by the family of Dupleix, some of whom being intimately connected with the E. I. Cy., had warmly espoused the quarrel of their relative against his more worthy adversary. He took his passage in a ship belonging to Holland, which, in consequence of the declaration of war, was forced into an English harbour. The distinguished passenger was recognised; but his conduct at Madras procured him an honourable reception; and the proposition of an East India director to become surety for him in person and property, was declined by government, on the ground that the word of La Bourdonnais was alone sufficient. This circumstance may have served to soothe the bitter trials which awaited his arrival in France. He was thrown into the Bastile, and remained in that terrible state prison for three years; at the expiration of which time his published vindication, supported by authentic documents, manifested not only the injustice of the charges brought against him, but also the ardour and ability of his services. Though liberated, he appears to have obtained no redress, and did not long survive his acquittal, which took place when he was about fifty-three years of age.

These additions were needed to combat the force dispatched by Anwar-oo-deen for the recapture of Madras, so soon as he perceived the hollowness of the professions by which he had been induced to violate his pledge to the English, of compelling the French to abstain from hostile proceedings throughout the Carnatic.

An army, commanded by the son of the nabob, invested Madras, and made some clumsy attempts to imitate the proceedings which had proved successful in the previous instance. The French encountered them with a greatly inferior numerical force; but the skilful and rapid management of their artillery, abundantly compensated for this disproportion, and enabled them to acquire a decisive victory. The event is memorable, as marking the commencement of a new phase of Indian history. The triumphs of the Portuguese were, for the most part, two centuries old: of late years Europeans had bowed submissively before the footstool of Mogul arrogance; and the single attempt of the English (in 1686) to obtain independent power, had only reduced them to a yet more humiliating position. The utter inability of unwieldy and ill-disciplined masses to contend with compact bodies of well-trained troops, was a fact which the French had again brought to light, together with another of equal importance—namely, the facility with which natives might be enrolled among the regular troops, and the reliance to be placed upon them. Already there were four or five disciplined companies at Pondicherry; but the English had not yet adopted a similar procedure. Dupleix followed up the defeat of the nabob's force, by declaring the treaty with the English annulled, and giving orders for the seizure of every article of property belonging to the unfortunate inhabitants, excepting their personal clothes, the movables of their houses, and the jewels of the women—commands which were executed with avaricious exactness. The governor and leading persons were carried prisoners to Pondicherry, and there exhibited before the native public in a species of triumph.

Fort St. David, twelve miles south of Pondicherry, next became an object of ambition, and a body of 1,700 men, mostly Europeans, was dispatched for the attack of its garrison, which, including refugees from Madras, comprehended no more than 200 Europeans and 100 Topasses. The unexpected advance of a large force, sent by Anwar-oo-deen to the relief of the fort, took the French by surprise while resting from a fatiguing march, and exulting in the prospect of an easy prey. They retreated at once, with the loss of twelve Europeans killed and 120 wounded. An attempt was next made upon the native town of Cuddalore, which was situated about a mile from Fort St. David, and inhabited by the principal Indian merchants, and by many natives in the employment of the company. Five hundred men were embarked in boats, with orders to enter the river and attack the open quarter of the town at daybreak. But on this, as in the case of the fleet of La Bourdonnais, the turbulence of the elements preserved the English from the assault of their foes: the wind rose, and the raging surf forbade the prosecution of the hostile enterprise.

Dupleix, finding that he could not expect to cope successfully with the united strength of the nabob and the English, directed all his powers of intrigue and cajolery to break off their alliance; and at length succeeded, by exaggerated representations of the accessions of force received and expected by the French, in inducing the vacillating nabob to forsake the garrison of Fort St. David, who were described as a contemptible handful of men, abandoned even by their own countrymen to destruction. The falsity of this last assertion was proved at a critical moment; for just as a French force had succeeded in overcoming the resistance offered to their crossing the river, and were marching on the apparently devoted town, an English fleet was seen approaching the roadstead, upon which the assailants hastily recrossed the river and returned to Pondicherry.

In January, 1748, Major Lawrence arrived in India with authority over the whole of the company's forces. In the following year, the addition of a squadron dispatched under the command of Admiral Boscawen,* rendered their fleet more formidable than any previously assembled by a single European power in India. Dupleix trembled; the nabob would, he feared, again change sides, so soon as the superior strength of the enemy should be manifest, and the French settlements be cut off from supplies both by sea and land. The English, on their part, hurried on the operations of

* Consisting of ten ships of the royal navy, and eleven belonging to the company, carrying stores, and troops to the amount of 1,400 men.

Boscawen, nothing doubting by the capture of Pondicherry, to retaliate the heavy sacrifice attendant on the loss of Madras.* Their expectations were disappointed. Major Lawrence was taken prisoner during the assault of the little fort of Ariancopang, two miles to the south-west of Pondicherry; and when, after much valuable time spent in acquiring and occupying this position, the admiral advanced upon the city, ignorance of the locality, disease in the camp, and probably also the unfitness of the brave and active sea-captain to direct the complicated proceedings of a land attack, resulted in the raising of the siege by the fiat of a council of war, assembled thirty-one days after the opening of the trenches. The rejoicings of Dupleix at this unlooked-for triumph, were, as might be expected, boastful in the extreme. He sent letters to the different neighbouring rulers, and even to the Great Mogul himself, informing them of the formidable assault which he had repulsed, and received in return high compliments on his prowess and on the military genius of his nation, which was now generally regarded as far superior to that of the English. His schemes were, however, contravened by a clause in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which the French government agreed to restore Madras; and this stipulation was enforced, notwithstanding the expense incurred by him in strengthening a possession obtained by a glaring breach of faith. On reoccupying their ancient settlement, the English likewise established themselves at St. Thomas, or Meliapoor, a town mostly inhabited by the descendants of the ancient Christians, whom the imperious Portuguese archbishop and viceroy Menezes had, with the aid of "the Holy Inquisition," brought into compulsory submission to the Romish pontiff. Since then it had sunk into obscurity, and would hardly have excited the notice of any European power, had not its position with regard to Madras, from which it was but four miles distant, enabled the ever-intriguing Dupleix to gain from the Romish priests much important information regarding the state of that settlement. St. Thomas was therefore occupied by the English, and the obnoxious portion of the inhabitants ordered to withdraw.

While these events were taking place in the Madras presidency, that of Bombay, and the inferior but independent one of Calcutta, enjoyed tranquillity. Ali Verdi Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, had consistently maintained the determination at first expressed by Anwar-oo-deen, in the Carnatic, of compelling the hostile nations to keep the peace in his dominions. At the same time he exacted from both parties contributions, in return for the protection which he bestowed. The sums demanded from the English are stated† as not exceeding £100,000, which, considering the heavy expenses incurred in repelling Mahratta inroads, cannot be deemed immoderate.

The restoration of peace between their respective governments left the servants of the rival companies in India no pretence for continuing hostilities on any national ground. But extensive military preparations had been made: nothing but a *casus belli* was wanting; and it was not to be supposed that the commanders of considerable bodies of troops, who, having been levied, must be paid and fed, would willingly keep them in idleness for so slight a reason. The quarrels of neighbouring states afforded a ready pretext for armed interference, and offered to both French and English the immediate advantage of remunerative employment for spare force, together with the prospect of establishing a degree of independent, if not paramount authority, which might enable the factories to withhold the large sums it had been heretofore found necessary to pay to local officials, in order to secure the enjoyment of the privileges conceded by imperial firmauns.‡ Neither party showed much anxiety about the character or claims of the candidates under whose banners they took post, the scarcely disguised motive being—how best to serve themselves and weaken their rivals. Indeed, at this period, power in the Deccan had so greatly fallen into the hands of usurpers, that had the Europeans really desired to support no pretensions save such as were strictly legitimate, they must have commenced by setting aside almost the whole of the claimants who now pressed upon their notice. But this admission cannot exculpate the English from the heavy charge of indiscretion and venality—in first unsheathing the sword against a sovereign with whom they had long carried on a friendly correspondence, and then suffer-

* That event entailed a loss of £180,000 on the company.—(Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 48.)

† Mill's *British India*, iii., 83, (edited by Wilson.)

‡ At Surat, for instance, in addition to the fixed custom dues of 3½ per cent., no less a sum than 1,365,450 rupees are stated, in the records of the E. I. Company, as having been paid from 1661 to 1683, simply to facilitate business.

ing themselves to be bought off from the cause they had unsuccessfully advocated. The case was simply this: Syajee, the ex-rajah of Tanjore (*see* p. 252), craved their assistance to regain the throne from which he had been driven by his half-brother, Pertab Sing. He declared that the people were well-affected towards him, and promised, in the event of success, to bestow upon the English the territory of Devicotta—a position rendered valuable by its proximity to the mouth of the river Coleroon, which was considered to offer advantages, as a harbour, beyond any other situation between Masulipatam and Cape Comorin. His solicitations produced two attempts for the invasion of Tanjore. The first by Captain Cope, undertaken with a view to the re-establishment of Syajee, proved a complete failure. The second, led by Major Lawrence, succeeded in the object for which it was expressly designed—the capture of Devicotta—owing, under Providence, to the ingenuity and dauntless bravery of a common ship's carpenter* and—Lieutenant Robert Clive. This name, destined to stand first in a long line of Anglo-Indian conquerors, was then borne by a young man whose previous career afforded small promise of usefulness, though fraught with evidences of misdirected energy.

Some twelve years before the siege of Devicotta, the inhabitants of Market-Drayton, Shropshire, had viewed with terror the exploits of the audacious son of a neighbouring squire.† On one occasion they beheld the daring boy climb the lofty church steeple, and quietly take his seat on a projecting stone spout near the summit, fashioned in the form of a dragon's head, from whence he desired to obtain a smooth stone, for the pleasure of flinging it to the ground. At home the youth was noted for an immoderate love of fighting, and for a fierce and imperious temper; out of doors he displayed the same propensities by forming the idle lads of the town into a predatory army, and extorting a tribute of pence and trifling articles from the shopkeepers, guaranteeing them, in return, from broken windows and the effects of other mischievous tricks. The character of an exceedingly naughty boy accompanied Bob Clive from school to school, including the celebrated London seminary of the Merchant Taylor's Company. One of his early masters, it is said, had the sagacity to prophesy that the self-willed, iron-nerved child would, if he lived to be a man, and had opportunity to exert his talents, make a great figure in the world; but this was an exception to the general opinion formed of his slender parts and headstrong temper; and his family, seeing no good prospect for him at home, procured for the lad, when in his eighteenth year, a writership in the service of the E. I. Company, and "shipped him off, to make a fortune or to die of a fever."‡

For some time after the arrival of Clive at Madras, the former alternative appeared highly improbable. The ship in which he sailed was detained for nine months at the Brazils, and the young writer expended all his ready-money, but picked up, in return, a knowledge of the Portuguese language, which proved useful to him in after-life. The salaries of the junior servants were then barely sufficient for their maintenance. Clive, who it may be readily imagined was no economist, soon became involved in debt; and this circumstance, combined with his isolated position and uncongenial employment (in superintending the taking of stock, making advances to weavers, shipping cargoes, and guarding the monopoly of his employers against the encroachments of private traders), aggravated by the depressing influence of a tropical climate, so affected a mind unsupported by religious principle, that the rash youth, in one of the wayward, moody fits to which he was all his life subject, made an ineffectual attempt at self-destruction. A fellow-clerk entered his room (in Writers'-buildings) immediately after, and was requested to take up a pistol which lay at hand, and fire it out of the window. He did so; and Clive sprang up, exclaiming—"Well, I am reserved for something; that pistol I have

* The fort of Devicotta was situated on a marshy shore covered with wood, and surrounded by the Tanjore army. The English batteries were erected on the opposite side of the river, and after three days' firing a breach was effected; but before advantage could be taken of it, a broad and rapid stream had to be crossed in the face of the enemy. This was done by means of a raft, sufficient to contain 400 men, constructed by the carpenter, John Moore. The last difficulty—how to get the raft across—he removed by swimming the stream by night and fastening a rope to a tree, unperceived by the foe, whose attention was diverted from the spot by the well-directed manœuvres of the artillery. The troops were disembarked on the opposite bank.

† A landed proprietor, who practised the law, and resided on a small estate which had been enjoyed by his family since the twelfth century.

‡ T. B. Macaulay's brilliant critique on Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive.*—(*Critical and Historical Essays.*)

twice snapped at my own head."* He was reserved for many things which the world calls great and glorious, and even (by a strange perversion of the term) heroic; but his earthly career was not the less destined to terminate by the very act which he had once been specially held back from accomplishing. That act even worldlings brand with the name of moral cowardice; while believers in revealed religion view it as the last and deepest offence man can commit against his Maker. In the case of Clive, such a termination of life was rendered peculiarly remarkable by his previous frequent and extraordinary escapes from perishing by violence.

On the capture of Madras, in 1746, he, with others, gave his parole on becoming a prisoner of war, not to attempt escape; but the breach of faith committed by Dupleix was considered by many of the captives to justify their infraction of the pledge given to M. de la Bourdonnais; and Clive fled by night to Fort St. David, disguised in dress and complexion as a Mussulman. Continued hostilities afforded him an opportunity of quitting the store-room for the camp; and Major Lawrence, perceiving the military ability of the young aspirant, gave him an ensign's commission, which, after the unsuccessful attack of Pondicherry, in 1748, was exchanged for that of a lieutenant. At Devicotta he was, at his own solicitation, suffered to lead a storming party, consisting of a platoon of thirty-four Europeans and a body of sepoys. Of the Europeans only four survived; but the determination of their leader, and the orderly advance of the sepoys, checked the opposition of the Tanjore horse, and gave the signal for the advance of Major Lawrence with his whole strength, which was speedily followed by the capture of the fort.

A treaty of peace was soon entered into with the rajah, Pertab Sing, by which the English were guaranteed in the possession of Devicotta, with a territory of the annual value of 9,000 pagodas, on condition of their renouncing the cause of Syajee, and guaranteeing to secure his person so as to prevent any further attempts on the throne of his brother—a service for which 4,000 rupees, or about £400, were to be paid annually. The English had been completely misled by the statements of Syajee respecting his prospects of success; but still, this treatment of a person whom they had been endeavouring to re-establish as a legitimate ruler, was highly discreditable. It is even said, that the unfortunate prince would have been delivered into the hands of his enemies, but for the lively remonstrances of Admiral Boscawen. As it was, he found means to make his escape, though not to recover his throne.

In the meantime the French were engaged in transactions of more importance. They had far higher objects in view than any yet aimed at by the English, and their plans were more deeply laid. Dupleix, by means of his wife,† had obtained considerable acquaintance with the intrigues of various Mussulman and Hindoo princes; and this knowledge had afforded him material assistance on more than one occasion. The disturbed state of the Carnatic now offered a favourable opening for his ambition. The protracted life of the old nizam was fast approaching its termination; and the nominal viceroyalty, but actual sovereignty, of the Mogul provinces in the Deccan would, it was easy to forsee, speedily become an object of contest to his five sons. The cause of Anwar-oo-deen, himself almost a centenarian, would not therefore be likely to meet with efficient support from his legitimate superiors; while among the people a very strong desire existed for the restoration of the family of Sadut Oollah. The natural heir was the remaining son of Sufder Ali, but his tender age forbade the idea of placing him at the head of a confederacy which needed a skilful and determined leader. Murtezza Ali (governor of Vellore), though wealthy and powerful, was deemed too treacherous and too cowardly to be trusted. The only relative possessed of sufficient reputation, as a general, to direct an attempt for the subversion of the power of Anwar-oo-deen, was Chunda Sahib. The utter absence of principle manifested

* Sir John Malcolm states, that in 1749, three years after this event, Clive had a severe attack of nervous fever, which rendered necessary "the constant presence of an attendant;" and he adds, that even after his recovery, "the oppression on his spirits frequently returned."—(*Memoirs*, i., pp. 69-70.)

† Madame Dupleix is described in the *Life of Clive* as a creole, born and educated in Bengal; but her parentage is not stated. The Christian name Jeanne, she converted into the Persian appellation of Jân Begum (the *princess Jeanne*.) Her intimate acquaintance with the native languages, joined to a talent for intrigue little inferior to that of Dupleix himself, enabled her to establish a very efficient system of "espionage." At the time of the French capture of Madras, and the attempts on Fort St. David by the English, the Indian interpreter was found to have carried on a regular correspondence

in his seizure of Trichinopoly,* did not prevent him from being "esteemed the ablest soldier that had of late years appeared in the Carnatic,"† uniting in every military enterprise, "the spirit of a volunteer with the liberality of a prince."‡ On him Dupleix had early fixed his eyes as a fit coadjutor; and throughout his protracted imprisonment at Sattara, had contrived to keep up an intimate connexion with him, through the medium of his wife and family, who had taken refuge in Pondicherry—Madame Dupleix acting as interpreter; and at the same time corresponding, in the name of her husband, with various chiefs likely to prove useful in the coming struggle. At length all things seemed ripe for the enterprise. Through the intervention of Dupleix, the release of Chunda Sahib was effected in the early part of the year 1748, by means of a ransom of seven lacs of rupees (£70,000.) The nizam died shortly after; and notwithstanding the prior claims of his numerous sons, another competitor for the succession arose in the person of a grandson, the child of a favourite daughter. With the young adventurer (generally known by his title of Moozuffer Jung),§ Chunda Sahib hastened to form an alliance, and induced him to commence operations in the Carnatic. Dupleix assisted the confederates with a body of 400 Europeans, 100 Kafirs, and 1,800 sepoys; and French valour and discipline mainly contributed to bring the storming of Amboor (a fort fifty miles west of Arcot) to a successful issue. Anwar-oo-deen was slain at the extraordinary age of 107 lunar years; his eldest son taken prisoner; and his second son, Mohammed Ali, with the wreck of the army, escaped to Trichinopoly, of which place he was governor. The victorious leaders marched in triumph to Arcot, and then to Pondicherry, from whence (after increasing the limits and revenues of that settlement by the grant of eighty-one villages) they proceeded against Tanjore. It would have been unquestionably better policy to have advanced at once upon Trichinopoly; but supplies of money were urgently needed, and the known wealth of the rajah of Tanjore would, it was believed, compensate for the delay. The Tanjorine proved more than a match for his enemies in cunning, though inferior to them in force. Although at length compelled to pay a certain sum, claimed as arrears of tribute to the Mogul empire, and likewise in compensation for the expenses incurred in attacking him, the rajah continued to procrastinate in every possible manner,—one day sending, as part of the stipulated contribution, old and obsolete coins, such as he knew required long and tedious examination; another time, jewels and precious stones, the value of which it was still more difficult to determine. Chunda Sahib saw the drift of these artifices; but the want of funds induced him to bear with them until the end of the year (1749) arrived, and with it intelligence of the approach of a considerable army under the command of Nazir Jung,‖ the second son of the late nizam.

The allies, struck with consternation, precipitately retreated to Pondicherry, harassed by a body of Mahrattas. Dupleix exerted all his energies to reanimate their spirits; lent them £50,000, and increased the French contingent to 2,000 Europeans; but, doubting greatly the ultimate success of the cause which he had so sedulously promoted, he sought to be prepared for any turn of circumstances, by opening a secret communication with Nazir Jung. In this treacherous attempt he failed, the prince having previously formed an alliance with the English.¶

On hearing of the defeat and death of Anwar-oo-deen, Nazir Jung had marched towards the Carnatic, where he was speedily joined by Mohammed Ali, son of the late nabob, and at the same time he sent to ask assistance from the English at Fort St. David. They were already filled with alarm at the part taken by the French in the recent hostilities, but possessed no authority from the Court of Directors to engage anew in the perils and expenses of any military undertaking. The result of

with Madame Dupleix in the Malabar tongue. He and a Hindoo accomplice were tried, found guilty, and hanged.—(Malcolm's *Clive*, i., 21; Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 88.)

* *See* p. 252. In addition to the facts already stated, it may be noticed, as enhancing the perfidy of Chunda Sahib, that one means adopted by him to set aside any misgivings on the part of the ranee of Trichinopoly, was by swearing that his troops, if secretly admitted within the citadel, should be employed solely for the confirmation of her authority. This false oath he took on a false Koran—that is, on a brick enveloped in one of the splendid coverings used by Mohammedans to wrap round the volume they revere as divinely inspired.—(Colonel Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 250.)

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 119.

‡ Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 250.

§ *Victorious in War.* ‖ *Triumphant in War.*

¶ *Vide* "Vindication," entitled *Mémoire pour Dupleix*; also *Mémoire contre Dupleix*, published by the directory of the Fr. E. I. Cy.; quoted by Mill, iii., 105.

the Tanjore enterprise was not encouraging; the attempt to reinstate Syajee had proved a complete failure; and Pertab Sing, by the cession of Devicotta, had bought them off, as he might have done a body of Mahrattas, —not so much from fear of their power, as because he expected a more dangerous assault on the side of Chunda Sahib and the French. It was evidently no honest desire for peace which dictated the miserable half measures adopted by the Madras presidency. Although Admiral Boscawen offered to remain if his presence should be formally demanded, he was suffered to depart with the fleet and troops. A force of 120 Europeans was sent to Mohammed Ali; and the report of the powerful army and extensive resources* of Nazir Jung induced them to send Major Lawrence, with 600 Europeans, to fight under so promising a standard. The rival armies, with their respective European allies, approached within skirmishing distance of one another, and an engagement seemed close at hand, when thirteen French officers, discontented with the remuneration they had received for the attack on Tanjore, threw up their commissions; and M. d'Auteuil, panic-struck by this mutinous conduct, retreated, with the remainder of the troops under his command, to Pondicherry, accompanied by Chunda Sahib, while Moozuffer Jung,† having received the most solemn assurances of good treatment, threw himself upon the mercy of his uncle, by whom he was immediately placed in irons.

Nazir Jung, relieved from immediate peril, took no thought for the future; but at once resigned his whole time to the pleasures of the harem and the chase. The only rival he feared (Ghazi-oo-deen) was fully employed in the intrigues of the Delhi court; the other three brothers were held in close confinement at Arcot; and the indolent prince, in the haughtiness of imaginary security, treated with disdain the claims of those who had joined him in the hour of danger. The experience of past time might have borne witness that Mogul rulers had seldom offended their turbulent Patan followers with impunity; yet Nazir Jung now behaved towards his father's old officers (the nabobs of Kudapa, Kurnoul, and Savanoor) as if they had been mere feudatories, who as a matter of course had rallied around his standard, instead of what they undoubtedly were—adventurers who had hazarded their lives for the chance of bettering their fortunes. The expectations of the English were equally disappointed by the refusal of a tract of territory near Madras, the promised reward of their assistance; and Major Lawrence quitted the camp in disgust. Dupleix and Chunda Sahib soon learned the state of affairs, and hastened to take advantage of it both by force and stratagem. Masulipatam and the pagoda of Trivadi (fifteen miles west of Fort St. David) were captured; the fort of Jinjee, deemed almost inaccessible, was attacked by the famous French commander Bussy, and the huge insulated rock on which it stands, stormed to the very summit. The boldness of the attempt, and especially its being commenced at midnight, seems to have paralysed the energies of its superstitious defenders; and even the victors, in contemplating the natural strength of the place, were astonished at their success. Nazir Jung alarmed, entered

* Nazir Jung was at Boorhanpoor, in command of the army, at the time of the death of his father: this circumstance favoured his attempt at becoming subahdar of the Deccan, to the exclusion of his eldest brother, Ghazi-oo-deen, who, he asserted, had freely resigned his pretensions, being satisfied with the important position he held in the court of Delhi—a statement which was wholly false. Ghazi-oo-deen was by no means inclined to make any such renunciation, and had in justice nothing to renounce, the government of the southern provinces being still, at least in form, an appointment in the gift of the emperor. Mohammed Ali's claim to the government of the Carnatic (urged, in the first instance, to the exclusion of his elder brother, the only legitimate son of Anwar-oo-deen) was based on the bare grounds that Nizam-ool-Moolk had promised, and Nazir Jung would confirm to him the possession of a patrimony which had been in his family just five years. This was the "rightful cause" maintained by English valour in the field, and contended for, in many volumes of political controversy, during a prolonged paper warfare. The French, on their part, upheld with all the zeal of self-interest, both with the sword and the pen, the claims of the rival candidates. The pretensions of Moozuffer Jung rested on the will of his grandfather, which his adversaries declared to be a forgery; but if a veritable document, it was unlawful as regarded the emperor, and unjust in setting aside the natural heirs. The sole plea urged by Chunda Sahib, was the will of Moozuffer Jung that he should be nabob. The fact was, neither English nor French had any justification for interference in hostilities which were mere trials of strength among bands of Mohammedan usurpers; and the subsequent conduct of both parties in setting up pageants, because it was inexpedient for them to appear as principals, is nothing more than an additional proof that politicians, as a class, agree everywhere in receiving diplomacy and duplicity as convertible terms, maintaining, however, as much as possible, the semblance of honesty in deference to the feeling which our Creator seems to have implanted in the mind of almost every community—that the public safety is intimately connected with the integrity of those who bear rule.

† This name is sometimes mis-spelt Mirzapha.

into negotiations with Dupleix. The French deputies used their admission to his camp as a means of treacherously intriguing with the disaffected nobles. Major Lawrence heard of the conspiracy, and endeavoured to convey a warning to the subahdar at a public audience; but the interpreter employed dared not venture a declaration which might cost him his life, and the important information was withheld from fear of the vizier, who was falsely reported to be involved in the plot. The etiquette which prevented any direct communication with the subahdar, either verbally or by writing, is given as a sufficient reason for no determined effort to that effect having been made.* Nazir Jung continued, to the last moment, utterly unsuspicious of danger. He ratified the treaty with the French, and sent it to Pondicherry. They advanced against him from Jinjee the very next day; and the prince, while manfully striving to animate his troops to repel what he termed "the mad attempt of a parcel of drunken Europeans,"† was shot through the heart by the nabob of Kudapa. The army learned the fate of their late ruler by the sight of his head fixed on a pole, and were with little difficulty induced to transfer their services to his nephew Moozuffer Jung, who now, released from captivity, became the gaoler of his three uncles. Dupleix was appointed governor of the Mogul possessions on the coast of Coromandel, from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin,‡ and Chunda Sahib his deputy at Arcot. The installation of the subahdar was performed at Pondicherry with much pomp. Salutes were fired from the batteries, and *Te Deum* sung in the churches. Dupleix, dressed in the garb of a Mussulman of the highest rank, entered the city in the same palanquin with Moozuffer Jung; and, in the pageant which followed, took precedence of every other noble. The rank of a munsubdar of 7,000 horse was conferred upon him, with permission to bear on his banners the insignia of "the fish"§—a distinction among the Moguls equivalent to the coveted "blue ribbon" of the English court. Honours and emoluments could be obtained only by his intervention: the new ruler would not even peruse a petition, unless indorsed by the hand of Dupleix.

The triumph of the ambitious Frenchman, though brilliant, was soon disturbed. The chiefs, by whose perfidy the revolution had been accomplished, demanded the fulfilment of the extravagant promises made to them while the prince, now on the throne, lay bound in fetters. Dupleix endeavoured to bring about an arrangement; and, as an incitement to moderation, affected to relinquish all claim to share in the treasure seized upon the assassination of Nazir Jung, notwithstanding which he received no less than £200,000 in money, besides many valuable jewels.‖ The offers made to the turbulent nobles were, however, so very large, that if (as would appear) really accepted and carried out, it is difficult to account for the rapidity with which they again broke forth into open revolt.¶ After lulling all suspicions by a semblance of contentment, accompanied by oaths of allegiance sworn on the Koran, the chiefs watched their opportunity; and, during the march of the army to Golconda, suddenly took possession of an important pass, and, supported by their numerous followers, opposed the advancing force. The steady fire of the French artillery soon cleared the way; but Moozuffer Jung, furious at finding himself menaced with the fate of his uncle, by the same double-dyed traitors, rushed upon the peril he had nearly escaped, by distancing his attendants in a reckless pursuit of the fugitive nabob of Kurnoul, whom he overtook and challenged to single combat. The elephants were driven close to each other; and the sword of Moozuffer Jung was uplifted to strike, when the javelin of his opponent pierced his brain. A moment later, and the victor was surrounded and cut to pieces: one of his fellow-conspirators had already perished in a similar manner; the third quitted the field mortally wounded.

What were the French to do now for a puppet adapted by circumstances for the part of subahdar? No time could be spared for deliberation: a few hours, and the heterogeneous multitudes of which Indian armies consist, would, under their respective leaders,

* Major Lawrence perhaps disbelieved the report, otherwise his conduct was supine and neglectful.

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 156.

‡ Masulipatam and its dependencies were ceded to the French E. I. Cy., with other territories, valued by them at £38,000 per ann., but, according to Orme, the revenues were considerably overstated.

§ The *Mahi*, or figure of a fish four feet long, in copper-gilt, carried on the point of a spear.

‖ Moozuffer Jung distributed £50,000 among the officers and men engaged at Jinjee, and paid an equal sum into the treasury of the French company, in compensation for the expenses of the war.

¶ Orme asserts, that besides various minor concessions, the Patan nobles were promised by Dupleix one-half the money found in the treasury of Nazir Jung, which, in a subsequent page, is stated at two million sterling.—(*Military Transactions*, i., 160-'2.)

after dividing the spoil of their late master, disperse in search of a new paymaster; and, with them, would vanish the advantages gained by the murder of Nazir Jung. Bussy, the commander-in-chief, was no less bold and ready-witted than the absent Dupleix, and his unhesitating decision exactly met the circumstances of the case. The three uncles of the newly-deceased subahdar were in the camp, having been carried about as prisoners in the train of their nephew, lest some conspiracy should be formed in their favour if separated from his immediate superintendence. In other words, it was convenient to keep within reach all persons whose dangerous consanguinity to the reigning prince might incite an attempt for the transfer of the crown; such an endeavour being best frustrated by cutting off the head for which the perilous distinction was designed. Moozuffer Jung left an infant son, whose claims on the gratitude of the French were afterwards recognised by Bussy,* though he set aside the title of the boy to sovereignty, and releasing the captive princes, proclaimed the eldest, Salabut Jung, viceroy of the Deccan. The army acquiesced in the arrangement, and proceeded quietly on the road to Golconda. Dupleix, on learning the late events, addressed the warmest congratulations to Salabut Jung, who, besides confirming the cessions of his predecessor, bestowed additional advantages on his new friends.

The English watched with amazement the progress of the French, but without any efforts at counteraction. From some unexplained cause, Major Lawrence, the commander of the troops, on whose character and experience the strongest reliance was placed in all military affairs, returned to England at the very time his services were most likely to be needed. The Madras presidency desired peace at almost any sacrifice, and united with Mohammed Ali in offering to acknowledge Chunda Sahib nabob of all the Carnatic, except Trichinopoly and its dependencies. The French, borne on the tide of victory, rejected these overtures; and the English, stung by the contemptuous tone adopted towards them, combined with Mohammed Ali to oppose their united foes. The opening of the campaign was not merely unfortunate, it was (in the words of Major Lawrence) disgraceful: "a fatal spirit of division" prevailed among the officers, and the Europeans fled before the force of Chunda Sahib, near the fort of Volconda, while the native troops maintained the conflict. Driven from one position to another, the English and their allies at length sought shelter beneath the walls of Trichinopoly. The enemy followed them without delay, and took post on the opposite side of the town, from whence they made some ineffectual attempts for the reduction of the place.

The French had now reached the culminating point of their power in India: the English, their lowest state of depression; yet the latter were soon to ascend an eminence, to which the position attained by their rivals seemed but as a stepping-stone. The young adventurer already noticed, was selected by Providence as one of the chief instruments in the commencement of this mighty change. In the interval of peace just ended, Clive had been appointed by his steady friend, Major Lawrence, commissary to the troops, with the rank of captain. He was now five-and-twenty, in the full strength and vigour of early manhood. The present emergency called forth all his powers; and, by earnestly representing the necessity of some daring attempt to relieve Trichinopoly, he succeeded in gaining the consent of the Madras presidency to attack Arcot, as a probable means of recalling Chunda Sahib to his own capital. A little force, consisting of eight officers (four of whom were factors turned soldiers, like "special constables" for the occasion), 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, sallied forth under the leadership of Clive. The issue of this daring enterprise was awaited by the English with intense anxiety. It was no ordinary detachment, sent forth at slight hazard to effect a diversion: the men by whom it was undertaken were (at least in a military point of view) the life-blood of Fort St. David and Madras: in the event of their being cut off, these settlements would be left, the one with only 100, the other with less than fifty defenders, against the overwhelming strength of the Indo-French potentate Dupleix, and his satellites. On two previous occasions a fierce and sudden tempest had been the destined means of preserving the English from the hands of their foes. The fleet, assembled by the unflagging zeal of La Bourdonnais, shattered and dispersed when bearing down, in the pride of power, on the Coromandel coast; the stealthy, midnight assault of Dupleix on Cuddalore arrested by the rising surf;—these dis-

* The stronghold of Adoni, with its dependencies, which had been the original jaghire of the father, were given to the son, with the addition of the territories formerly possessed by the treacherous nabobs of Kurnoul and Kudapa.—(Orme, i., 249.)

pensations were now to be crowned by a third, yet more remarkable in its consequences.

When Clive and his companions had advanced within about ten miles of Arcot, a violent storm came on, through which they continued their march with the habitual bravery of European troops. The native garrison, accustomed to regard with superstitious terror the turmoil of the elements, learned with astonishment the continued advance of their assailants; and, on beholding them approach the gates of Arcot amid pealing thunder, vivid flashes of lightning, and fast-falling rain, panic spread from breast to breast: the fort was abandoned, and the English, strong in the supposed possession of supernatural courage, entered it without a blow. The city had neither walls nor defences, and no obstruction was offered to the few hundred men who passed on as conquerors, gazed upon with fear, admiration, and respect, through streets crowded by 100,000 spectators. They took possession of the citadel, in which was found a large quantity of lead and gunpowder, with eight pieces of cannon of small calibre. The merchants had, for security, deposited there effects to the value of £50,000; but these were punctually restored to the owners: and "this judicious abstemiousness," adds Orme, "conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the English interest. The fort was inhabited by 3,000 or 4,000 persons, who, at their own request, were permitted to remain in their dwellings."

There could be little doubt that vigorous attempts would be made by Chunda Sahib to recover the city which had thus strangely slid from his grasp. Clive instantly began to collect provisions, to throw up works, and to make preparations for sustaining a siege. It was a discouraging task, even to a man whose genius ever shone most brightly amid danger and difficulty. The walls of the fort were ruinous; the ditches dry; the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns; the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The fugitive garrison, ashamed of the manner in which they had abandoned the place, assembled together, and encamped close to the town. At dead of night Clive sallied out with almost his entire force, attacked the camp, slew great numbers, and returned to his quarters, without having lost a single man.* A more dangerous enemy soon appeared, consisting of about 10,000 men, including 150 French from Pondicherry, under the command of Reza Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib.† The garrison had but a slight prospect of maintaining its ground against so formidable an armament; and certainly the retention of Arcot was little less marvellous than its conquest, though accomplished by wholly different means. In the first instance, a scanty force took possession, without effort, of a prize unexpectedly placed within their reach; in the latter case, although reduced by casualties to 324 in number, they showed themselves determined to sacrifice even life in its defence. For fifty days the assault continued; but the courage of the besieged never faltered: they held together as one man; and at length, when food began to fail, and was doled out in diminishing portions, the sepoys, in their exceeding devotion to their suffering comrades, came in a body to Clive, and entreated that all the grain in store might be given to the Europeans who required a nourishing diet,—they could subsist on the water in which the rice was boiled.‡ The reputation of the gallant defence of Arcot proved the immediate cause of its success. An ineffectual attempt at succour, on the part of the Madras government, was followed by the approach of 6,000 Mahrattas, under the famous leader Morari Rao. These troops had been enlisted in the service of Mohammed Ali, but, deeming his cause hopeless, had remained inactive on the frontiers of the Carnatic. As a last resource, Clive managed to convey to them an earnest appeal for succour, and received an immediate reply from the chief, that, being at length convinced the English could fight, he would not lose a moment in attempting their relief. This circumstance coming to the ears of Reza Sahib, he forthwith dispatched a flag of truce to the garrison, with offers of honourable terms of capitulation, and a large sum of money to their commander, as the alternative of the instant storming of the fort and the slaughter of all its defenders. Clive, in rejecting the whole proposition, gave vent to his characteristic haughtiness, by taunting Reza Sahib with the badness of his cause, and the inefficiency of his "rabble

* Fifteen Europeans perished in a subsequent sally against the force of Reza Sahib: amongst these was Lieutenant Trenwith, who, perceiving a sepoy from a window taking aim at Clive, pulled him aside and was himself shot through the body.

† Orme calls this leader *Rajah* Sahib; Wilks (a much better authority in a question of orthography), *Reza*.

‡ This water, called Cunjee, resembles very thin gruel.

force." Then, having taken all possible measures to resist the expected attack, he lay down exhausted with fatigue, but was soon aroused by the loud uproar of oriental warfare in its most imposing form.

It was the 14th of November—the period allotted to the commemoration of the fearful massacre on the plains of Kerbela, in which the imaum Hussyn, the grandchild of "the prophet," with his whole family and followers, suffered a cruel death at the hands of his inveterate foes. The recurrence of this solemn festival is usually the signal for the renewal of fierce strife, either by words or blows, between the Sheiahs and the Sonnites, or followers of the caliphs, by whom Ali and his children were superseded. The Mohammedans engaged in the siege seem to have been Sheiahs; and in the absence of any sectarian quarrels, they directed the full force of the fanaticism roused by the recollection of the tragic catastrophe of Kerbela, against the infidel contemners of both imaums and caliphs, and even of their founder himself. Besides the well-known dictum of the Koran—that all who fall fighting against unbelievers offer thereby a sacrifice (accepted, because completed) for the sins of a whole life, and are at once received into the highest heaven, escaping all intermediate purgatories—a peculiar blessing is supposed to rest on those who perish in "holy" warfare during the period consecrated to the memory of the venerated imaums.* Stimulating drugs were called in to heighten the excitement of the discourses addressed by the priests; and in a paroxysm of mental and physical intoxication, the unwieldy host rushed furiously against the gates of Arcot, driving before them elephants with massive iron plates on thir foreheads. The first shock of these living battering-rams was a moment of imminent peril; but the gates stood firm; and then, as in many previous instances, the huge animals, maddened by the musket-balls of the foe, became utterly ungovernable, and turning round, trampled down hundreds of those who had brought forward such dangerous auxiliaries, causing confusion throughout their whole ranks. About an hour elapsed, during which time three desperate onsets were made, and determinedly resisted; the steady fire of the garrison telling fearfully on the shrieking, yelling mass beneath. The assailants then retired beyond the partially dry moat, with the loss of about 400 men,† and requested a short truce, that they might bury their dead. The English gladly complied: they must have needed rest; for many of them being previously disabled by wounds and sickness, the labour of repulsing the foe had fallen upon eighty Europeans (officers included) and 120 sepoys; and these, besides serving five pieces of cannon, had expended 12,000 musket cartridges during the attack, the front ranks being kept constantly supplied with loaded guns by those behind them.‡ The stipulated interval passed away; the firing recommenced, and continued from four in the afternoon until two in the morning, when it entirely ceased. The besieged passed some anxious hours; even the four or five men they had lost could be ill spared, for they expected to find the foe in full force at daybreak; instead of which they beheld the town abandoned, and joyfully took possession of several guns and a large quantity of ammunition left behind in the retreat.

The news of this extraordinary triumph was received at Madras with the utmost enthusiasm. Mohammed Ali, who now assumed the privilege once exclusively confined to the reigning emperor, of bestowing titles, called Clive—Sabut Jung (the daring in war), a well-earned designation which the young soldier bore ever after on his Persian seal, and by which he became known throughout India.

A reinforcement of 200 English soldiers and 700 sepoys joined Clive a few hours after the raising of the siege. Leaving a small garrison at Arcot, he set forth in pursuit of Reza Sahib; and having succeeded in effecting a junction with a Mahratta division, overtook the enemy by forced marches, and, after a sharp action, gained a complete victory.§ The military chest of the defeated general fell into the hands of the con-

* The other imaum (Hassan) likewise fell a victim to the machinations of the caliph Mauwiyah.—(*See* previous pages, 58—62.)

† Orme states, that but few of these were Europeans; for most of the French troops were observed drawn up and looking on at a distance.—(i., 195.)

‡ The personal exertions of Clive were very great. Perceiving the gunners taking ineffectual aim at a body of the enemy, who were striving to cross on a raft the water which filled a portion of the ditch, he took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and, by three or four vigorous discharges, compelled the abandonment of this attempt.

§ A gallant exploit was performed on the part of the enemy by a sepoy, who, beholding a beloved commander fall in the breach, crossed the ditch and carried off the body, passing unscathed through the fire of at least forty muskets.—(Orme, i., 194.)

querors, 600 of his sepoys joined their ranks, and the governor of the neighbouring fort of Arnee consented to abandon the cause of Chunda Sahib, and recognise the title of Mohammed Ali. The great pagoda of Conjeveram, which had been seized and occupied by the French during the siege of Arcot, was regained after a slight struggle.* Towards the close of the campaign of 1752, Clive was recalled to Fort St. David. On the march he arrived at the scene of the assassination of Nazir Jung, the chosen site of a new town, projected to commemorate the successes of the French in the East. Dupleix Futtehabad (the city of the victory of Dupleix) was the name given to the place; and a stately quadrangular pillar, with inscriptions in various eastern languages, recounted the short-lived triumph of the ambitious builder. Clive and his followers destroyed the newly-raised foundations, levelled the column to the ground and went their way in triumph, amid the wondering natives, who had lately deemed the French invincible.

Notwithstanding the brilliant exploits of his allies, the position of Mohammed Ali continued extremely precarious: many of the strongholds of the province were in hostile keeping; and the want of funds wherewith to pay the army, daily threatened to produce mutiny or desertion. Under these circumstances he appealed to the government of Mysoor, and, by extravagant promises in the event of success, prevailed upon the regent to send supplies of money and soldiers to Trichinopoly. The Mysoorean troops were 14,000 strong; the Mahrattas, under Morari Rao, numbered 6,000 more; and the Tanjore rajah, who had previously remained neutral, now sent 5,000 men to join the allies. These accessions of strength were soon followed by the arrival of Major Lawrence (then newly returned from Europe), with Clive at his right hand, accompanied by 400 Europeans, 1,100 sepoys, eight field-pieces, and a large quantity of military stores. Preparations were immediately made to take the field. Dupleix became alarmed at the altered state of affairs. As a military commander he had never attained celebrity.† Bussy was absent in the train of Salabut Jung; the remonstrances of Chunda Sahib were unheeded; and the entire force, although the Carnatic lay open before them, took up a position in the fortified pagoda of Seringham, on an island formed by the branches of the Coleroon and Cavery. All parties suffered severely from the protracted duration of the war. The mercantile affairs of the English company were extremely distressed by the drain on their finances; and Major Lawrence, believing it to be an emergency which justified "risking the whole to gain the whole,"‡ sanctioned the daring proposal of his young subaltern—to divide their small force, and remaining himself at the head of one portion for the protection of Trichinopoly, dispatch the other, under the leadership of Clive,§ to cut off the communication between Seringham and Pondicherry. Complete success attended the measure.|| Chunda Sahib besought M. Law, the commander of the

* While reconnoitring the pagoda over a garden wall, the companion of Clive, Lieutenant Bulkley, was shot through the head close by his side.

† A memoir, drawn up by the French E. I. Cy., in answer to one published by Dupleix, accuses him of having more than once manifested a deficiency in personal courage, and states that he accounted for the care with which he kept beyond the range of a musket-ball, by declaring that, "le bruit des armes suspendait ses réflexions, et que le calme seul convenait à son génie."—(Mill's *British India*, iii., 83.)

‡ Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 220.

§ Some difficulty arose regarding the appointment of a junior captain to so important a command; but this obstacle was removed by the express declaration of Morari Rao and the Mysooreans—that they would take no part in the expedition if dispatched under any other leader than the defender of Arcot.—(*Id.*)

|| M. d'Auteuil was dispatched by Dupleix with supplies from Pondicherry. Owing to a double mistake on the part of Clive and d'Auteuil, the former was led to believe that the information conveyed to him regarding the French detachment was incorrect; the latter, being informed that the English commander was absent in pursuit of him, thought to take advantage of the slightly-defended British post. With this view he sent eighty Europeans and 700 sepoys. The party included—to the sad disgrace of our countrymen—forty English deserters, whose familiar speech nearly procured the success of the treacherous undertaking. The strangers, on pretence of being a reinforcement come from Major Lawrence, were suffered to pass the outworks without giving the pass-word. They proceeded quietly until they reached an adjacent pagoda and choultry (place of entertainment), where Clive lay sleeping, and there answered the challenge of the sentinels by a discharge of musketry. A ball shattered a box near the couch of Clive, and killed a servant close beside him. Springing to his feet he rushed out, and was twice wounded without being recognised. A desperate struggle ensued; the English deserters fought like wild beasts at bay. The pagoda was in possession of the French, and the attempt to regain it was broken off until cannon could be obtained. Clive advanced to the porch to offer terms: faint with loss of blood, in a stooping posture he leant on two serjeants. The leader of the deserters (an Irishman) came forward, addressed Clive in opprobrious language (apparently infuriated by some private

French forces, to make a determined effort to shake off the toils fast closing round them; but all in vain. Provisions began to fail, and men to desert; at length the personal safety of the nabob becoming in evident danger, and his constitution rapidly giving way under the combined effects of age and anxiety, attempts were made to secure his escape by intriguing with his foes. Negotiations were opened with Monajee, the commander of the Tanjore force, and a large sum of money paid to him, in return for which he swore "on his sword and dagger" to protect the unhappy noble, and convey him unharmed to the French settlement of Karical. This adjuration a Mahratta rarely violates; but Monajee did so in the present instance. His motives are variously stated. One eminent writer asserts, on native authority, that he acted as the instrument of Mohammed Ali:* Orme, that his treachery originated in the disputes which took place in the camp of the allies so soon as the arrival of Chunda Sahib became known. Fearing that his prize would be snatched away, either by the English, the Mysooreans, or the Mahrattas for their own ends, he settled the dispute by causing the object of it to be put to death. The event is still regarded by Mohammedans as a remarkable manifestation of divine vengeance; for, in the very choultry where, sixteen years before, Chunda Sahib, by a false oath, deceived the ranee of Trichinopoly, he was now cruelly murdered while lying prostrate on the ground, broken down by sickness and disappointment.† The head was sent to Trichinopoly; and Mohammed Ali, after gazing for the first time on the face of his rival, caused it to be exposed in barbarous triumph on the walls of the city. The French at Seringham ‡ capitulated immediately after the above occurrence; and the English, desirous of continuing their successful career, urged the nabob to proceed at once to Jinjee. He hesitated, procrastinated, and at length confessed that the aid of the Mysoor government had been obtained by no less a bribe than a signed and sealed agreement for the cession of Trichinipoly and its dependencies. Major Lawrence was bitterly mortified at finding that the city to which, at this period, an importance far above its intrinsic value was attached, could not after all be retained by the person with whose interests those of his countrymen had become identified, except by a flagrant breach of faith which he honestly pronounced quite unjustifiable.§ The nabob would not see the matter in this light; the Mysooreans, he argued, never could expect the fulfilment of such an unreasonable stipulation, especially while the chief portion of the dominions claimed by him as governor of the Carnatic still remained to be subdued: abundant remuneration should be made for their valuable services; but, as to surrendering Trichinopoly that was out of the question; for, after all, it was not his to give, but only to hold in trust for the Great Mogul. This very convenient after-thought did not satisfy the Mysooreans. Both parties appealed to the Madras presidency, and received in return assurances of extreme good-will, and recommendations to settle the matter amicably with one another.|| Morari Rao, the Mahratta chieftain, took a leading part in the discussion which followed, and received gifts on both sides; but it soon became evident that his impartial arbitration, if accepted, was likely to terminate after the fashion of that of the monkey in the fable,—the shells for his clients, the oyster for himself;¶ and at length, after much time spent in altercation, the

quarrel), and taking a deliberate aim, fired his musket. Clive asserts that the ball killed both his supporters, while he remained untouched. The Frenchmen disowned any share in the outrage, and surrendered; the enemy's sepoys were cut to pieces by the Mahratta allies of the English.—(*Life*, 116.)

* Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 284. † *Idem*, 285.

‡ Under M. Law, a nephew of the Scottish schemer.

§ Yet, from fear of the designs of Nunjeraj and Morari Rao, Major Lawrence afterwards suggested to the presidency the seizure of their persons.

|| "We wrote to the King of Mysoor that we were merchants, allies to the circar (government), not principals."—(Letter from Madras, Nov., 1752.) The Presidency found it as convenient to disavow the semblance, while grasping the reality, of power, as did the nabob to profess fealty to the emperor: at the same time it must be remembered, they were wholly ignorant of the pledge given by their ally.

¶ After the capture of Trichinopoly, in 1741, by the Mahrattas, it remained under the charge of Morari Rao, until its surrender to the nizam, in 1743. Morari Rao, a few years later, managed to establish himself in the Bala Ghaut district of Gooty, and became the leader of a band of mercenaries. By careful training and scrupulous exactitude in the stated division of plunder, these men were maintained in perfect order; and from having frequently encountered European troops, could be relied on even to withstand the steady fire of artillery. Morari Rao and his Mahrattas were, consequently, very important auxiliaries, for whose services the English and French outbid one another. Wilks remarks, they were best characterised by the Persian compound, *Muft-Khoor* (eating at other people's expense): in the present case they were acting as subsidiaries to the Mysoor force, in the immediate pay of Nunjeraj.—(*Mysoor*, i., 252.)

nabob, glad of any pretext for gaining time, promised to deliver up the fort in two months. Nunjeraj (the Mysoor general) seemingly assented to this arrangement; but so soon as Mohammed Ali and Major Lawrence had marched off towards Jinjee, he commenced intriguing with the English garrison for the surrender of the place. The attempt afforded the nabob a flimsy pretext for avowing his determination to retain possession. The result was an open breach with the Mysooreans and Mahrattas. Dupleix, aided as before by the knowledge and influence of his wife, entered into communication with the offended leaders, and exerted every effort to form a powerful confederacy against Mohammed Ali and his supporters. The chief obstacle to his scheme arose from a deficiency of funds and European troops. The French company were much poorer than the English body; and their territorial revenues formed the only available resource for the support of the force at Pondicherry, and that maintained by Bussy at Hyderabad: little surplus remained for the costly operations planned by Dupleix; but he supplied all deficiencies by expending his own princely fortune in the cause. The want of trustworthy soldiers was a more irremediable defect. The officers sent to India were, for the most part, mere boys, whose bravery could not compensate for their utter ignorance of their profession; the men were the very refuse of the population.*

The attempt made by Major Lawrence upon Jinjee failed; but the English campaign of 1752 terminated favourably, with a victory gained near Bahoor, two miles from Fort St. David, and the capture of the forts of Covelong and Chingleput.† These last exploits were performed by Clive, who then returned to England for his health, carrying with him a young bride, an independent fortune, and a brilliant military reputation.‡

Early in January, 1753, the rival armies again took the field. No decisive action occurred; but in May, Trichinopoly was again attacked, and continued, for more than a twelvemonth, the scene of active hostility. The assailants had not sufficient superiority to overpower or starve out the garrison, nor could the English compel them to raise the siege. The introduction or interception of supplies engaged the unwearied attention of both parties, and many severe conflicts occurred, without any decisive advantage being gained by either.

Meantime the mercantile associations in Europe, and especially in France, grew beyond measure impatient at the prolongation of hostilities. Dupleix, foreseeing the unbounded concessions into which the desire for peace would hurry his employers, himself opened a negotiation with the Madras government, where Mr. Saunders, an able and cautious man, presided. The deputies met at the neutral Dutch settlement of Sadras.§ The question at issue—whether Mohammed Ali should or should not be acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic, after being for four years contested with the sword—was now to be weighed in the balance

* Addressing the French minister, in 1753, Dupleix described the recruits sent him as "enfans, décroteurs et bandits" * * * "un ramassis de la plus vile canaille;" and he complained bitterly that, with the exception of Bussy, he never had an officer on whose ability he could place the smallest reliance.—(Mill, edited by Wilson, iii., 130.)

† The English forces, under Lawrence, were for the most part of a very efficient description; but the only detachment which could be spared on this occasion consisted of 200 recruits, styled by Macaulay "the worst and lowest wretches that the company's crimps could pick up in the flash houses of London," together with 500 sepoys just levied. So utterly undisciplined were the new-made soldiers, that on attacking Covelong, the death of one of them by a shot from the fort was followed by the immediate flight of his companions. On another occasion a sentinel was found, some hours after an engagement, out of harm's way at the bottom of a well. Clive, nevertheless, succeeded in inspiring these unpromising auxiliaries with something of his own spirit; the sepoys seconded him to the utmost. Covelong fell; a detachment sent to its relief was surprised by an ambuscade, 100 of the enemy were killed by one fire, 300 taken prisoners, and the remainder pursued to the gates of Chingleput. The fortress was besieged and a breach made, upon which the French commandant capitulated and retired with the garrison.

‡ Clive married the sister of Maskelyne, the eminent mathematician, who long held the office of Astronomer Royal. The amount of the fortune, acquired as prize-money, during the few years which had elapsed since he arrived in Madras a penniless youth, does not appear; but it is certain that he had sufficient to reclaim, in his own name, the family estate, and to extricate his father from pecuniary embarrassment, beside what he lavished in an extravagant mode of life. Dress, equipages, and more than all, a contested election, followed by a petition, left Clive, at the expiration of two years, the choice between a very limited income or a return to India. He took the latter course. The E. I. Cy., on his arrival in England, had shown their sense of his brilliant exploits by the gift of a sword set with diamonds—a mark of honour which, through his interference, was extended to his early patron and stanch friend, Major Lawrence; and when Clive's brief holiday was over, they gladly welcomed him back to their service, and procured for him the rank of lieut.-col. in the British army.—(*Life*, i., 131.)

§ Forty-two miles south of Madras.

of justice. Dupleix, as the delegate of the nizam or subahdar of the Deccan, claimed the right of appointment, which he had at different times attempted to bestow upon Reza Sahib and Murtezza Ali (of Vellore); the English continued to plead the cause of the candidate they had from the first steadily supported: and both the one and the other, in the absence of any more plausible pretext, reverted to the stale plea of imperial authority. Patents and grants were produced or talked of, which were respectively declared by the opposing parties forgeries and mere pretences. After eleven days' discussion, the proceedings broke off with mutual crimination. Dupleix was censured (doubtless, with sufficient cause) as haughty and overbearing: no arrangement, it was asserted, would ever result from discussions in which he was allowed to take part. The French ministry were glad to free themselves of any portion of the blame attached to the ill success which had attended the arms of the nation in the late contest, and to hold the company and its servants responsible for all failures. The bold and warlike policy of Dupleix had been deemed meritorious while successful: his brilliant and gainful exploits were, at one time, the theme of popular applause; but now, while struggling with unflagging energy against the tide of misfortune, his unbounded ambition and overweening self-conceit overlooked in prosperity, outweighed the remembrance of zeal, experience, and fidelity in the minds of the French Directory, and in August, 1754, a new governor-general, M. Godheu, arrived at Pondicherry, with authority to conclude a peace.* The English were permitted to retain the services of Mr. Saunders and others, well versed in local affairs, instead of being compelled to trust to commissioners newly arrived from Europe. The decision arrived at, though apparently equally fair for both sides, involved, on the part of the French, the sacrifice of all they had been fighting for. One clause of the treaty enacted, that all interference in the quarrels of native princes should be relinquished; and thus tacitly recognised Mohammed Ali as nabob of the Carnatic; another proviso† based the territorial arrangements of the two nations on the principle of equality, and if fulfilled, would entail the resignation of the valuable provinces called the Northern Circars,‡ lately bestowed on Bussy by Salabut Jung. This prince, it is true, was left subahdar of the Deccan, but the English had never attempted to oppose him. Indeed, the sudden death (attributed to poison),§ of Ghazi-oodeen, the eldest son of the old nizam, when approaching at the head of a large army to dispute the pretensions of his brother, had left Salabut Jung in the position of lineal heir, now that the Deccani viceroyalty, like that of Bengal, had come to be looked upon as an hereditary principality.

The treaty was infringed as soon as made. The English proceeded to reduce to obedience to their nabob the districts of Madura and Tinnivelly. The French, under Bussy, retained the circars, and continued to support Salabut Jung. In so doing, they unwillingly contributed to relieve Mohammed Ali from one of his great difficulties—the blockade of Trichinopoly by the Mysooreans.

Nunjeraj, justly repudiating the right of the French to make peace on his behalf, persisted in endeavouring to get possession of the fort, until the rumoured approach of a body of Mahrattas to levy contributions on the Mysoor frontier, and the simultaneous advance of Salabut Jung to demand tribute in the name of the Mogul, induced him suddenly to march homewards, to the infi-

* Dupleix immediately returned to France. His accounts with the French company showed a disbursement of nearly £400,000 beyond what he had received during the war. This claim was wholly set aside, upon the plea that expenses had been incurred without sufficient authority. He commenced a law-suit against the company for the recovery of monies spent in its behalf; but the royal authority was exercised to put a summary stop to these proceedings; and all the concession made to Dupleix was the grant of letters of protection against the prosecution of his creditors—which was nothing better than atoning for one injustice by committing another. The career of the proud governor—who had compelled his own countrymen to kneel before him, had threatened to reduce Madras to a mere fishing village, and of whom it had been boasted that his name was mentioned with fear even in the palace of ancient Delhi—terminated sadly enough in disputing over the wreck of his fortune, and soliciting audiences in the ante-chamber of his judges. Such at least is the account given by Voltaire, who adds emphatically, "Il en mourut bientôt de chagrin."—(*Précis du Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. xxxix.)

† "The two companies, English and French, shall renounce for ever all Moorish government and dignity, and shall never interfere in any differences that arise between the princes of the country."—(First article of Treaty, signed December, 1754.)

‡ Namely, Mustaphabad, Ellore, Rajahmundri, and Chicacole (anciently Calinga): these additions made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa, in an uninterrupted line of 600 miles.

§ Prepared by the mother of Nizam Ali.

Before quitting the intricate proceedings on the Coromandel coast, narrated in the foregoing pages, the reader may wish to glance over the annexed summary of the leading events in the south of India. Though chiefly a chronological recapitulation of facts already stated, it likewise anticipates some yet to be described. Having felt the want of "a chart" to illustrate the several territories and dynasties, I subjoin it as an assistance to others in the same position:—

STATES OF SOUTHERN INDIA CONNECTED WITH ENGLISH AND FRENCH CONTESTS IN THE CARNATIC IN THE 18TH CENTURY.

| *Name* . . . | DECCAN. | MAHRATTA. | CARNATIC. | MYSOOR. | TANJORE. | TRAVANCORE. | TRICHINOPOLY. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Capital* . . | HYDERABAD. | SATTARA AND POONA. | ARCOT. | SERINGAPATAM. | TANJORE. | TRAVANCORE. | TRICHINOPOLY. |
| *Dynasty* . . | *Mohammedan.* | *Hindoo.* | *Mohammedan.* | *Hindoo and Mohamd.* | *Hindoo.* | *Hindoo.* | *Hindoo and Mohamd.* |
| *Origin of state; founders or usurpers; successive rulers; and present political authority.* | Nizam-ool-Moolk, or *Asuf Jah*, vizier of the emperor Mohammed, and subahdar, or viceroy of the Deccan. In 1717 he assumed sovereignty over the remnant of the Mogul conquests in the south of India; died in 1748. Succession disputed: eldest son, *Ghazi-oo-deen*, supported by Mahrattas; poisoned by mother of his half-brother. *Nazir Jung*, second son, supported by English. *Moozuffer Jung* a grandson, supported by French; assassinated by Patans. *Salabut Jung*, another brother, substituted, but dethroned in turn by *Nizam Ali*, in 1761; who, in 1766, became by treaty an ally of, and had his territories protected by, the E. I. Cy., in return for the cession of the Northern Circars. In 1798, the French force at Hyderabad was entirely removed, in compliance with a treaty arranged by Lord Wellesley. | *Sevajee*, son of Shahjee, grandson of Malojee, who had a jaghire at Poona, consolidated the Mahrattas by conquests from Aurungzebe, kings of Beejapoor, Ahmednuggur, and others: died in 1680. *Sumbajee*, his son and successor, put to death by Aurungzebe: grandson, *Shao*, became a puppet in the hands of his minister the Peishwa, *Bajee Rao*, whose eldest son and successor, *Ballajee Bajee Rao*, obtained from Shao a transfer of real power, and became, in 1749, head of the Mahratta confederacy. Ballajee Bajee died in 1761. *Madhoo*, second son, a minor, succeeded with his uncle *Ragoba* as regent. Madhoo died in 1772: brother, Narrain, succeeded; murdered; Ragoba (Rugonath Rao) proclaimed peishwa. Territory now British. | *Saadut Oollah*, in 1706, appointed by the Mogul nabob or governor; died 1732—no male issue: nephew, *Dost Ali*, succeeded; defeated and slain by Mahrattas, 1740. *Sufder Ali*, his son and successor, assassinated: infant heir proclaimed nabob; stabbed by Patan soldiers. *Anwar-oo-deen*, proclaimed nabob by the nizam, in 1743; was slain in battle, in 1749; his son, *Mohammed Ali*, after various contests with Chunda Sahib and the French, remained in possession of that portion of the Carnatic recovered by British arms. In 1783, the English had to reconquer the Carnatic from Hyder Ali, the sultan of Mysoor. Before the close of the century, the whole authority passed into the hands of the E. I. Cy., and the nabob became a state pensioner. | *Arbiral*, the first recorded rajah, in 1507; in 1610, Seringapatam acquired, and other territories subsequently added. In 1714, *Nunjeraj* and another minister became the depositories of power, and the rajah a mere cipher. They were put down, and the throne usurped, in 1769, by a Mohammedan soldier of fortune, *Hyder Ali*, who ravaged the Carnatic by the aid of the French to the gates of Madras: died in 1782, and was succeeded by his son Tippoo, who carried on three wars against the British, and was slain at the capture of Seringapatam by the Marquess Wellesley, in 1799, when the Hindoo rajah was restored as a stipendiary of the E. I. Cy. The Mysoor territory has since been governed by British officers in the name of the rajah. | Occupied by *Veneajee*, a Mahratta chief, half-brother to Sevajee, in 1678. This state formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Madura. There was a lineal descent from Veneajee continued till the reign of *Toolja-jee*, son and successor of *Pertab Sing*, in 1772; the fort was then captured by the British on behalf of Mohammed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, who claimed tribute, —restored to the rajah in 1781, he becoming a subsidiary to the E. I. Cy. In 1799, Rajah Serfojee surrendered the country to the British, on whom he became a pensioner, with an income of £35,000 *per. an.* Serfojee died in 1832, and was succeeded by his only son, Sevajee, the present stipendiary. Tranquebar, in Tanjore, purchased by English from Danes in 1845. | Part of ancient Malabar, and a gynecocracy for many ages; until Martanden Wurmah persuaded the princesses to resign the future sovereignty to the male line. Between 1740 and 1755, Martanden subdued many petty neighbouring states. In 1784, it was included in a treaty between the E. I. Cy. and Mysoor. In 1789 the state was devastated by Tippoo Sultan, and in 1799 the rajah agreed by treaty to pay an annual subsidy for the maintenance of a British force in his dominions; in 1805 another and more stringent treaty was formed; in 1808 and in 1812, insurrections against British authority were suppressed; in 1832 rajah entrusted with the maintenance of internal peace; political control retained by the British government. | A Hindoo principality. In 1732 the rajah died without issue; one of his wives continued to reign until 1736, when *Chunda Sahib*, the ally of the French in the Carnatic, obtained possession by treachery; seized from him by the Mahrattas in 1741. The nizam gained possession in 1743, and delegated the government to Anwar-oo-deen; on his death, in 1749, the territory devolved on his second son, Mohammed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic. The fort was besieged by the French and their allies from 1751 to 1755, and defended by the English. Upon the transfer of the dominion of the Carnatic to the English E. I. Cy., Trichinopoly was incorporated with the Anglo-Indian empire. |

nite relief of the nabob. While the treaty was pending, a British squadron with reinforcements had been sent to India, under Admiral Watson, and the decided superiority thus given to the English probably accelerated the arrangement of affairs. Their services were now employed in the suppression of the systematic piracy carried on by the Angria family for nearly fifty years on the Malabar coast. The peishwa, or chief minister of the Mahratta state, viewed them in the light of rebellious subjects, and united with the English for their suppression. Early in 1755, the fort of Severndroog, and the island of Bancoot, were taken by Commodore James; and in the following year, Watson, in co-operation with Clive (then just returned from England with the appointment of governor of Fort St. David), captured Gheria, the principal harbour and stronghold of the pirates. The English and Mahrattas both coveted this position: the tactics of the former proved successful. Booty to the amount of £150,000 sterling was obtained, and its distribution occasioned disputes of a very discreditable character between the sea and land services. The partial biographer of Clive endeavours to set forth his hero on this, as on other occasions, as generous and disinterested; but few unprejudiced readers will be inclined to acquit him of fully sharing, what Sir John Malcolm himself describes as "that spirit of plunder, and that passion for the rapid accumulation of wealth, which actuated all ranks."—(i. 135.)

The scene of Anglo-Indian politics is about to change; the hostilities on the Coromandel coast serving but as the prelude to the more important political transactions of which the Calcutta presidency became the centre.

War of Bengal.—Ali Verdi Khan, subahdar or viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, died in 1756. Though in name a delegate of the Mogul emperor, he had long been virtually independent, and his power recognised as hereditary. In the absence of any nearer relative, this important government devolved on his grandson, Mirza Mahmood, a prince better known by his title of Surajah Dowlah. Ali Verdi had no sons: his three daughters married their cousins; and this youth, the offspring of one of these alliances, from his cradle remarkable for extraordinary beauty, became the object of excessive fondness on the part of his grandfather. Unrestrained indulgence took the place of careful training, and deepened the defects of a feeble intellect and a capricious disposition. To the vices incident to the enervating atmosphere of a seraglio, he is said to have added a tendency for society of the most degrading character; and as few of the courtiers chose to risk the displeasure of their future lord, with little chance of any effectual interference on the part of their present ruler, Surajah Dowlah was suffered to carry on a career of which even the annals of eastern despotism afford few examples. A Mohammedan writer emphatically declares, that "he carried defilement wherever he went,"* and became so generally detested, that people, on meeting him by chance, used to say, "God save us from him!"† The accession to irresponsible power of a youth of this character, could not fail to inspire a general feeling of apprehension. The English had special cause for alarm, inasmuch as the new ruler entertained strong prejudices in their disfavour. Some authorities state that Ali Verdi Khan, shortly before his death, had advised his destined successor to put down the growing military power of this nation; more probably he had urged the pursuance of his own gainful and conciliatory policy of exacting, at different times and occasions, certain contributions from all European settlements under his sway, taking care, at the same time, not to drive them into a coalition against his authority, or by any exorbitant demand to injure his permanent revenues by rendering their commerce unremunerative. Policy of this character was far beyond the comprehension of Surajah Dowlah. The plodding traders of Calcutta were, in his eyes, not as in reality agents and factors of a far distant association, but men of enormous private wealth, like the Hindoo soucars or bankers, whom one of his countrymen declared resembled sponges, which gathered all that came in their way, but returned all at the first pressure.‡ This pressure the English were now to receive: a pretext was easily found. The impending outbreak of European war would, it was evident, lead

* *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 646.

† The son of Mohammed Ali made this remark as a reason for employing Hindoo officials in preference to his fellow-believers, whom, he asserted, were like sieves—"much of what was poured in, went through."—(Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, i., 222.)

‡ The *one* wife of Ali Verdi Khan steadily befriended the English.—(Holwell's *Historical Events*, p. 176.)

to hostilities in India: they had, therefore, begun to take measures for the defence of the presidency. Surajah Dowlah, with whom a previous misunderstanding had occurred,* sent them an imperative order to desist, and received in return a deprecatory message, urging the necessity of taking measures against French invasion. The subahdar, remembering the neutrality enforced by his grandfather, deemed the excuse worse than the fault; and, although actually on the march against a rebellious relative, he abandoned this object, and advanced immediately to the factory at Cossimbazar, which at once surrendered, the few Europeans there having no means of offering any resistance. The tidings were received at Calcutta with dismay. The defensive proceedings, which had attracted the attention of the subahdar, must have been very partial; for the works, stores of ammunition, and artillery were all utterly insufficient to sustain a protracted siege. The garrison comprised 264 men, and the militia, formed of European and native inhabitants, 250;† but their training had been so little attended to, that when called out, scarcely any among them "knew the right from the wrong end of their muskets."‡ Assistance was entreated from the neighbouring Dutch settlement of Chinsura, but positively refused; and, in the urgent necessity of the case, the probability of impending warfare with the French did not deter the presidency from appealing to them for aid. The reply was an insolent intimation that it should be granted if the English would quit Calcutta, and remove their garrison and effects to Chandernagore; that is, put themselves completely into the power of their patronising protectors. The last resource —an endeavour to purchase immunity from Surajah Dowlah—failed, and an attempt at resistance followed. The military officers on the spot, of whom none ranked higher than a captain, were notoriously incompetent to direct a difficult defence; the civil authorities had neither energy nor presence of mind to counterbalance the deficiencies of their colleagues. To abandon the fort and retreat to shipboard was the common opinion; and, under the circumstances, no dishonour would have attended such a course, if judiciously carried out. But the thunder of the enemy without the walls, was less inimical to the safety of the inhabitants than the confusion, riot, and insubordination within, which, in the words of a modern historian, "made the closing scene of the siege one of the most disgraceful in which Englishmen were ever engaged."§ The intention of a general escape was frustrated by the miserable selfishness of those on whom it devolved to make arrangements for the safety of the whole. The men sent off with the women and children refused to return; and soon after the governor and commandant, with a select body of cowards, seized the last boats which remained at the wharf, and joined the ships which, partaking of the general panic, had dropped down the river. The inhabitants, thus abandoned to the power of a despot whose naturally cruel temper they believed to be inflamed by a peculiar hatred towards themselves, elected Mr. Holwell (a member of council) as their leader, and for two days continued the defence of the place, in the hope that some of the ships would return to their stations and answer the repeated calls for aid made by means of fiery signals thrown up from all parts of the town. These were indeed little needed, for the continued firing of the enemy proclaimed aloud their increasing danger. Orme, who has minutely examined the details of this discreditable business, declares, that "a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away all" those who remained to suffer a strange and terrible doom. No stronger illustration can be found of the manner in which selfishness and the greed of gain corrupt and extinguish the gentler instincts of humanity, and deprive men even of physical courage, than this affair.

Mr. Holwell strove, by throwing letters over the wall, to obtain terms of capitulation; but in vain. An assault, in which ninety-five of the garrison were killed or

* An uncle of Surajah Dowlah died governor of Dacca. His hopeful nephew at once resolved on plundering the widowed begum, or princess his aunt, with whom he had long been at open variance, of the enormous fortune she was supposed to have inherited, and sent orders for the imprisonment of the receivers and treasurers of the province: one of these—a Hindoo, named Kishendass, supposed to have accumulated great wealth—escaped to Calcutta. The subahdar sent to demand the fugitive; but the messenger entering the town in a sort of disguise, was treated by the president as an impostor, and dismissed with insult from the company's territory.

† Making 540 men, 174 being Europeans

‡ Holwell's *India Tracts*, 302.

§ Thornton's *British India*, i., 190.

wounded, was followed by direct insubordination on the part of the remainder of the common soldiers. They broke open the stores, and, all sense of duty lost in intoxication, rushed out of one gate of the fort, intending to escape to the river, just as the enemy entered by another. The inhabitants surrendered their arms, and the victors refrained from bloodshed. The subahdar, notwithstanding his character for inhumanity, showed no signs of it on this occasion, but took his seat in the chief apartment of the factory, and received the grandiloquent addresses of his officers and attendants with extreme elation; all angry feelings being merged in the emotions of gratified vanity at the victory thus absurdly overrated. The smallness of the sum found in the treasury (50,000 rupees) was a great disappointment; but when Mr. Holwell was carried into his presence with fettered hands, they were immediately set free; and notwithstanding some expressions of resentment at the English for the defence of the fort, he declared, upon the faith of a soldier, not a hair of their heads should be touched. The conference terminated about seven in the evening. Mr. Holwell returned to his companions in captivity, and the question arose how they were to be secured for the night. No suitable place could be found; and while the guards were searching about, the prisoners, relieved from fear by the unexpected gentleness of Surajah Dowlah, stood in groups, conversing together, utterly unsuspicious of their impending doom. The chief officer returned and announced that the only place of security he could find was the garrison prison. At this time (before the philanthropic labours of Howard) gaols, even in England, were loathsome dens; that of Calcutta was a chamber, eighteen feet long by fourteen broad, lit and ventilated by two small windows, secured by iron bars, and overhung by a verandah. Even for a dozen European malefactors this dungeon would have been insufferably close and narrow. The prisoners of the subahdar numbered 146 persons, including many English, whose constitutions could scarcely sustain the fierce heat of Bengal in this the summer season, even with the aid of every mitigation that art could invent or money purchase. They derided the idea of being shut up in the "Black Hole," as manifestly impossible. But the guards, hardened to the sight of suffering, and habitually careless of life, forced them all (including a half-cast woman, who clung to her husband) into the cell at the point of the sword, and fastened the door upon the helpless crowd. Holwell strove, by bribes and entreaties, to persuade an old man of some authority among the guards, to procure their separation into two places. He made some attempts, but returned, declaring that the subahdar slept, and none dared disturb him to request the permission, without which no change could be made in the disposition of the prisoners. The scene which ensued perhaps admits of but one comparison in horror—that one is the hold of a slave-ship. Some few individuals retained consciousness; and after hours of agony, surrounded by sights and sounds of the most appalling description, rendered up their souls tranquilly to their Creator and Redeemer, satisfied (we may hope), even under so trying a dispensation, that the dealings of Providence, though often inscrutable, are ever wise and merciful. Man, alas! often evinces little of either quality to his fellow-beings; and in this instance, while the captives, maddened by the double torment of heat and thirst, fought with each other like furious beasts to approach the windows, or to obtain a share in the pittance of water procured through the intervention of the one compassionate soldier, the other guards held lights to the iron bars, and shouted with fiendish laughter at the death-struggles of their victims.* Towards daybreak the tumult began to diminish; shrieks and groans gave place to a low fitful moaning; a sickly, pestilential vapour told the reason—the majority had perished: corruption had commenced; the few who remained were sinking fast. The fatal sleep of Surajah Dowlah at length ceased; the door was opened by his orders; the dead were piled up in heaps; and twenty-three ghastly figures (including the now widowed woman before mentioned) staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was immediately dug, into which the bodies of the murdered men, 123 in number, were promiscuously flung.

No shadow of regret seems to have been evinced by the subahdar for this horrible catastrophe.† The first flush of exultation had passed away, and feelings of pecuniary

* The detachment on guard had lost many men in the siege, and the survivors were merciless.

† Mr. Holwell and Mr. Cooke, another of the sufferers, gave a painfully interesting account of the whole catastrophe before a committee of the House of Commons.—(*Parl. Papers*, E. I. Cy., 1772.)

disappointment were now uppermost. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried into his presence, with some companions, and harshly interrogated regarding the treasures of the company. No satisfactory answer being obtained, they were all lodged in miserable sheds, fed on grain and water, and left to pass as they might the crisis of the fever, in which several who lived through the night of the 20th June, 1756, perished. The release of the survivors was eventually procured by the intercession of the grandmother of the prince,* and a merchant named Omichund.

A Moorish garrison of 3,000 men was placed in Fort William, and with reckless impiety the name of Calcutta changed to that of Alinagore (the port of God.) Surajah Dowlah then exacted from the Dutch a tribute of £45,000, and £35,000 from the French; better terms being accorded to the latter, in consideration of their having furnished 200 chests of gunpowder to the army while on their march to Calcutta.

Tidings of the fall of the settlement and the catastrophe of the Black Hole reached Madras in August, and were received with a general cry for vengeance. Even at such a time the old jealousies between the land and sea forces interposed to prevent immediate action, and two months were spent in discussing how the command was to be divided, and in what manner prizes were to be distributed. At the expiration of that time, Clive and Watson sailed from Madras with ten ships, having on board 900 European troops and 1,500 sepoys. The fugitives from Calcutta were found at Fulta, a town some distance down the Ganges, and offensive operations were commenced by the attack of a fort called Budge-Budge, situated on the river banks between the places above named. An unaccountable piece of carelessness on the part of Clive nearly occasioned the failure of the enterprise. While the ships cannonaded the fort, a number of the troops were to lay wait for the garrison, who it was expected, would abandon the place; instead of which the ambuscade was itself surprised by a body of the enemy while resting on the march, having neglected even the common precaution of stationing sentinels to keep guard in the broad daylight. The presence of mind of Clive, aided probably by his reputation for good fortune, enabled him to rally the soldiers with rapidity, and advance with steadiness and success against the irregular ranks of two or three thousand horse and foot who had stealthily approached amid the thick jungle. Monichund, governor of Calcutta, led the attack, and on receiving a ball in his turban, this commander, having "no courage, but much circumspection,"† turned his elephant, and decamped with his entire force. The fort was cannonaded by the ship (the *Kent*) which first reached the spot, and a general attack projected for the next morning, but prevented by the silent evacuation of the place.‡ The other posts on the Ganges were abandoned at the approach of the English, and Calcutta itself recaptured, after a siege of two hours. The merchandise belonging to the company remained, for the most part, untouched, having been reserved for Surajah Dowlah; but the houses of individuals had been totally plundered. Hooghly was next attacked, and a breach easily effected; the troops mounted the rampart, and the garrison took to flight, leaving in the place a large amount of property.

Intelligence of the renewal of hostilities between England and France, reached the armament at this period. The French in Bengal had a force of 300 Europeans and a train of field-artillery. Their union with Surajah Dowlah would give him an overpowering degree of superiority; it was therefore manifestly politic to take immediate advantage of the desire for an accommodation with which the issue of the contest had inspired him.

In February, 1757, a treaty was formed, by which the subahdar—or, as he is commonly called, the nabob—consented to restore to the English their former privileges; to make compensation for the plunder of

* The widow of Ali Verdi Khan, before mentioned.

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 123. The total loss of the English in this affair does not appear. Orme mentions thirteen men killed. Clive, in a private letter to Mr. Pigot, remarks, that "our loss in the skirmish near Budge-Budge was greater than could well be spared if such skirmishes were to be often repeated."—(*Life*, i., 153.)

‡ The attack was deferred on account of the fatigue of the troops. A body of 250 sailors were landed in the evening, and refreshed themselves by becoming extremely drunk. One of them, about dusk, straggled across the moat, scrambled up the rampart, and, meeting with no opposition in the deserted citadel, hallooed loudly to the advanced guards in the village that he had taken the place. Sepoys were stationed round the walls. Others of the intoxicated sailors coming up to share the triumph of their comrade, mistook the sentinels for foes, and fired their pistols. In the confusion an officer was killed. The seamen, on returning to their ships, were flogged for misconduct: the man who had discovered the flight of the garrison did not escape; upon which he swore in great wrath never to take a fort again.

Calcutta; and to permit the erection of fortifications. This arrangement was speedily followed by an alliance, offensive and defensive, eagerly ratified by both parties. The peace which followed was of short duration. The English impatiently desired to retaliate on the French their late conduct; and demanded the consent, if not the co-operation of their new ally, which he long refused, declaring with truth, that having no cause of enmity to either party, it was alike a point of duty and interest to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Beneath this ostensible reason, another existed in his desire to preserve terms with the French in the event of a rupture with the English. The invasion and capture of Delhi by Ahmed Shah Abdalli, and the fear of an advance upon Bengal, for a time banished all other schemes. The nabob clung to his European allies as an efficient defence; but a restless inquietude nevertheless possessed him; for the ability to protect was accompanied by an equal power of destruction. At length, the peremptory demand and threats of Watson and Clive, backed by the arrival of reinforcements, with well-directed bribes to underlings, extorted from him a reluctant permission to "act according to the time and occasion."* This oracular phrase was considered to imply consent to the attack of Chandernagore, which was immediately proceeded with, notwithstanding subsequent direct and repeated prohibitions.

The French conducted the defence with gallantry; but the combined force of the land and sea divisions proved irresistible. Admiral Watson evinced extraordinary seamanship in bringing two of his vessels (the *Kent* and *Tiger*) abreast the fort; and after three hours' firing the besieged capitulated. Chandernagore, like Calcutta, comprised a European and native town with a fort, and stretched over territory which, commencing at the southern limits of the Dutch settlement of Chinsura, extended two miles along the banks of the river, and about one-and-a-half inland. Clive was delighted at the conquest, considering it of more consequence than would have been that of Pondicherry itself,† which he hoped would follow. To "induce the nabob to give up all the French factories," and "drive them out, root and branch,"‡—this and nothing less was now attempted. But Surajah Dowlah was never less inclined to so impolitic a procedure, than after the taking of Chandernagore. The exploits of the ships of war had filled him with consternation: it is even asserted that he had been made to believe they could be brought up the Ganges close to his own capital—an operation which he immediately took measures to prevent, by causing the mouth of the Cossimbazar river to be dammed up.§ The idea of counterbalancing the power of the English by that of the French, was a natural and judicious one; but he had neither judgment nor self-reliance for its execution. Old in dissipation, he was young in years and in all useful experience. Vicious habits,|| and an ungovernable tongue, had alienated from him the affections of the chosen friends and servants of his grandfather; and they viewed with disgust the contrast afforded to the provident habits and courteous bearing of their late ruler by his profligate successor. Scarcely one voice appears to have been raised up to warn the unhappy youth of the growing disaffection of his subjects. The haughty Mussulman nobles were incensed by his insulting demeanour; and the Hindoos had still stronger grounds for estrangement. Under all Mohammedan governments, the financial departments were almost solely entrusted to this thrifty and calculating race. The Brahminical and mercantile classes were treated with that solid respect, which those who wield the sword usually pay to those who keep the purse. By unwearied application and extreme personal frugality, the seits or soucars frequently accumulated immense wealth, which they well knew how to employ, both for purposes of augmentation and for the establishment of political influence. Their rulers lavished enormous sums on wars and pageants; and though sometimes violent means were used to obtain stores of hidden wealth, the more frequent course adopted by princes to raise supplies was through orders on the revenue, in the negotiation of which the bankers contrived to make a double profit. Ali Verdi Khan had understood the value of these auxiliaries, and the importance of conciliating their confidence. Under his sway Hindoos filled

* Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 140.

† Clive describes Chandernagore as "a most magnificent and rich colony; the garrison consisted of more than 500 Europeans and blacks, all carrying arms: 360 are prisoners, and nearly 100 have been suffered to give their parole, consisting of civil, military, and inhabitants. Nearly sixty white ladies are rendered miserable by the loss of this place."—(Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, i., 196.)

‡ *Idem.*, p. 196.

§ Parker's *Transactions in the East Indies*, 57.

|| He threatened Juggut Seit with circumcision, the worst insult that could be offered to a Hindoo.

the highest offices of the state. Ram Narrain, the governor of Patna, and Rajah Ram of Midnapoor, were the chief of the managers and renters. Roydullub, the dewan or minister of finance, was likewise a person of great influence—the more so from his intimate connection with Juggut Seit, the representative of the wealthiest soucar, or banking firm in India. This last, by means of his extended transactions, possessed equal influence at Lucknow,* Delhi, and at Moorshedabad. Most of these persons, with the addition of Monichund, the temporary governor of Calcutta, Surajah Dowlah had offended in different ways;† and he especially resented the sense evinced by the Hindoos generally of the rising power of the English. The result was a determination to subvert his government. The chief conspirator was the bukshee, or military commander of the army, Meer Jaffier Khan, a soldier of fortune, promoted by Ali Verdi to the highest military rank, and further exalted by a marriage with a member of the reigning family. Omichund, a wealthy Hindoo merchant, long resident in Calcutta, and intimately associated by commercial dealings with the E. I. Cy., became the medium of conveying to the English overtures to join the plot. Clive at once advocated compliance, on the ground that sufficient evidence existed of the intention of the nabob to join with the French for their destruction. It certainly appears that a correspondence was actually being carried on with Bussy, but to little effect, since the precarious state of politics at the court of Salabut Jung rendered his continuance there of the first importance. Still Clive argued that the conduct of the nabob sufficed to release his countrymen from their solemn pledge, and justified them in entering into a plot with the treacherous ministers; and his strong will weighed down the opposition offered in discussing the question by a committee of the Calcutta presidency. To oppose the vacillating, cowardly intrigues of Surajah Dowlah with fraud and perjury, was decided to be a more promising course than to remain in the narrow path of honest dealing. Meer Jaffier promised, in the event of success, large donations to the company, the army, navy, and committee. Clive declared Surajah Dowlah to be "a villain," and Meer Jaffier "a man as generally esteemed as the other was detested."—(Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, i., 263.)

The conduct of the chief person on this occasion, strongly supports the much-criticised opinion of Mill—that deception never cost him a pang. Vague rumours of the plot reached the nabob; and Clive, to dispel his suspicions, wrote to him "in terms so affectionate, that they for a time lulled the weak prince into perfect security."‡ The courier conveyed a second missive of the same date, from the same hand, addressed to Mr. Watts, the British resident at Moorshedabad—in which, after referring to the "soothing letter"§ above alluded to, Clive adds, "Tell Meer Jaffier to fear nothing; that I will join him with 5,000 men who never turned their backs; and that if he fails seizing him, we shall be strong enough to drive him out of the country. Assure him I will march night and day, as long as I have a man left."‖ The protestations of Clive gained force in the mind of the deluded nabob, through a circumstance which occurred at this period. The Mahrattas, who had long been encroaching on the fertile provinces of Bengal, thought the unpopularity and known inefficiency of its present ruler afforded a favourable opportunity for an attempt at its complete subjugation. The capture of Cossimbazar and Calcutta would, the peishwa Ballajee Bajee Rao conceived, render the English willing to enter into a coalition against the nabob, and the co-operation of the troops in the invasion of Bengal was solicited; the compensation offered being the repayment of double the amount of the losses sustained from Surajah Dowlah, and the vesting of the commerce of the Ganges exclusively in the E. I. Cy. Some doubt was entertained as to the authenticity of this communication. It was even surmised to have been a trick on the part of Surajah Dowlah; and as the assistance of the Mahrattas was by no means desirable

* The capital of the viceroy of Oude.

† The copy of a letter found at Moorshedabad, after the fatal battle of Plassey, addressed by the nabob to Bussy, contains allusions to the seizure of Chandernagore, and offered co-operation against "these disturbers of my country, Dileer Jung Bahadur, the *valiant in battle* (Watson), and Sabut Jung (Clive), whom bad fortune attend!"

‡ *Vide* Stewart's *History of the Deccan*, ii., 498; and the translation of the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, published at Calcutta in 1789.—(i., 758-'9.)

§ The words of Macaulay, one of Mill's censurers.

‖ The following is an extract from one of Admiral Watson's letters to the nabob:—"Let us take Chandernagore," he writes, "and secure ourselves from any apprehensions in that quarter, and then we will assist you with every man in our power, and go with you even to Delhi, if you will. Have we sworn reciprocally that the friends and enemies of the one should be regarded as such by the other? and will not God, the avenger of perjury, punish us if we do not fulfil our oaths?"—(Parker's *East Indies*, p. 78.)

in the scheme already set on foot, the letter was at once forwarded to the nabob as affording, in either case, evidence of the good faith of his allies. It proved to be authentic; and all the effect expected resulted from its transmission. But the execution of a plan in which many jarring interests were concerned, necessarily involved numerous dangers. At one moment a violent quarrel between the nabob and Meer Jaffier threatened to occasion a premature disclosure of the whole plot. This danger was averted by a reconciliation, in which that "estimable person," Meer Jaffier, swore upon the Koran fidelity to his master, after having a few days before, given a similar pledge to his English confederates in the projected usurpation. Clive had his full share of what Napoleon would have styled "dirty work" to do in the business. When all things were arranged, Omichund suddenly declared himself dissatisfied with the amount of compensation* allotted to him in the division of the spoil planned by the conspirators. His services at this crisis were invaluable, and his influence with the nabob had repeatedly been the means of concealing the plot. The demand of thirty lacs of rupees (£350,000), was accompanied by an intimation of the danger of refusal. Whether Omichund really intended to risk the reward already agreed on, together with his own life, by betraying a transaction in which he had from the first borne a leading part, may well be doubted; but Clive took an easy method of terminating the discussion by consenting to the exorbitant stipulation. Omichund likewise insisted on the agreement regarding himself being inserted in the treaty between the English and Meer Jaffier. Clive seemingly complied. Two treaties were drawn up, one on white paper, the other on red; in the former, Omichund's name was not mentioned; the latter, which was to be shown to him, contained the specified proviso. The honesty of Admiral Watson had nearly defeated this manœuvre. He positively refused to sign the false treaty. Omichnud would at once suspect some reason for this omission. Clive removed the difficulty by causing a Mr. Lushington to forge the important name.

Hostility to the nabob was now openly professed. The English force marched against him, sending forward a letter equivalent to a declaration of war. Surajah Dowlah dispatched an appeal for aid to the French, assembled his troops, and prepared to encounter a foreign foe, unsuspicious of the treachery at work within his camp. The courage of Meer Jaffier failed; doubt and fear, in the hour of danger, overpowered ambition: he hesitated; and instead of immediately coming over to Clive, at Cossimbazar, with his division, as had been agreed upon, he advanced with the nabob to Plassy. The position of the English became extremely perilous: the strength of the enemy twenty times outnumbered theirs. The ford of the Hooghly lay before them, easily crossed; but over which not one man might ever be able to return. Clive called a council of war for the first and last time in his whole career, probably as a cloak for his own misgivings, since he voted first, and doubtless influenced the majority in deciding that it would be imprudent to risk an advance.† This

* The position of Omichund, with regard to the English, was peculiar. He had been connected with them in the affairs of commerce about forty years, and was looked upon as a person of great importance, both on account of his mercantile transactions, which extended to all parts of Bengal and Bahar, and the magnitude of his private fortune. His habitation is described by Orme as having been on a splendid scale, and divided into various departments, resembling rather the abode of a prince than of a merchant. Besides numerous domestic servants, he maintained (as is frequent among eastern nobles) a retinue of armed men in constant pay. When news of the approach of Surajah Dowlah reached Calcutta, the local authorities, among other vague fears, suspecting Omichund of being in league with the enemy, seized and imprisoned him. An attempt was made to capture the person of his brother-in-law, who had taken refuge in the apartments of the women; but the whole of Omichund's peons, to the number of 300, rose in resistance, and the officer in command (a Hindoo of high cast), fearing that some indignity might be sustained by the females, set fire to the harem, and killed no less than thirteen with his own hand, after which he stabbed himself, though (contrary to his intention) not mortally. This melancholy catastrophe did not prevent Mr. Holwell from soliciting the intervention of Omichund to procure terms of capitulation from Surajah Dowlah; and his conduct at this time totally removed the suspicions previously entertained. On the capture of the place, 400,000 rupees were plundered from his treasury, and much valuable property of different descriptions seized; but his person was set at liberty, and a favourable disposition evinced towards him by the nabob, of which he took advantage to procure the restoration of his losses in money, and likewise in soliciting the release of the survivors of the massacre, who were fed by his charity, and in great measure restored to liberty through his entreaties.

† The following is a list of the officers of this council, and the way in which they voted:—*For delay*—Robt. Clive; James Kirkpatrick; Archd. Grant; Geo. Fred. Goupp; Andrew Armstrong; Thos. Rumbold; Christian Firkan; John Corneille; H. Popham. *For immediate attack*—Eyre Coote, G. Alex. Grant; G. Muir; Chas. Palmer; Robt. Campbell; Peter Carstairs; W. Jennings.—(*Life of Clive*, i., 258.)

was an unusual opinion for "Sabut Jung" the daring in war, to form, and it was not a permanent one. Passing away from the meeting, gloomy and dissatisfied, he paced about for an hour beneath the shade of some trees, and, convinced on reflection that the hesitation of Meer Jaffier would give place to re-awakened ambition, he resolved to reverse the decision in which he had so lately concurred; and, returning to the camp, gave orders to make ready for the passage of the river.* The army crossed on the following morning, and, at a little past midnight, took up its position in a grove of mango trees† near Plassy, within a mile of the wide-spread camp of the enemy.

The sound of drums and cymbals kept Clive waking all night; and Surajah Dowlah, overpowered by vague fears and gloomy apprehensions, passed the remaining hours of darkness in upbraiding and complaint.‡ At sunrise his army, marshalled in battle array, commenced moving towards the grove in which the English were posted. The plain seemed alive with multitudes of infantry, supported by troops of cavalry, and bearing with them fifty pieces of ordnance of great size, drawn by long teams of white oxen, and propelled by elephants arrayed in scarlet cloth and embroidery. Beside these, were some smaller but more formidable guns, under the direction of Frenchmen.§ The force to oppose this mighty host numbered, in all, only 3,000 men, but of these nearly 1,000 were English. Conspicuous in the ranks were the men of the 39th regiment, who that day added to the inscriptions on their colours the name of Plassy, and the motto, *Primus in India*. Of hard fighting there was but little; treachery supplied its place. The action began by a distant cannonade, in which some of the few officers, still true to a falling cause, perished by the skilfully-directed fire of the "hat-wearers," who, says Hussein Gholam Khan, "have no equals in the art of firing their artillery and musketry with both order and rapidity."|| Several hours were spent in this manner. At length Meer-meden, one of the two chief leaders of the adverse force, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball. He was carried to the tent of the prince, and expired while explaining the arrangements he had made for the battle. Driven to desperation by witnessing the death of his faithful servant, Surajah Dowlah summoned Meer Jaffier to his presence, and bade him revenge the death of Meer-meden; at the same time, placing his own turban at the foot of his treacherous relative—the most humiliating supplication a Mohammedan prince could offer—he besought him to forget past differences, and to stand by the grandchild of his benefactor (Ali Verdi Khan), now that his life, his honour, and his throne, were all at stake. Meer Jaffier replied to this appeal by treacherously advising immediate retreat into the trenches; and the fatal order was issued, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrance of the Hindoo general, Mohun Lall, who predicted the utter confusion which would ensue. Meer Jaffier had unsuccessfully endeavoured to convey a letter to Clive, advising the immediate attack of the nabob's camp; now, perceiving the fortune of the day decided, he remained, as before, stationary with his division of the army, amid the general retreat. Surajah Dowlah, on witnessing the inaction of so large a part of the force, comprehended at once his betrayal; and on beholding the English advancing, mounted a camel and fled to Moorshedabad, accompanied by 2,000 horsemen. In fact, no other course remained to one incapable of taking the lead in his own person; for to such an extent had division spread throughout the Mohammedan troops, that no officer, even if willing to fight for his rightful master, could rely on the co-operation of any other commander. The little band of Frenchmen alone strove to confront the English, but were rapidly carried away by the tide of fugitives. Of the vanquished, 500 were slain. The conquerors lost but twenty-two killed and fifty wounded; they gained not merely the usual spoils of war in

* This is the account given by Orme, who probably heard the circumstances from Clive himself. Scrafton attributes the colonel's change of mind to a letter received from Meer Jaffier in the course of the day.—(*Reflections*, p. 85.)

† Regularly planted groves or woods of tall fruit trees are very common in India: that of Plassy was a square of about two miles in circuit; but it has been neglected, and is now much diminished.

‡ The despondency of the nabob, says Orme, increased as the hour of danger approached. His attendants, by some carelessness left his tent unguarded, and a common person, either through ignorance, or with a view to robbery, entered unperceived. The prince, at length recognising the intruder, started from the gloomy reflections in which he had been absorbed, and recalled his servants with the emphatic exclamation,—"Sure they see me dead!"—(*Military Transactions*, i., 172.)

§ Orme states the force of the enemy at 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and fifty pieces of cannon. Clive says 35,000 foot, 15,000 horse, and forty pieces of cannon.—(*Letter to Secret Committee of E. I. Cy.*)

|| *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 766.

abundance—baggage and artillery-waggons, elephants and oxen—but paramount authority over a conquered province, larger and more populous than their native country.

The conduct of Meer Jaffier had been by no means unexceptionable, even in the sight of his accomplices. He had played for a heavy stake with a faltering hand—a species of cowardice for which Clive had no sympathy; nevertheless, it was expedient to overlook all minor occasions of quarrel at this critical moment, and proclaim the traitor subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Meer Jaffier marched to Moorshedabad. Surajah Dowlah learned his approach with a degree of terror that prevented him from forming any plan of defence: deserted on all sides, he strove to conciliate the alienated affections of the military commanders by lavish gifts; and at length, after balancing between the advice given by his counsellors —to throw himself upon the mercy of the English, or again try the fortune of war—he renounced both attempts, and accompanied by his consort, his young daughter, and several other females, quitted the palace at dead of night, carrying with him a number of elephants laden with gold, jewels, and baggage of the most costly description.* Had he proceeded fearlessly by land in the broad daylight, it is possible that many of the local authorities would have rallied round his standard; but instead of taking a bold course, he embarked in some boats for Plassy, hoping to be able to effect a junction with a party of the French under M. Law, who, at the time of the battle of Patna, was actually marching to his assistance. This proceeding removed all obstacles from the path of Meer Jaffier, and his installation was performed with as much pomp as circumstances would permit. At the last moment, either from affected humility or a misgiving as to the dangerous and troublesome nature of power treacherously usurped, he hesitated and refused to take possession of the sumptuously-adorned musnud, or pile of cushions, prepared for him. Clive, having vainly tried persuasion, took his hand, and placing him on the throne, kept him down by the arm while he presented the customary homage—a nuzzur, or offering of gold mohurs, on a salver. The act was sufficiently significative; thenceforth the subahdars of Bengal existed in a degree of dependence on the foreign rulers by whom they were nominated, with which that formerly paid to the most powerful of the Great Moguls bears no comparison.

This public ceremonial was followed by a private meeting among the confederates to divide the spoil. Whether the extravagance of Surajah Dowlah, during his fifteen months' sway, had exhausted a treasury previously drained by Mahratta wars and subsidies, or whether Meer Jaffier and his countrymen succeeded in outwitting their English associates, and secretly possessed themselves of the lion's share,† remains an open question; but it appears that the funds available, amounted only to 150 lacs of rupees—a sum far short of that which had been reckoned upon in the arrangement previously made. One large claim was repudiated in a very summary manner. When Meer Jaffier, and the few persons immediately concerned in the plot, adjourned to the house of Juggut Seit, to settle the manner of carrying out the treaty, Omichund followed as a matter of course. He had no suspicion of the deceit practised upon him; for "Clive, with dissimulation surpassing even the dissimulation of Bengal, had, up to that day, treated him with undiminished kindness."‡ Not being invited to take his seat on the carpet, Omichund, in some surprise, withdrew to the lower part of the hall, and waited till he should be summoned to join the conference.§

* Orme says that Surajah Dowlah escaped by night from a window of the palace, accompanied only by a favourite concubine and a eunuch; but Gholam Hussein, who, besides his usual accuracy, may be expected to be well informed on the subject, makes the statements given in the text, and confirms them by much incidental detail.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 7; *see* also Scott's *Bengal*, ii., 371.)

† The interpreter of Clive—a renegade Frenchman, called Mustapha, who translated the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*—states in a note (i., 773), that the English never suspected the existence of an inner treasury said to contain eight crores (eight million sterling), kept, in pursuance of a custom common in India, in the zenana or women's apartments. In corroboration, various circumstances are adduced in the history of the individuals whom he asserts to have been participants in the secret, to prove their having derived immense wealth from some hidden source. Among others Mini Begum, the favourite wife of Meer Jaffier Khan, who survived him, possessed an immense fortune, although her husband was constantly involved in disturbances with the soldiery from real or affected inability to discharge their arrears of pay.

‡ Macaulay's *Essay on Life of Clive*, p. 50.

§ Admiral Watson was not of the party. He died in the course of the year of a malignant fever which prevailed on the coast. Captain Brereton, when questioned before parliament regarding the deception practised on Omichund, bore witness that the admiral had stigmatised the conduct of Clive as "dishonourable and iniquitous."—(Parl. Reports, iii., 151.)

The white treaty was produced and read; its various stipulations (including the utter expulsion of the French from Bengal) were confirmed, and the pecuniary claims of the English met by the immediate payment of one-half—two-thirds in money, and one-third in plate and jewels; the other portion to be discharged in three equal annual payments.*

At length Omichund became uneasy at the total disregard evinced of his presence. On coming forward, he caught sight of the document just read, and exclaimed—"There must be some mistake; the general treaty was on red paper!" Clive, who during his long residence in India never acquired a knowledge of any Indian language, turned to Mr. Scrafton, one of the servants of the company, then acting as interpreter, and said—"It is time to undeceive Omichund." This was easily done; the few words in Hindostanee, "The red treaty was a trick, Omichund—you are to have nothing," were soon spoken; but the bystanders could scarcely have been prepared for the result. The Hindoo was avaricious to the heart's core; and this sudden disappointment, aimed at the tenderest point, and aggravated by feelings of anger and humiliation, came like the stroke of death. He swooned, and was carried to his stately home, where, after remaining many hours in a state of the deepest gloom, he began to exhibit symptoms of insanity. Some days after he visited Clive, who, probably unwilling to recognise the full extent of the ruin he had wrought, strove to soothe the old man by promises of procuring favourable terms with the company regarding certain contracts which he held from them; and even spoke of him, in an official despatch, as "a person capable of rendering great services, and therefore not wholly to be discarded."† This statement is, however, quite incompatible with the description of Orme, who declares that Omichund, after being carried a senseless burthen from the house of Juggut Seit,‡ never rallied, but sank from insanity to idiocy. Contrary to the custom of the aged in Hindostan, and especially to his former habits and strong reason, Omichund, now an imbecile, went about decked in gaudy clothing and costly jewels, until his death, in the course of about eighteen months, terminated the melancholy history. Such a transaction can need no comment, at least to those who believe that in all cases, under all circumstances, a crime is of necessity a blunder.§ In the present instance there could be no second opinion on the point, except as regarded the private interests of the persons concerned in the division of spoil found in the treasury of the deposed prince. The commercial integrity of the English had laid the foundation of the confidence reposed in them by the natives, whether Mohammedan or Hindoo: the alliance of Juggut Seit and other wealthy bankers had been procured chiefly by this means. Omichund, in his endeavours to allay the suspicions of Surajah Dowlah, had declared that the English were famous throughout the world for their good faith, inasmuch that a man in England, who, *on any occasion*, told a lie, was utterly disgraced, and never after admitted to the society of his former friends and ac-

* Clive, in a letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated Moorshedabad, 26th July, after giving some details of the battle, says—"The substance of the treaty with the present nabob is as follows:—1st. Confirmation of the mint and all other grants and privileges in the treaty with the late nabob. 2ndly. An alliance, offensive and defensive, against all enemies whatsoever. 3rdly. The French factories and effects to be delivered up, and they never to be permitted to resettle in any of the provinces. 4thly. One hundred lacs (£1,000,000) to be paid to the company in consideration of their losses at Calcutta, and the expenses of the campaign. 5thly. Fifty lacs (£500,000) to be given to the English sufferers at the loss of Calcutta. 6thly. Twenty lacs (£200,000) to Gentoos, Moors, &c., black sufferers at the loss of Calcutta. 7thly. Seven lacs (£70,000) to the Armenian sufferers: these three last donations to be distributed at the pleasure of the admiral and gentlemen of the council, including me. 8thly. The entire property of all lands within the Mahratta ditch, which runs round Calcutta, to be vested in the company: also 600 yards all round, without the said ditch. 9thly. The company to have the zemindary of the country to the south of Calcutta, lying between the lake and the river, and reaching as far as Culpee, they paying the customary rents paid by the former zemindars to the government. 10thly. Whenever the assistance of the English troops shall be wanted, their extraordinary charges to be paid by the nabob. 11thly. No forts to be erected by the government on the river side, from Hooghly downwards." Clive carefully avoided all mention of the separate treaties for the payment of monies in which he had the chief share.—(*See* Note in ensuing page.)

† *Life of Clive*, i., 289.

‡ The amount of the reward received by Juggut Seit does not appear. If at all in proportion to his previous wealth, it must have been very large. At the time of the plunder of Moorshedabad by the Mahrattas, in 1742, two million and a-half sterling in Arcot rupees were taken from the treasury of himself and his brother; notwithstanding which they continued to grant bills at sight, of one crore each.

§ "Using no arguments but such as Machiavelli might have employed in his conferences with Borgia," remarks Macaulay, "Clive committed not merely a crime but a blunder."—(*Essay*, p. 51.)

quaintances.* This invaluable prestige of honest dealing was placed in imminent jeopardy by Clive; and years afterwards, rank and wealth failed to preserve him from learning, with anger and bitter humiliation, that forgery and lying were vices which, in the sight of his countrymen at large, could not be atoned for by the most brilliant successes. With regard to the enormous sums accepted, or, in other words, seized by English officials, both civil and military, from the treasury of Bengal, that also seems to resolve itself into a very simple question. If, like Morari Rao, they had been professed leaders of mercenary troops, selling their services to the highest bidder, there could have been no doubt that, after their own fashion of reasoning, they would have well earned the stipulated reward. But Clive and his compeers were not masters, but servants; the troops under their command were, like themselves, in the pay of the nation or the company; and it was unquestionably from the government or the Court of Directors (to the latter of whom Clive repeatedly affirmed that he "owed everything"),† and from them only, that rewards should have been received.

Years afterwards, when sternly questioned respecting the proceedings of this period, Clive declared that on recollecting the heaps of gold and silver coin piled up in masses, crowned with rubies and diamonds, through which he passed in the treasury of Moorshedabad, he could not but view with surprise his own moderation in only taking (as it appeared)‡ to the extent of twenty to thirty lacs of rupees—that is, between £200,000 and £300,000. This "moderation"§ was, however, of brief continuance; for, some time afterwards, on the plea of desiring means wherewith to maintain a Mogul dignity conferred on him, he intimated to Meer Jaffier the propriety of its being accompanied by a jaghire (or estate for the support of a military contingent.)|| In their relative positions a hint was a command, and the quit-rent paid by the E. I. Cy. for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta, amounting to nearly £30,000 sterling per annum, was forthwith ceded.

To return to the general narrative. Surajah Dowlah and his female companions reached Raj Mahal on the third night after leaving Moorshedabad. Exhausted with fatigue, and famishing with hunger, they landed, took refuge in a deserted garden, and began to prepare a mess of rice and pulse (called kichery), the common food of the country. While engaged in this unwonted task, the fugitives were discovered by a man of low condition, whose ears had been cut off by order of Surajah Dowlah a twelvemonth before. Dissembling his vengeful feelings, he affected compassion and respect for the prince, and assisted in the preparation of the meal, but secretly sent word to the soldiers engaged in pursuit where to find the object of their search. At this very time, Law and his detachment were within three hours' march of Raj Mahal; but they were driven from place to place by a party under Major Coote, and eventually expelled from Bengal; while Surajah Dowlah was seized by the emissaries of Meer Jaffier, laden with chains, treated with every species of cruelty compatible with the preservation of life, and dragged through Moorshedabad, to the presence of his successor. It was noon; but Meer Jaffier, though seated on the musnud, had taken his daily dose of bang,¶ and was incapable of giving instructions regarding the treatment of the prisoner. His son Meeran, a lad of about seventeen, took upon himself to decide the question. This mere boy, educated in the harem, and remarkably effeminate both in dress and speech, possessed a heart no less callous to the gentler feelings of humanity than that of an old and unprincipled politician, hardened in the world's ways. "Pity and compassion," he said, "spoilt business." It scarcely needed the murmuring and dissension which pervaded the army, when the capture and ignominious treatment of their late ruler became known, to decide his fate.

* Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 137.

† Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, i., 182.

‡ Clive cautiously abstained from any explicit statement of the sums acquired by him on various pretences; and his fellow-officials, as far as possible, refrained from acknowledging the extent of his extortions or their own, even when sharply cross-examined before parliament.

§ In a letter addressed to Mr. Pigot, dated August, 1757, Clive speaks of his "genteel competence," and "a possible reverse of fortune," as reasons for desiring to leave Bengal. Mr. Pigot probably sympathised with him, for he himself accumulated a fortune of £400,000, chiefly (according to Mr. Watts) by lending money at high interest to the nabob, the chiefs, and managers of provinces—a practice, says Sir John Malcolm, then too common to be considered as in any way discreditable.—(ii., 251.)

|| *Vide* his own evidence before the House of Commons. Such a solicitation was clearly opposed to the duty of a servant of the E. I. Cy. and a Lieutenant-colonel in the British army.—(Parl. Papers, vol. iii., p. 154.)

¶ An intoxicating beverage, made from hemp.

Meeran caused him to be confined in a small chamber near his own apartments, and then summoning his personal friends, asked which of them would serve the existing administration, by removing the only obstacle to its permanency. One after another peremptorily rejected the dastardly office; at length it was accepted by a man under peculiar obligations to the parents of the destined victim, in conjunction with a favourite servant of Meeran's. On beholding the entrance of the assassins, Surajah Dowlah at once guessed their purpose. "They will not suffer me even to live in obscurity!" he exclaimed; and then requested that water might be provided for the performance of the purification commanded by the Koran before death. A large vessel which stood at hand was emptied rudely over him, and he was hewn down by repeated sabre strokes; "several of which fell," says the Mohammedan historian, "on a face renowned all over Bengal for regularity of feature and sweetness of expression." The memory of a past deed of violence came over the prince in this terrible hour, and he died declaring, in allusion to an officer whom he had tyrannically caused to be executed in the streets of Moorshedabad, "Hussein Kooli, thou art avenged!" *

The morning after this event Meer Jaffier visited Clive, and, in the words of the former, "thought it necessary to palliate the matter on motives of policy." Clive does not appear to have deemed any excuse necessary; but the truth was, his own neglect had been unjustifiable, in not taking precautionary measures to guard at least the life of a ruler deposed by a conspiracy in which the English played the leading part. No effort was made to protect even the female relatives † of the murdered prince from cruel indignities at the hands of Meer Jaffier and his son, and his consort and infant daughter were robbed of all the valuables about them, and sent into confinement in a manner calculated to inflict indelible disgrace on Mohammedan females of rank.

In Calcutta all was triumph and rejoicing. Few stopped to think, amid the excitement created by the tide of wealth fast pouring in, of past calamities or future cares. It was a momentous epoch; the step once taken was irrevocable; the company of traders had assumed a new position—henceforth to be rulers and lawgivers, with almost irresponsible sway over a territory far larger and more populous than their native land. It may be doubted if the directors at home gave much heed to these considerations; their representatives in India certainly did not, each one being fully occupied in gathering the largest possible share of the spoil. The monies stipulated for in restitution of the damage inflicted in Calcutta, with those demanded on behalf of the squadron, army, and committee, amounted to £2,750,000, besides donations to individuals.‡ The company received property to the amount of £1,500,000, and territorial revenues valued by Clive at £100,000 a-year. A fleet of 100 boats, with flags flying and music playing, bore to Fort William £800,000 in coined silver alone, besides plate and jewels, as the first instalment of the promised reward.

Leaving the Bengal functionaries in the enjoyment of wealth and influence, it is necessary to narrate the cotemporary proceedings of the Madras presidency.

Affairs in the Carnatic and Coromandel Coast.—Upon the breaking out of war between Great Britain and France in 1756, the French ministry resolved to strike an important blow in India. A powerful armament was fitted out, and entrusted to the charge of Count Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, who had shared the exile of James II., and was no less noted for personal courage than for strong feelings against England.

* The above account is, as before stated, chiefly derived from the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*. The author is strongly prejudiced against Surajah Dowlah, to whom he was distantly related. He had been taken prisoner in an engagement between this prince and Shaocat Jung, a rival pretender to the viceroyalty of Bengal, who was slain during a fit of intoxication. The conduct of Surajah Dowlah on this occasion, does not corroborate the statements made by Orme and Stewart of his cruelty and violence, and it is possible that these have been exaggerated; but unhappily, all the evidence comes from one side.

† Surajah Dowlah was five-and-twenty at the time of his assassination. His mother, on beholding the mangled remains dragged past her windows, rushed into the street, without veil or slippers, and clasped the body in her arms, but was forced back with blows.

‡ The army and navy had £500,000 for their share, Clive coming in, as commander-in-chief, for £20,000. As a member of the *Secret Committee*, he received to the amount of £28,000, the others having £24,000 each; besides which every one of them obtained a special gift from Meer Jaffier: that of Clive is variously stated at from £160,000 to £200,000. The *General Council* (not of the *committee*) received £60,000. Among the individuals who profited largely by what Clive termed the "generosity" of Meer Jaffier, was Mr. Drake, the runaway governor of Calcutta. Lushington (who forged the hand and seal of Admiral Watson) had, Clive stated in reply to parliamentary inquiry, "something very trifling,—about 50,000 rupees."—(Parl. Reports.) The division of the booty occasioned very serious disputes between the army and the navy.

He was accompanied by his own regiment of Irish (1,080 strong), by fifty of the royal artillery, and a great number of officers of distinction. The court of Versailles looked on the success of the expedition as a matter of certainty, and directed the commencement of operations by the siege of Fort St. David. Their anticipated conquests were marred by a remarkable series of disasters. The fleet quitted Brest in May, 1757, and carried with them the infection of a malignant fever then raging in the port. No less than 300 persons died before reaching Rio Janeiro; and from one cause or another delays arose, which hindered the ships from reaching Pondicherry until the end of April, 1758. There new difficulties occurred to obstruct the path of Lally. He had been especially directed to put down, at all hazards, the dissension and venality which prevailed among the French officials, and to compel them to make exertions for the benefit of their employers, instead of the accumulation of private fortunes. The task was at best an onerous one, and Lally set about it with an uncompromising zeal, which, under the circumstances, bordered on indiscretion. Perfectly conversant with the technicalities of his profession, he was wilful and presumptuous: his daring plans, if heartily seconded, might have been crowned with brilliant success; as it was, they met the same fate as those of La Bourdonnais, while he was reserved for a doom more terrible, and equally unmerited. Some of his early measures were, however, attended with success. The English beheld with alarm the overpowering additions made to the force of the rival nation; and when, after a prolonged siege, Fort St. David capitulated, serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Madras. The want of funds alone prevented Lally from making an immediate attack. After vainly endeavouring to raise sufficient supplies on credit, he resolved to direct to their attainment the next operations of the war. The rajah of Tanjore, when hard pressed, in 1751, by the united force of Chunda Sahib and Dupleix, had given a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, which remained unredeemed at Pondicherry. To extort payment of this sum an expedition was now undertaken against Tanjore, and on the march thither, many cruel acts of violence were committed.* The rajah, after some resistance, offered to compromise the matter by the payment of a sum much inferior to that required. The French commander was willing to abate his pecuniary demand, provided he should be supplied with 600 cattle for draught and provisions, which were greatly needed for the troops. The rajah refused, on the plea that his religion did not sanction the surrender of kine for the unhallowed uses of Europeans. The impetuous Lally had before excited strong feelings of aversion in the minds of the natives by obliging them to carry burthens for the army, and other services which he enforced promiscuously, without regard to the laws of cast: he now treated the assertion of the rajah as a mere pretext to gain time, similar to those practised upon Chunda Sahib on a previous occasion; therefore, making little allowance for the invariable prolixities of eastern negotiation, he declared that unless an arrangement were forthwith agreed on, the rajah and all his family should be shipped as slaves to the Mauritius. The Hindoos rarely indulge in intemperate language; and the Tanjore prince, stung and astonished by the outrage offered him, resolved to perish sooner than succumb to his insulting foe. At his earnest request, an English detachment was sent from Trichinopoly to his assistance. Lally continued the assault on Tanjore, and had effected a breach, when news arrived that the English fleet, after an indecisive engagement with that of France,† had anchored before Karical, from whence alone the besieging force could derive supplies. Powder and provisions were both nearly exhausted, and Lally, by the almost unanimous opinion of a council of war, withdrew from Tanjore, and hastened to Pondicherry, with the intention of making a simultaneous attack by sea and land on Madras. This project fell to the ground, owing to the determination of the naval commander to quit India immediately, which, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of the local government and the army, he persisted in doing, on the ground that the disablement of the ships, and the disease and diminution of the crews, rendered it imperatively necessary to refit at the Mauritius. Lally thus weakened, directed his next en-

* At Kivaloor, the seat of a celebrated pagoda, Lally, in the hope of finding hidden treasures, ransacked the houses, dug up the foundations, dragged the tanks, and carried away the brass idols; but to very little purpose as far as booty was concerned. Six Brahmins lingered about the violated shrines; and Lally, suspecting that they were spies, caused them all to be shot off from the muzzle of his cannon.—(Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 397.)

† The English suffered most in their shipping; the French in their men.—(*Vide* Owen Cambridge's *Account of the War in India, from* 1750 *to* 1760, p. 123.)

deavours against Arcot, and succeeded in gaining possession of that place through the artifices of Reza Sahib (now dignified by the French with the title of nabob), who opened a correspondence with the governor placed there by Mohammed Ali, and induced him to make a pretended capitulation, and come over with his troops to the service of the enemy. About the time of entering Arcot, Lally was joined by Bussy. This officer had, by the exercise of extraordinary ability, maintained his position in the court of Salabut Jung, and dexterously threading his way amid the intrigues of the Mohammedan courtiers, headed by the brothers of the subahdar (Nizam Ali and Bassalut Jung), had contrived, with very slender means, to uphold the power of his countrymen in connexion with the ruler they had nominated.* Lally did not, or would not, see that the authority of the French at Hyderabad—that even the important possessions of the Northern Circars, rested almost wholly on the great personal influence of one man; and notwithstanding the arguments and entreaties of Bussy and Salabut Jung, the troops were recalled to Pondicherry. It appears that Lally, having heard of the large sums raised by Dupleix on his private credit, hoped that Bussy might be able to do so likewise; and he listened with mingled surprise and disappointment to the averment of the generous and high-principled officer, that having never used his influence with the subahdar as a means of amassing wealth, he was altogether incapable of affording any material assistance in pecuniary affairs. The government of Pondicherry declared themselves devoid of the means of maintaining the army, upon which Count d'Estaigne and other leading officers agreed in council, that it was better to die by a musket-ball, under the ramparts of Madras, than by hunger within the walls of Pondicherry, and determined to commence offensive operations by endeavouring to bombard the English settlement, shut up the troops in Fort St. George, pillage the Black Town, and lay waste the surrounding country. The sum of 94,000 rupees was raised for the purpose, of which 60,000 were contributed by Lally himself, and the remainder in smaller sums by members of council and private individuals. The force thus sparely provided with the sinews of war, consisted of 2,700 European, and 4,000 Indian troops. The English, apprised of the intended hostilities, made active preparations for defence under the veteran general, Lawrence, and their efforts were again favoured by climatorial influences; for the French expedition, though in readiness to leave Pondicherry at the beginning of November, 1758, was prevented by heavy rains from reaching Madras till the middle of December, and this at a crisis when Lally had not funds to secure the subsistence of the troops for a single week. The spoil of the Black Town† furnished means for the erection of batteries, and the subsequent arrival of a million livres from the Mauritius, led to the conversion of the blockade (which was at first alone intended) into a siege; but, either from prudential considerations or disaffection,‡ the officers refused to second the ardour of their commander; and after nine weeks' tarry (during the last fortnight of which the troops had subsisted almost entirely upon some rice and butter captured in two small vessels from Bengal), the approach of an English fleet of six sail, compelled the enemy to decamp by night with all haste. The state of feeling at Pondicherry may be easily conceived from the assertion of Lally, that the disastrous result of the expedition was celebrated by the citizens as a triumph over its unpopular commander. Their ill-founded rejoicings were of brief continuance; scoffing was soon merged in gloomy apprehensions, destined to find a speedy realisation. The arrival of an important accession to the English force, under Colonel Coote, in October, 1759, decided for the time the struggle between France and England for supremacy in India. Wandewash was speedily attacked and carried. Lally, while marching to attempt its recovery, was met and defeated. Bussy placed himself at the head of a regiment, to lead the men to the charge of the bayonet, as the only means of saving the battle; had his horse wounded under him, was abandoned by the troops, and taken prisoner.

* A detailed account of his proceedings occupies a considerable part of Orme's *Military Transactions.*

† No attempt was made to defend the Black Town; but after its seizure by the French, the English perceiving the intemperance and disorder of the hostile troops, strove to profit by the opportunity, and sallied out 600 strong. They were, however, driven back with the loss of 200 men and six officers.

‡ Orme says the former; Lally, in his *Memoirs*, the latter: at the same time he severely censures the plots and whole conduct of the Pondicherry government, declaring, in an intercepted letter, that he "would rather go and command the Kafirs of Madagascar, than remain in this Sodom; which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy sooner or later, even though that of heaven should not."

Chittaput, Arcot, Devicotta, Karical, Valdore, Cuddalore, and other forts, were successively captured; and by the beginning of May, 1760, the French troops were confined to the bounds of Pondicherry, and the English, having received further reinforcements, encamped within four miles of the town. Lally shrank from no amount of danger or fatigue in his exertions to rally the troops and subdue the pervading spirit of mutiny and corruption. As the last chance of upholding the national interest, he resorted to the policy of Dupleix, and looked round for some native power as an auxiliary. The individual on whom he fixed was Hyder Ali,* a soldier of fortune, who had risen to the command of the Mysoor army. With him Lally concluded an agreement, by which Hyder undertook to furnish a certain quantity of bullocks for the supply of Pondicherry, and to join the French with 3,000 picked horse and 5,000 sepoys. In return he was to receive immediate possession of the fort of Theagur—an important station, about fifty miles from Pondicherry, situate near two of the principal passes in the Carnatic, with, it is alleged, the promise even of Madura and Tinnivelly, in the event of the favourable termination of the war. A detachment of the English army, sent to interrupt the march of the Mysoor troops, was defeated; but, after remaining in the vicinity of Pondicherry about a month, Hyder decamped one night

* The great-grandfather of Hyder Ali was a religious person, named Bhelole, who migrated from the Punjab and settled with his two sons at the town of Alund, 110 miles from Hyderabad. Here he erected a small mosque by charitable contributions, and also what is termed a fakeer's *mokan*—that is a house for the fakeer, who attends at the mosque and procures provisions for the use of the worshippers. By this speculation, Bhelole raised some property, but not sufficient to support the families of his sons, who left him and obtained employment at Sera as revenue peons. One of these, named Mohammed Ali, left a son called Futteh, who having distinguished himself for bravery, was promoted to be a Naik or commander of twenty peons. From this position he gradually rose to eminence, and married a lady of a rank superior to his own. The circumstances attending this union were altogether of a romantic character. The father of the lady was robbed and murdered near the borders of Bednore while traversing the peninsula. His widow and two daughters begged their way to Colar, where they were relieved from further difficulty by Hyder Naik, who married both the sisters in succession—a practice not forbidden by the Mohammedan law. Two sons, of whom the younger was the famous Hyder Ali, were born to the second wife, and they had respectively attained the age of nine and seven years, when their father was slain in upholding the cause of the Mohammedan noble whom he served, against the pretensions of a rival candidate for one of the minor Deccani governments in 1728. The patron of Hyder Naik was defeated and slain; the family of the latter fell into the hands of the victor, and on pretence of a balance due from the deceased to the revenues of the province, a sum of money was extorted from his heirs by cruel and ignominious tortures, applied to both the lads, and even, Colonel Wilks supposes, to the widow herself. Hyder Ali waited thirty-two years for an opportunity of revenge; and then, as will be shown in a subsequent page, grasped it with the avidity of a man retaliating an injury of yesterday. Meanwhile his mother, being permitted to depart after having, in the words of her grandson, Tippoo Sultan, "lost everything but her children and her honour," sought refuge among her own kindred. Through the influence of a maternal uncle, the elder boy was received into the service of a Hindoo officer of rank, and gradually rose to a respectable position; but Hyder Ali attained the age of twenty-seven without entering on any profession, in utter ignorance of the first elements of reading and writing, absent from home for weeks together on some secret expedition of voluptuous riot, or passing, as was the custom of his whole life, to the opposite extreme of rigid abstinence and excessive exertion—wandering in the woods in pursuit of wild beasts, himself hardly less ferocious. At length he thought fit to join his brother's corps as a volunteer on a special occasion, and having attracted the attention of Nunjeraj by his singular bravery and self-possession, he was at once placed in command of some troops, and from that time acquired power by rapid steps. The authority of the Mysoor state then rested wholly in the hands of Nunjeraj and his brother Deoraj; but the death of the latter, and the incapacity of the former, induced an attempt on the part of the rajah to become a king in reality as well as name. Hyder at one time sided with, at another against, the rajah, his object in both cases being purely selfish. An invasion of Mysoor by the Mahrattas, in 1759, contributed to his aggrandisement, by giving scope for the exercise of his warlike abilities; but he played a desperate game; for the queen-mother, perceiving his daring temper, dreaded to find her son released from the hands of one usurper only to fall into worse custody, and laid a scheme, in conjunction with a Mahratta chief, for the destruction of Hyder Ali, who was then engaged at a distance from court. Hyder escaped with difficulty, and having travelled ninety-eight miles in twenty hours (the first seventy-five on the same horse), reached Bangalore, the fort and district of which had been given him shortly before as a personal jaghire, just in time to precede the orders sent by the rajah to close the gates against him. The strength of the Mahrattas was shattered by the disastrous battle of Paniput, in 1760; the exhausting strife of the European power in the Carnatic precluded their interference; and Hyder found means to reduce his nominal master to the condition of a state pensioner, and then looked round for further food for ambition. As an illustration of the cruelty of his nature, it is related that when after the successful termination of the rebellion, Kundee Rao, the brave and faithful general of the rajah, was surrendered to the conqueror with an earnest supplication for kind treatment, Hyder replied, that he would not only spare his life, but cherish him like a paroquet; and the miserable captive was accordingly confined in an iron cage, and fed on rice and milk.

with his whole force, on account of internal proceedings which threatened the downfall of his newly-usurped authority in Mysoor. The English, so soon as the rains had ceased, actively besieged Pondicherry. Insubordination, dissension, and privation of every description * seconded their efforts within the walls. Lally himself was sick and worn out with vexation and fatigue. The garrison surrendered at discretion in January, 1760,† and the council of Madras lost no time in levelling its fortifications with the ground.‡

The consequences predicted by Bussy, from his compulsory abandonment of Salabut Jung, had already ensued. An expedition from Bengal, fitted out by the English against the Northern Circars, had wrested from the French these important possessions. Mahé and its dependencies on the Malabar coast had been likewise attacked, and reduced a few months before the fall of Pondicherry. Theagur capitulated after a feeble resistance; and the capture of the strong fort of Jinjee in April, 1761, completed the triumph of the English, and left the French without a single military post in India.

The storm of popular indignation at this disastrous state of affairs was artfully directed upon the devoted head of Lally. On his return to France the ministry, seconded by the parliament of Paris, threw him into the Bastille, and on various frivolous pretexts he was condemned to die the death of a traitor and a felon. Errors of judgment, arrogance, and undue severity might with justice have been ascribed to Lally; but on the opposite side of the scale ought to have been placed uncompromising fidelity to the nation and company he served, and perfect disinterestedness, together with the uninterrupted exercise of energy united to military talents. It is related that he confidently anticipated a triumphant issue to the proceedings instituted against him, and was seated in his dungeon sketching a chart of the Coromandel coast, when tidings of the fatal sentence arrived. "Is this the reward of forty-five years of faithful service?" he exclaimed; and snatching up a pair of compasses, strove to drive them to his heart. The bystanders prevented the fulfilment of this criminal attempt, and left to the representatives of the French nation the disgrace of perpetrating what Voltaire boldly denounced as "a murder committed with the sword of justice." A few hours after his condemnation, Lally, then in the sixty-fifth year of his age, was dragged in a dirty dung-cart through the streets of Paris to the scaffold, a gag being thrust in his mouth to prevent any appeal to the sympathies of the populace.

La Bourdonnais, Dupleix, and Lally, were successive victims to the ingratitude of the French company. Bussy was more fortunate. Upon his capture by the English he was immediately released on parole, greatly to the dismay and disappointment of Mohammed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic. He subsequently returned to France, and, strengthened by an aristocratic marriage (with the niece of the Duc de Choiseuil), lived to enjoy a high reputation and a con-

* When famine prevailed to an increasing extent in Pondicherry, Lally strove to prolong the defence by sending away the few remaining cavalry, at the risk of capture by the English; by returning all prisoners under a promise not to serve again; and also by expelling the mass of the native inhabitants, to the number of 1,400, without distinction of sex or age. The wretched multitude wandered in families and companies to various points, and sometimes strove to force a path through the hosts of the enemy, or back within the gates from which they had been expelled, meeting on either side death from the sword or the bullet. For eight days the outcasts continued to traverse the circumscribed space between the fortifications and the English encampment, the scant-spread roots of grass affording their sole means of subsistence. At length the English commander suffered the survivors to pass; and though they had neither home nor friends in prospect, deliverance from sufferings more prolonged, if less intense, than those endured in the Black-Hole, was hailed with rapturous gratitude.—(Orme, ii., 699.) An episode like this speaks volumes on the unjustifiable character of a war, between civilised and Christian nations, which is liable to subject heathen populations to calamities so direful and unprovoked.

† The departure of Lally for Madras was marked by a scene of a most discreditable character. The French officers raised a shout of derision, as their late commander passed along the parade a worn and dejected prisoner, and would have proceeded to violence but for the interference of his English escort. The same reception awaited Dubois, the king's commissary. He stopped and offered to answer any accusation that might be brought forward, upon which a man came forth from among the crowd and drew his sword. Dubois did the same: he was of advanced age, with the additional infirmity of defective sight; and the second pass laid him dead at the feet of his antagonist. The catastrophe was received with applause by the bystanders, and not one of them would even assist the servant of the deceased in the removal of the body. The unpopularity of Dubois originated in his energetic protests against the disorder and venality of the local government.

‡ A sharp dispute took place between the officers of the crown and of the company. Colonel Coote claimed Pondicherry for the nation; Mr. Pigot on behalf of his employers; and the latter gentleman being able to enforce his arguments by refusing to advance money for the payment of the troops, unless the point was conceded, gained the day.—(Orme, i., 724.)

siderable fortune. The company itself was soon extinguished,* and the power of the nation in India became quite inconsiderable.

Affairs of Bengal resumed from 1757.—The first important danger which menaced the duration of Meer Jaffier's usurped authority, was the approach of the Shah-zada or heir-apparent to the throne of Delhi, who having obtained from his father formal investiture as subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, now advanced to assert his claims by force of arms. The emperor (Alumgeer II.) was at this period completely in the power of his intriguing vizier, Shaab or Ghazi-oo-deen (the grandson of the famous nizam); and the prince had only escaped the toils of the imperious minister by cutting his way, sword in hand, with half-a-dozen followers, through the body of guards stationed to retain him a close prisoner within his own palace. The spirit manifested by this daring exploit did not characterise his after career, for he proved quite incapable of grappling with the many difficulties which beset his path. The governors or nabobs of Allahabad and Oude, both virtually independent powers, supported his cause at the onset; and the prince further endeavoured to obtain the support of the English by large promises. His offers were declined, and active co-operation with Meer Jaffier resolved on. The Shah-zada and his adherents advanced to Patna; but the treachery of the nabob of Oude, in taking advantage of the privilege accorded him of a safe place for his family, to seize the fortress of Allahabad, compelled the ruler of that province to march back for the protection or recovery of his own dominions.† The result of their disunion was to bereave the Shah-zada of friends and resources. In this position he solicited a sum of money from the English general in requital for the abandonment of his pretensions in Bengal, and £1,000 were forwarded to the impoverished descendant of a powerful dynasty. Through the influence of Shaab-oo-deen, the emperor was compelled to sign a *sunnud* (edict or commission), transferring the empty title of subahdar of Bengal to his second son, and confirming Meer Jaffier in all real power, under the name of his deputy. Upon this occasion Clive obtained the rank of a lord of the empire, which afforded him a pretext for extorting a jaghire amounting to £30,000 per annum; although, at the very time, the treasury of Bengal was almost exhausted, and the soldiers of the province clamorous for arrears of pay: and moreover, so doubtful a complexion had the alliance between the English and Meer Jaffier already assumed, that immediately after the departure of the Shah-zada, the nabob was suspected of intriguing with a foreign power for the expulsion of his well-beloved coadjutors. The Bengal presidency learned with alarm the approach of a great armament fitted out by the Dutch at Batavia. Seven ships ascended the Hooghly to within a few miles of Calcutta, where 700 European and 800 Malay soldiers disembarked, with the avowed intention of marching thence to the Dutch settlement of Chinsura. England and Holland were at peace; but Clive, notwithstanding the absence of any hostile manifestation on the part of the newly-arrived force, obtained from the nabob a direct contradiction to the encouragement he had previously given, and a positive order for the Dutch to leave the river.‡ An English detachment was sent to intercept the march of the troops to Chinsura, but the officer in command (Colonel Forde) hesitated about proceeding to extremities, and sent to head-quarters for explicit instructions. Clive was engaged at the card-table when the message arrived. Tearing off a slip from the letter just presented to him, he wrote in pencil: "Dear Forde,—Fight 'em immediately, and I'll send an order of council to-morrow." Forde obeyed, and succeeded in completely routing the enemy, so that of the 700 Europeans, not above fourteen reached Chinsura, the rest being either taken pri-

* French trade with India was laid open in 1770; but in 1785 a new company was incorporated, and lasted until 1790, when its final abolishment, at the expiration of two years, was decreed by the National Assembly.—(Macpherson, pp. 275—284.)

† The Allahabad ruler, while marching homeward, was met by M. Law with a French detachment, and entreated to return to the Shah-zada and assist in besieging Patna, which, it was urged, would occasion but a very slight delay. The proposition was rejected; the nabob continued his march, but being eventually persuaded by the rival subahdar to trust to his generosity, was made prisoner and put to death.

‡ The dominant influence of Clive is illustrated by an anecdote recorded in the *Siyar ul Mutakherin.* A fray having taken place between the soldiers of Clive and those of one of the oldest and most attached adherents of Meer Jaffier, the nabob reproached his officer for what had occurred, exclaiming, "Have you yet to learn in what position heaven has placed this Colonel Clive?" The accused replied, that so far from seeking a pretext of quarrel with the colonel, he "never rose in the morning without making three profound bows to his jackass;"—a speech which Scott (*History of the Deccan*, ii., 376) explains as meant in allusion to the nabob himself.

soners or slain. The attack upon the ships was equally successful, the whole being captured. After this heavy blow, the Dutch, to save their settlements in Bengal from total destruction, made peace with their powerful opponents by paying the expenses of the war; while Clive, aware of the irregularity of his proceedings,* facilitated the termination of the dispute by the restoration of the captured vessels in December, 1759. Early in the following year he resigned the government of Bengal, and sailed for England.

It has been asserted that Clive never suffered his personal interests to interfere with those of his employers. Had this been the truth, he would certainly not have quitted India at so critical a period for the E. I. Cy. as the year 1760. It was not age (for he was yet but five-and-thirty) nor failing strength (for he declared himself "in excellent health") that necessitated his departure; neither is it easy to find any less selfish reasons than a desire to place and enjoy in safety his immense wealth, leaving those at whose expense it had been accumulated to bear alone the brunt of the impending storm. His opinion of Meer Jaffier was avowedly changed; for though he continued personally to address him as the most munificent of princes, yet in his semi-official correspondence with his own countrymen, the "generally esteemed" individual of two years ago, becomes an "old man, whose days of folly are without number." The English in general attributed to the ruler of their own nomination every vice previously alleged against Surajah Dowlah. It was urged, that whatever soldierly qualifications he might have possessed in the days of Ali Verdi Khan, had passed with the vigour of youth, leaving him indolent and incapable; but easily carried away by unfounded suspicions to perpetrate, or at least sanction, deeds of midnight assassination against innocent and defenceless persons of either sex.† A native authority‡ describes Meer Jaffier as taking a childish delight in sitting, decked with costly jewels, on the musnud, which he disgraced by habitual intoxication, as well as by profligacy of the most unseemly description. The English he feared and hated, but lacked energy and ability to offer any systematic opposition to their encroachments. The leading Hindoos became objects of aversion to him on account of their intimate connexion with the powerful foreigners, and plots were laid for the destruction of several individuals, with varying success. The chief instigator of these intrigues was Meeran, the heir-apparent, who, in spite of the inexperience of youth and a merciless disposition, possessed a degree of energy and perseverance which, together with strong filial affection, rendered him the chief support of his father's throne.§ The "chuta" (little or young) nabob and the English regarded one another with scarcely disguised distrust. The Begum (or princess), the mother of Meeran, betrayed excessive anxiety for the safety of her only son; and although her affectionate intercessions were treated with contemptuous disdain by the servants of the company, they were far from being uncalled for; since it needed no extraordinary foresight to anticipate that the ill-defined claims, and especially the right of interference in every department of the native government asserted by the English, must end either in their assumption of all power, in name as in reality, or, it was just possible, in their total expulsion from the province.

Clive had quite made up his mind on the matter; and while receiving immense sums from the nabob on the one hand, and the wages of the E. I. Cy. on the other, he addressed a letter from Calcutta, as early as January, 1759, to Mr. Pitt, urging upon him the necessity of affairs in Bengal being viewed as a national question, and a sufficient force sent forthwith "to open a way for securing the subahship to ourselves." The Mogul would, he added, willingly agree to this arrangement in return for a pledge for the payment of fifty lacs annually—a sum which might be easily spared out of revenues amounting to £2,000,000 sterling; and as to Meer Jaffier, there need be no scruple on his account, since he, like all other Mussulmans, was so little influenced by gratitude,

* He remarked, with regard to these transactions, that "a public man may occasionally be called upon to act with a halter round his neck."

† The infant brother or nephew of Surajah Dowlah, on the accession of Meer Jaffier, is stated to have been murdered by being pressed to death between pieces of wood used in packing bales of shawls.

‡ *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 19.

§ Clive calls him "a worthless young dog," and asserts his belief that he would one day attempt the overthrow of the nabob, blaming "the old fool" at the same time severely for "putting too much power in the hands of his nearest relations;" but there is no evidence to warrant his assertion: on the contrary, Gholam Hussein Khan, though strongly prejudiced against both father and son, gives repeated evidence of the unbroken confidence which subsisted between them.—(*Life*, ii., 104; *Siyar*, ii., 86.)

as to be ready to break with his best friends the moment it suited his interests, while Meeran was "so apparently the enemy of the English, that it will be almost unsafe trusting him with the succession."*

This communication was forwarded to Mr. Pitt by Mr. Walsh, the secretary of Clive. In relating the discussion which followed its presentation, Mr. Walsh writes, that the able minister expressed his views a little darkly (or probably very cautiously) on the subject; mentioned that the company's charter would not expire for twenty years; and stated that it had been recently inquired into, whether the conquests in India belonged to the company or the Crown, and the judges seemed to think to the company; but, he added, "the company were not proper to have it, nor the Crown, for such a revenue would endanger our liberties;" therefore Clive showed "good sense by the suggested application of it to the public."

Here the question dropped for the time, and Clive returned to England, apparently before learning the result of his memorial, and at a time when events of the first importance were taking place.†

The Shah-zada, at the invitation of certain influential nobles of Patna, had already renewed hostilities, when Clive and Forde quitted the country in February, 1760. In the previous December an English detachment, under Colonel Calliaud, had been sent from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and this force, in conjunction with 15,000 horse and foot, under command of Meeran, marched in the following month to oppose the Mogul prince. Meanwhile the powerful king of the Doorani Afghans was again on his way to ravage Hindoostan. Shaab-oo-deen, the vizier of the pageant-emperor, Alumgeer II., aware of the strangely-assorted friendship which existed between his ill-used master and Ahmed Shah, caused the former to be assassinated, and seated another puppet on the throne. The Shah-zada had entered Bahar, when tidings of the tragical end of his father reached the camp. He assumed the title of Alum Shah, and secured the alliance of Shuja Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, by the promise of the vizierat; conferred on Nujeeb-ad-Dowlah (an able Rohilla chief, staunchly attached to the imperial family) the dignity of ameer-ool-omra;‡ and, with the assistance of these leaders, assembled a considerable force. An engagement took place near Patna, between his troops and those of Meeran and the English. The emperor was defeated, and fled to Bahar, where he continued to maintain a feeble contest until the campaign was abruptly concluded by the death of one of the parties chiefly concerned in its results. A heavy storm commenced on the night of the 2nd of July, and Meeran, the better to escape its violence, quitted his spacious tent for one of less size, lower, and of greater strength. According to eastern usage, a story-teller stationed himself beside the prince, striving to soothe the unquiet spirit to repose, while a domestic chafed his limbs, with the same view of inducing sleep. Fierce thunder-claps long continued to break over the encampment, alternating with vivid flashes of lightning. The fury of the elements at last abated, and some attendants, whose turn it was to keep guard, entered and beheld with dismay the lifeless bodies of Meeran and his companions, all three having perished by the same stroke. Colonel Calliaud considered it impolitic to publish the catastrophe, lest the consequence should be the immediate dispersion of the army of the deceased; he therefore, after certain necessary precautions, caused the body to be dressed, as if alive, and placed on an elephant; marched to Patna with all possible expedition, and distributed the troops in winter quarters. It is scarcely possible to avoid attributing the fate of Meeran to an act of Divine retribution, so cruel and bloodthirsty had been his brief career.§ The previous month had added to the list of victims sacrificed by his father and himself, two aged princesses, the surviving daughters of Ali

* *Life*, ii. 120—122. The succession of Meeran had, it should be borne in mind, been one of the primary conditions made by Meer Jaffier with Clive.

† Mr. Scrafton, in a letter to Clive, states that Meeran, on one occasion, became so excited by the partiality evinced towards a Hindoo governor (Roydullub) who was known to be disaffected to him, that he declared, unless an express guarantee of safety should be given, he would leave Moorshedabad with those who were faithful to him, and, if necessary, fight his way to the nabob, who was then at Patna. Scrafton adds, that the "old Begum sent for Petrus (the Armenian interpreter for the company), and fell a blubbering, saying that she had but that son, and could not spare him."—(Malcolm's *Life*, i., 349.)

‡ *See* previous section on Mogul empire, p. 177.

§ Upon examination, five or six holes were found on the back part of his head, and on his body streaks like the marks of a whip. A scimitar which lay on the pillow above his head had also holes in it, and part of the point was melted. The tent pole appeared as if rotted. Yet, notwithstanding these indications, a rumour arose that the death of Meeran had been caused by the English; and to this unfounded accusation Burke alludes in his famous speech on opening the charges against Warren Hastings.

Verdi Khan; and among his papers was found a list of the names of persons whom he had resolved to cut off at the conclusion of the campaign; determined, as he said, "to rid himself of the disloyal, and sit down in repose with his friends."

The death of Meeran was a terrible blow to his father. The slight barrier which had heretofore in some measure kept down the arrogance and extortion of the English functionaries, and likewise the clamours of the unpaid native troops being now removed, the nabob was left alone to bear, in the weakness of age and intellect, the results of his unhallowed ambition. Clive, with others who had largely benefited by sharing its first-fruits, had gone to enjoy the wealth thus acquired under the safeguard of a free constitution; and their successors would, it was probable, be inclined to look to the expedient of a new revolution as the best possible measure for their private interests, as well as those of their employers. The excitement attendant on the payment of the chief part of the stipulated sums to the Bengal treasury, had before this time given place to depression; that is, so far as the public affairs of the company were concerned. Individuals had accumulated, and were still accumulating large fortunes, to which, in a pecuniary sense, no drawback was attached; but the general trade was in a much less flourishing condition. On being first acquainted with the extent of money and territory ceded by Meer Jaffier, (of which, it may be remarked, Clive gave a very exaggerated account,) the directors sent out word that no supplies would be sent by them to India for several ensuing seasons, as the Bengal treasury would, it was expected, be well able to supply the civil and military exigences of the three presidencies, to provide European investments, and even to make provision for the China trade. This was so far from being the case, that in less than two years after the deposition of Meer Jaffier, "it was found necessary to take up money at interest, although large sums had been received besides for bills upon the Court of Directors." * The distress created in England by these drafts was very great; and even in the year 1758, the holders were with difficulty prevailed upon to grant further time for their liquidation.

The payment of the English troops engaged in repelling the attempts of the Shahzada, presented an additional difficulty. It had been thought that the stipulated sum of one lac of rupees (£10,000) per month, would amply cover their expenditure; but experience proved that amount insufficient to provide for the exigences of the augmented establishment thereby necessitated, even had the money been regularly paid; instead of which, the nabob was greatly in arrears at the time of Clive's departure.

In fact, his own forces were so costly and extensive, that it is alleged they were alone sufficient to absorb the entire revenue. The death of Meeran was quickly followed by an alarming mutiny. The palace was surrounded, the walls scaled, and Meer Jaffier threatened with instant death unless the claims of the really distressed troops were liquidated. Meer Cossim, who had married the only surviving legitimate child of the nabob, interfered for his protection, and brought about an arrangement by the advance of three lacs from his own treasury, and a promise of the balance due in a stated period.

Mr. Vansittart arrived to fill the position of governor of Bengal in July, 1760. An empty treasury; a quarrelsome and dictatorial council; unpaid and disorderly troops; the provision of an investment actually suspended;—these were some of the difficulties which awaited him.† Mr. Holwell, while in the position of temporary governor, had suggested to his fellow-officials, that the cruelty and incapacity of Meer Jaffier justified his abandonment, and proposed that they should change sides—accept the reiterated offers of the emperor, and make common cause with him. This project was rejected; but the necessity for some decisive measure being pretty generally agreed upon, it was at length resolved to offer Meer Cossim Ali the limited degree of real power still residing in the person of the nabob, on condition of the title and a fixed income being left with Meer Jaffier, and certain additional concessions made to the English.

Mr. Vansittart acquiesced in the scheme formed by Mr. Holwell and the select committee. One or two members of the general council, when the intended change was first hinted at, dissented on the ground that the incapacity of Meer Jaffier was itself favourable to the interests of the company; but the urgent need of fresh supplies of funds to meet increased expenditure, combined per-

* Vansittart's *Narrative of Transactions in Bengal*, i., 22. The same authority states, that in 1760 the military and other charges in Bengal amounted to upwards of £200,000 per ann.; while the net revenue did not exceed £80,000—(p. 97.)

† Vansittart's *Letter to E. I. Proprietors*, p. 13.

haps with less easily avowed motives on the part of certain influential persons overpowered this reasoning, and a treaty was entered into by the governor and select committee with Meer Cossim, by which he agreed to assign to the English the revenues of the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, in discharge of the balance due from his father-in-law. On the night on which the articles were signed, Meer Cossim tendered to Mr. Vansittart a note for the payment of twenty lacs of rupees to the five members of the select committee. Considering the large sums extorted from Meer Jaffier on a previous occasion, it was only natural to expect some similar instance of "munificence" in the present case; though, from the impoverished state of the revenues, the amount must of necessity be greatly inferior. The note was, however, returned, and the governor and committee, if they had not the self-denial wholly to reject the tempting offer, displayed at least a sufficient regard to decorum to refuse accepting any portion of it, until Meer Cossim should be seated in security on the musnud, and all the conditions of the treaty fulfilled. In the meantime they appear to have made no private agreement whatever; but, in lieu of it, to have asked a contribution of five lacs for the company, which was immediately paid and employed in aid of the operations then in progress against the French at Pondicherry.

The deposition of Meer Jaffier was effected with so much ease, that on the evening of the day on which it took place, a stranger entering Moorshedabad would scarcely have suspected the revolution that had so recently occurred. When first informed of his intended supercession, the nabob manifested an unexpected degree of energy—declared that his son, Meeran, had warned him what would happen, and even threatened to oppose force by force, and abide his fate. But this was the mere effervescence of impotent rage. The palace was surrounded by English troops, and he possessed few, if any, on whose fidelity reliance could be placed; besides which, so "general a disaffection against his government, and detestation of his person and principles, prevailed in the country amongst all ranks and classes of people," that Mr. Vansittart declared, "it would have been scarcely possible for the old nabob to have saved himself from being murdered, or the city from plunder, another month."*

Scarcity alike of money and provisions began to be painfully felt throughout Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Moorshedabad, once the seat of unparalleled abundance, had become the abode of poverty-stricken multitudes; while Patna, exposed for two years to the ravages of the imperial forces, and threatened with renewed invasion, instead of furnishing, as in times of peace, vast stores of rice, was now almost a wildernesss. Amid this wide-spread misery, the man from whom aid was expected continued to lavish sums extorted by oppression on favourites of the most unworthy character; and pleasures (if they deserve that name) of the most disreputable description. The measure of his iniquities was filled by the sanction or direction given by him, in conjunction with Meeran, for the midnight assassination of Gassitee Begum and Amina Begum,† which, in the case of the former princess, was an act of peculiar ingratitude as well as cruelty, since she had been extremely useful to him during the fifteen months' sway of her nephew, Surajah Dowlah. It must be remembered, that Colonel Clive had viewed the assassination of that prince with utter indifference; and it is the less to be wondered at that so sanguinary a commencement having passed uncensured, Meer Jaffier should have allowed his son to follow out the same course until he was cut off as one who, though unscathed by human laws, yet "vengeance suffereth not to live." The

* Vansittart's *Narrative*, i., 100—138.

† Among the reasons stated by the governor and committee for the deposition of Meer Jaffier, was a massacre committed by his orders at Dacca in June, 1760, in which the mother of Surajah Dowlah, his aunt, his widow and daughter, and a boy adopted into the family, were taken from prison at midnight and drowned, together with seventy persons of inferior note. Such wholesale slaughter as this, if actually perpetrated, would have cast into the shade even the enormities which formed the steps to the Mogul throne; yet it does not seem that any official inquiry was instituted in the matter. So hardened do the minds of Europeans become by familiarity to the worst features of despotism, that Messrs. Amyatt, Ellis, and Smyth, the three dissenting members of council, in their minute complaining of not having been duly consulted regarding the recent measures adopted by the select committee, positively palliate the charges brought against Meer Jaffier as cruelties which would appear shocking to a civilised government, but which were common to all despotic ones. In fact, the transaction, infamous as it really was, had been greatly magnified; for in October, 1765, it was officially stated by the government of Bengal, that of the five principal victims named above, only two had perished; the rest had been kept in confinement, and were subsequently set at liberty. (Thornton's

death of Meeran formed a new feature in the complicated question upon which Mr. Vansittart was called upon to decide. The prince was well known to have been the chief counsellor and abettor of his father's actions; and it may be doubted whether Mr. Holwell's proposition (of abandoning Meer Jaffier and surrendering the government to the emperor) being wholly set aside, it would not have been wiser to have avoided the questionable expedient of a supercession, by suffering the present nabob to continue to occupy the musnud, but with a very limited degree of authority. It was evident things could not remain as they were; the power of the English was too great and too little—altogether too undefined to be stationary; and though there is much reason to believe that the course pursued in this difficult crisis was really prompted by an honest desire for the good of all parties, yet, like most temporising measures, the result was total and disastrous failure.

The resignation forced upon Meer Jaffier appears, under the circumstances, rather a boon than a punishment. The first outburst of rage having subsided, he listened calmly to the proposals made to him—prudently rejected the offer of continuing to enjoy the empty semblance of power, while the reality was to be vested in another person; and simply stipulated that he should be suffered to proceed immediately to Calcutta, and reside there under British protection. It has been alleged that his ambitious son-in-law objected strongly to such a procedure, and would have preferred disposing of his predecessor after a more summary fashion:* but be this as it may, Meer Jaffier quitted Moorshedabad the very evening of his deposition, bearing away, to solace his retirement, about seventy of the ladies of the harem, and "a reasonable quantity of jewels." His only lawful wife (the mother of Meeran) refused to accompany him, and remained with her daughter and Meer Cossim. Thus ends one important though not very creditable page of Anglo-Indian history in Bengal.

ADMINISTRATION OF MEER COSSIM ALI.—The question uppermost in the mind of every member of the Bengal presidency, whether friendly or adverse to the new nabob, was—how he would manage to fulfil the treaty with the English, pay the sums claimed by them, and liquidate the enormous arrears due to his own clamorous troops? Being an able financier, a rigid economist in personal expenditure, and a man of unwearying energy, Meer Cossim set about the Herculean task of freeing himself from pecuniary involvements, and restoring the prosperity of the country by measures which soon inspired the English officials with the notion that, so far as their personal interests were concerned, the recent revolution might prove as the exchange of King Log for King Stork. Strict accounts of income and expenditure were demanded from the local governors, from the highest to the lowest; the retrospect was carried back even to the time of Ali Verdi Khan; and many who had long since retired to enjoy, in comparative obscurity, wealth gotten by more or less questionable means, while basking in the short-lived sunshine of court favour, were now compelled to refund at least a portion of their accumulations. In short, according to Gholam Hussein, the advice of Sadi the poet—"Why collectest thou not from every

*British India*, i., 387.) This does not free the English authorities from blame regarding the fate of those who really perished, and the hazard incurred by the survivors, who were left at the caprice of an apathetic old man and a merciless youth. But so little concern was manifested when human lives and not trading monopolies were concerned, that Meeran, being reproached by Scrafton (then British resident at Moorshedabad) for the murder of one of the female relatives of Ali Verdi Khan, did not take the trouble of replying, as he truly might, that she was alive, but asked, in the tone of a petulant boy who thought he "might do what he willed with his own," "What, shall not I kill an old woman who goes about in her dooly (litter) to stir up the jematdars (military commanders) against my father?" The perceptions of the Bengal public were, happily, not quite so obtuse as those of their Mohammedan or European rulers; and the murder of the princesses (with or without their alleged companions of inferior rank) was held to be so foul a crime, that the fire of heaven, which smote the perpetrator, was popularly believed to have been called down by Amina Begum (the mother of Surajah Dowlah), who in dying uttered the vengeful wish, that the lightning might fall on the murderer of herself, her child, and her sister. The imprecation is of fearful meaning in Bengal, where loss of life during thunder-storms is of frequent occurrence; and the tale ran, that the deaths of Meeran and his victims were not, as stated in the text, a month apart, but simultaneous, the fatal orders being executed at Dacca on the same night and hour that Meeran perished, several hundred miles away. (*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 133.) The translator adds, in a note, that the imprecation of Amina Begum was mentioned in Moorshedabad full thirty days before intelligence became public of the death of Meeran.

* This charge will be found in Holwell's *Indian Tracts*, 90—91; but in a subsequent page it is denied by Mr. Holwell, the person to whom the proposition is stated to have been made.—(*Idem*, p. 114.)

subject a grain of silver, that thou mayest form a treasure?"—became the rule of Meer Cossim; and, in the short space of eight months, he wrought a wonderful change for the better, though at a cost of personal exertion which he described by declaring, that he had "scarce had leisure to drink a little water, nor a minute's time to eat or enjoy sleep."*

Such rigid supervision was sure to displease those especially by whom it was most needed; and the camp of the Mogul became in consequence the rallying ground of many discontented zemindars and petty rajahs who were not strong enough to rebel in their own names. Early in 1761 an engagement took place between the imperial forces and those of Meer Cossim and the English under Major Carnac. The emperor was again defeated; the small French corps by which he had been supported quite dispersed; and its indefatigable leader, M. Law, taken prisoner.† Immediately after the battle, overtures of peace were made by the victors, through the intervention of a brave Hindoo general, whose name, whatever it may have been, has been anglicised into Rajah Shitabroy. The proposition was gladly accepted; Shah Alum proceeded to Patna, and there bestowed on Meer Cossim the investiture of the government of the three provinces, on condition of the annual payment of twenty-four lacs of rupees.‡ The English commander then escorted the emperor some distance on his road to join Shuja Dowlah, the nabob of Oude. External hostility had scarcely been removed from the path of Meer Cossim, before obstacles of a domestic character took its place. Several Hindoo officials of high rank persisted in evading his just demands for a settlement of outstanding accounts, and screened themselves from punishment, or even from inquiry, through the intervention of the English. Ram Narrain, the governor of Patna, afforded a remarkable example of this ill-judged partiality. He had been placed in office by Ali Verdi Khan, and was one of the few nobles whose fidelity to Surajah Dowlah remained inviolate. After the deposition and murder of this prince, Meer Jaffier had urgently solicited Clive to induce Ram Narrain to come to Moorshedabad under the promise of British protection, in order, as the proposer of this notable scheme did not hesitate to avow, to obtain a convenient opportunity for cutting off his head. The experience of Clive in the art of writing "soothing" letters to an intended victim, was, happily for the national honour, not made use of in the present case; on the contrary, the ungenerous policy of maintaining a rival party in the court of the nabob, induced favourable terms to be made with Ram Narrain, and he was confirmed in his government despite the opposition of his nominal master.

As might be expected under such circumstances, between constant warfare and a disaffected ruler, the revenues of Patna proved of little benefit to the exhausted treasury of Moorshedabad. Ram Narrain scarcely disguised the hatred and contempt he felt for Meer Jaffier, and found no difficulty in resisting or evading his demands; but Meer Cossim was a man of a different stamp; and a fierce and prolonged dispute took place between the nabob and the governor—the former demanding the immediate settlement of all arrears; the latter, on one pretence or other, refusing even to render the accounts justly demanded from him. The refractory subordinate relied on the protection of the English, and long continued to be upheld in his unwarrantable

* Vansittart's *Narrative*, i., 214.

† After the fate of the day had been decided, Law, though deserted by his countrymen, refused to quit the field; and vexed to the soul by the utter failure of his attempts to uphold the interests of the French nation, sat down astride a gun, ready to fling away his life, when an attempt should be made to capture him. Major Carnac found him in this attitude, accepted his surrender on parole without delivering up his sword, and subsequently, in common with all the other British officers, treated the captive with marked consideration. Gholam Hussein Khan highly extols this chivalrous behaviour, and finds frequent occasion to applaud in the strongest manner the military qualifications of the English; adding, that if they did but possess equal proficiency in the arts of government, and manifested as much solicitude for the welfare of native communities in time of peace, as they did forethought in war, then no nation in the world would be worthier of command. "But," he adds, "such is the little regard they show to the people of these kingdoms, and such their apathy and indifference to their welfare, that the natives under their dominion groan everywhere, and are reduced to poverty and distress."—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 102.)

‡ Meer Cossim, aware of the strong personal prejudice of Major Carnac towards himself, refused to enter the imperial camp, lest some design against him—such as it appears was actually entertained by Carnac and Ellis (Vansittart's *Narrative*, ii., 399)—should be put in practice. Therefore the investiture was performed in the hall of the English factory, a platform being made of two dining-tables, covered with cloth, on which to enthrone the fallen majesty of the house of Timur.

refusal to furnish any statement of his administration by the military commanders then stationed at Patna; but at length the representations of Meer Cossim, regarding the violent conduct of Colonel Coote* and Major Carnac, occasioned their recall, and left Ram Narrain in the hands of the nabob, by whom his person was seized and his effects confiscated, on the charge of embezzlement.

The truth was, the whole affair had been treated rather as a bone of contention among the jarring members of the Bengal presidency, than as a question of justice. The secret of their disunion appears to have been sheer jealousy of the present offered by Meer Cossim to the select committee previous to his accession, which they refused receiving until the claims of the company should be satisfied, peace restored, and the long standing arrears of the native troops entirely liquidated.†

These preliminaries having been fulfilled, it was probably expected that Meer Cossim would repeat his offer of the twenty lacs of rupees to the individuals by whom it had been temporarily rejected. The remaining members of council (not of the select committee) became extremely violent on the subject, and instead of pleading, as they might have reasonably done, against being excluded from all share in a transaction which they had about as much, or as little right to benefit by as their colleagues, the tone adopted was one of disinterested zeal for the interest of their employers, in whose name it was insisted the twenty lacs should be immediately demanded from Meer Cossim. This motion was brought forward by Mr. Amyatt, who, as Governor Vansittart did not fail to remark, had been of a different opinion some three years before, or he would scarcely have accepted a share in the golden harvest obtained by the elevation of Meer Jaffier, without exhibiting any such scrupulous regard to the interests of the general body. The result of a subsequent nabob-making affair proved that another stickler for the rights of the company (Mr. Johnstone) was equally willing, when practicable, to make a bargain on his own account. The measure was, however, carried by a majority of the entire council, and a formal requisition to the above effect made to Meer Cossim. The answer was prompt and decisive. The nabob, after stating, "by the grace of God, that he had fulfilled every article of the treaty,"‡ declared, "I owe nobody a single rupee, nor will I pay your demand." The sum intended for the select committee had been, he said, positively refused; most of the gentlemen to whom it was offered had left the country; and as to the one or two still in India, "I do not think," adds the nabob, "they will demand it from me."§ The directors at home clearly appreciated the motives of all concerned, and expressed decided approbation of the "spirited" refusal given to an unauthorised encroachment.

But the fire of anger and distrust, far from being extinguished by such well-merited rebuffs, was fed by various concomitant circumstances. An angry, if not insolent|| memorial, dictated by Clive immediately before sailing for England, and addressed by

* For instance, Meer Cossim complained that on one occasion Colonel Coote, accompanied by thirty-five European horsemen and 200 sepoys, entered his tent in a great passion with a pistol in either hand, crying out, "Where is the nabob?" and uttering "God dammees!" Colonel Coote tacitly admitted the truth of this statement, with the trivial exception that his pistols were not cocked, as the nabob had declared. —(Vansittart's *Narrative*, i., 238—244.)

† Soon after his accession, Meer Cossim took occasion to present Mr. Vansittart with a present of 25,000 rupees on the birth of a son—an ordinary eastern compliment, which the governor accepted, but immediately paid into the company's treasury.

‡ A receipt in full was given to Meer Cossim in March, 1762, from all pecuniary obligation to the English. A minute in council showed that he had paid them twenty-six lacs of sicca rupees (valued at 2*s.* 8½*d.* each), together with fifty-three lacs of current rupees (2*s.* 4*d.* each), derived from the ceded districts. He had likewise satisfied the claims both of his own and his predecessor's troops.—(*Narrative.*)

§ It appears, however, from the evidence given before parliament, in 1772, by Colonel Calliaud and Mr. Sumner, that the twenty lacs were actually paid by Meer Cossim, and received in the following proportions:—the governor, five lacs (£50,000); Holwell, Sumner, Calliaud, and M'Gwire, in diminishing portions, according to seniority. This makes the select committee to have consisted of five persons; but beside these, it appears there were others not then present at Calcutta. The committee consisted of the senior members of the council, and the council itself varied in the number of members from six to sixteen, according to the number of those absent in their employments as chiefs of factories, &c.

|| One phrase declares that a recent communication from the directors was equally unworthy of the parties by whom it was written, or those to whom it was addressed, "in whatever relation considered—as masters to servants, or gentlemen to gentlemen;" and it is added, significantly, that from the partiality evinced to individuals, "private views may, it is much to be feared, take the lead here from examples at home, and no gentlemen hold your service longer, nor exert themselves further in it, than *their own exigencies require*." This remarkable specimen of plain speaking boasts the signatures of Clive, Holwell, Sumner, and M'Gwire, all of whom were dismissed the service, as also another councillor named Pleydell.

the Bengal officials to their "honourable masters," procured the dismissal of all by whom it had been signed. This measure failed in producing the intended effect; for of the refractory members, the majority, like their leader, had realised immense fortunes by the use of more or less discreditable means; others paid the penalty of sharing the violence of their predecessors by expulsion from the company's service. Although subsequently reinstated, their temporary absence left the governor in a minority in council, and vested the personal opponents of the nabob with overwhelming power. Mr. Vansittart, in rectitude of character, discretion, and gentlemanly bearing, was infinitely superior to his fellow-officials; but he lacked energy to control their unruly tempers, and successfully oppose their selfish ends. It appears that he and the other four gentlemen associated with him (that is, all the members of the select committee then in Bengal), did eventually receive from Cossim Ali the much-canvassed twenty lacs. This single drawback on a general reputation for disinterestedness, afforded an opening of which his enemies well knew how to take advantage, and every effort made to check their illegitimate gains was treated as an act of corrupt and venal partiality towards the nabob.

We have already seen that in the time of Moorshed Kooli Khan, the English officials had striven to construe the firmauns granted by the emperor Ferokshеer, as conferring not only exemption from custom-dues on all foreign commerce, but as including the produce of the country, which they asserted ought to pass untaxed, if accompanied by their *dustucks* or licenses, even from one district to another. Now, as half the local revenue was, by the system universally pursued, obtained by innumerable petty dues levied on merchandise, at frequent intervals, in its passage from place to place, it followed that such an unreasonable claim, if granted, must prove highly injurious to the income of the province, and ruinous to the native traders, who, fettered by taxation, could not hope to compete with their favoured rivals. The manifest injustice of the demand procured its speedy, and for a time, complete abandonment. At a subsequent period the directors (in a dispute with the Dutch regarding the right of the emperor to grant the English merchants a monopoly for the sole purchase of saltpetre, notwithstanding the promise of free trade conceded to their competitors) laid it down as an axiom, that the design of all firmauns granted to Europeans was to admit them "to the same freedom of trading with the Mogul's own subjects—surely not a better."* In fact, the interests of the company were in no manner concerned in the question of inland traffic, because this had been entirely resigned to their servants; and every attempt at encroachment made by them during the strong administrations of Moorshed Kooli and Ali Verdi Khan had been carefully suppressed, until the latter ruler became weakened by age, foreign wars, and domestic sorrows. The previous efforts were recommenced and increased at the time of the accession of Surajah Dowlah—so much so, that the articles signed by the English on the surrender of Cossimbazar in May, 1757, included a specific promise to make good all that the Mohammedan government had suffered from the abuse of dustucks.† This pledge was far from being redeemed, and the abuse complained of rose to such an extent, despite the repeated remonstrances of Meer Jaffier, that not only every servant of the company, together with their *gomastahs* or native agents, claimed complete immunity in carrying on inland trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, bamboos, dried fish, &c., but even the Bengalee merchants found it expedient to purchase the name of some member of the presidency; and by virtue of "dustucks" thus obtained, could laugh at the revenue officers, and compel the natives, on penalty of flogging or imprisonment,‡ to buy goods at more, or sell them at considerably less, than the market price.§

Had Mr. Vansittart been a man of more determination, he might probably have averted a new revolution; but the compromising character of his measures served only to encourage his intractable associates. In taking a firm stand on the justice of the question, and insisting upon the proper pay-

* Vansittart's *Narrative*, ii., 153.

† Treaty with Surajah Dowlah; *vide* Scrafton's *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, p. 53.

‡ Vansittart's *Narrative*, ii., 113.

§ The existence and notoriety of these practices is evidenced in a letter from the directors, dated April, 1760, in which it is asserted, that the chiefs of subordinate factories gained full twenty per cent. upon goods supplied to private traders, often exclusive of commission; while the native merchants "apply to our junior servants, and for valuable considerations receive their goods covered with our servants' names: even a writer trades in this manner for many thousands, when at the same time he has often not real credit for an hundred rupees. For the truth of these assertions we need only appeal to yourselves.'

ment of taxes necessary to the maintenance of the country government, he would doubtless have been supported by the directors, who, unbiassed by self-interest, would then, as on a subsequent occasion, have given an honest decision on so plain a case. But Vansittart, aware of the extreme anxiety of the nabob to preserve peace with the English, hoped to bring about an arrangement by offering, on their behalf, the payment of nine per cent. (a rate not a quarter the amount of that exacted from native traders) upon the prime cost of goods at the time of purchase, after which no further duties should be imposed. These terms were settled at a private interview between the nabob and the governor, and the latter departed highly pleased at having brought about an amicable adjustment. But he did not understand the blinding influence of the factious and grasping spirit of the men with whom he had to deal. The members of council, absent in their capacities of chiefs of factories, were called together: even majors Adams and Carnac, though empowered to give a vote only in military affairs, were suffered to come and join a discussion in which they were unprofessionally, and not very creditably, interested as traders; and the result was, the refusal of an overwhelming majority to ratify the pledge given by their president. Warren Hastings, who had lately been elevated to the council, alone stood by Vansittart, and eloquently pleaded the cause of justice, relating the oppressions he had himself witnessed while employed in an inferior capacity in different factories, but with no beneficial result.*

Meer Cossim soon saw the state of the case;—a governor, willing but unable to protect him against the rapacity of subordinate officials. He knew their vulnerable point; and instead of wasting more time in fruitless complaints, aimed a well-directed blow by proclaiming free trade among his own subjects for the ensuing two years. It was clearly the most equitable and statesmanlike measure that could have been adopted; but the council, in their unbridled wrath at having the native traders placed on a level with themselves, denounced it as a shameless infringement on the company's prerogative; and, upon this flimsy pretext, sent a deputation to the nabob, consisting of Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay, to demand its immediate annulment. Meer Cossim refused to discuss the subject, and, in commenting on the decision of the council—that all disputes between English gomastahs and his officers, should be referred to the chiefs of the company's factories—he said their justice consisted simply in this:—"they abuse and beat my officers, and send them away bound." Regarding the immediate question at issue, he vindicated the abolition of customs on the plea of necessity, the conduct of the English having utterly prevented their realisation, and thus deprived him of one-half his revenues. The remainder, he added, arose from land-rents, which were diminished by the abstraction of half the country, and were required to pay his standing army. Under these circumstances he would be well pleased to be relieved of his irksome task, and see some other person placed in his stead as nabob This proposition was probably made in reference to the projects already canvassed in council (and of which he doubtless had some knowledge), for his supercession in the event of the outbreak of hostilities. The tone and bearing of Meer Cossim were, however, still on the whole so deprecating and conciliatory, that no fear of the consequences appears to have arisen in the minds of the council to suggest the danger of driving him to extremities. The governor explicitly declares that, up to this period, the nabob had not shown "any instance of a vicious or a violent disposition; he could not be taxed with any act of cruelty to his own subjects, nor treachery to us."† Of his troops a very contemptible opinion had been formed; they were spoken of as "undisciplined rabble," whom a single European detachment could at once disperse: while Meer Cossim himself was known to possess neither taste nor talent as a military leader; and the chief warlike enterprise of his administration (an invasion of Nepaul) had proved a failure. But sufficient account had not been made of the care with which the native army had been gradually brought to a state of unprecedented efficiency; their number being diminished by the payment and dismissal of useless portions, while the remainder were carefully trained, after the European manner, by the aid of some military adventurers who entered the service of Meer Cossim. Among these the most celebrated was a man called by the natives

* In the course of these discussions, Mr. Batson, one of the council, struck Hastings a blow. The injured party, with true dignity, left to his colleagues the charge of dealing with the offender.

† Vansittart's *Narrative*, iii., 394.

Sumroo.* He was a German, Walter Reinehard by name, and came to India as a sergeant in the service of France. Military abilities raised him to high favour with Meer Cossim, and he became the chief instigator and instrument of the cruelties which disgraced the close of the struggle with the presidency. The abuse of certain discretionary powers vested in Mr. Ellis by the council, despite the opposition of the governor, precipitated matters. Patna was seized by the English, and, to their surprise, immediately regained by Meer Cossim. Mr. Amyatt was at this time on his way back to Calcutta; Mr. Hay being detained as a hostage for the safety of some of the native officials then imprisoned at Calcutta. Orders were given for the capture of Mr. Amyatt: he was intercepted, and, with several of his companions, slain in the struggle which ensued. The council closed all avenues to reconciliation with Meer Cossim, by the restoration of the man who, three years before, had been pronounced utterly unfit to reign. Suddenly annulling all that had been said and done—setting aside the imperial investiture, and everything else, Meer Jaffier, without even the form of a fresh treaty, was, by a strange turn of the wheel of circumstances, again hurried to the musnud from whence he had so lately been ignominiously expelled.

Vansittart, overpowered by bitter opposition, and sinking under ill-health, no longer strove to stem the torrent. It was an emergency in which he thought "justice must give way to necessity,"† and accordingly he signed the proclamation inviting the people of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa to rally round the standard of Meer Jaffier; with other documents, whose contents were wholly at variance with his previous measures; only declaring that he would resign the government so soon as Meer Cossim should be subdued. This did not prove so easy a task as had been expected. The ex-nabob made a last effort at an accommodation by a letter to the presidency, in which he denied having given any order for the destruction of Mr. Amyatt; but, at the same time, referred significantly to the number of English captured at Patna, plainly intimating that their fate depended on the terms made with him. The threat was little heeded. So perfect and uniform had been his self-control, that not even the governor or Mr. Hastings (the two Europeans who had most intimately known him) ever suspected the fierce passions which lay hid beneath the veil of a singularly dignified bearing and guarded language. No decisive measure was therefore taken for the rescue of the prisoners, but only letters written, threatening unsparing vengeance in the event of any injury being inflicted upon them. These communications did but add fuel to fire. Meer Cossim well knew the stake for which he played — independent sway over at least a part of Bengal, or a violent death, with the possible alternative of poverty and expatriation in the dominions of his powerful neighbour, Shuja Dowlah. The English took the field in 1763, and commenced operations by the successful attack of the army stationed to protect Moorshedabad. The city was captured; and in the following month, the severest conflict which the English had yet sustained took place on the plain of Geriah. The battle lasted four hours, and the enemy at one period broke the line, seized two guns, and attacked the 84th regiment front and rear. But the steadiness of the troops prevailed over the impetuosity of their assailants, and eventually procured a complete victory. Meer Cossim was driven from place to place; defeat and disgrace dogged his steps; and after sending his family and treasures to the stronghold of Rhotas, he commenced a series of executions at once, to gratify his revenge and intimidate his foes. Ram Narrain, with ten relatives, and other native prisoners of note, were the first victims after the battle of Geriah. A no less disastrous engagement, in September, near Oodwa, was followed by the execution of the celebrated bankers, Juggut Seit and his brother (or cousin), of whose persons the nabob had some time before obtained possession. Finally, the treacherous surrender of Monghyr, which he learned at Patna, occasioned an order for the immediate execution of all prisoners confined there, including fifty of the company's servants, civil and military. Among the number were Hay, Ellis, and Lushington (the person before named as having counterfeited the signature of Admiral Watson.) Mr. Fullarton, a surgeon, in virtue of a profession more peaceful than his practice,‡

* His *nom-de-guerre* of Summer was changed by the French soldiers into Sombre, on account of his dark complexion, pronounced by the natives *Sumroo.*

† Vansittart's *Narrative*, iii., 317.

‡ He is stated by Vansittart to have been mainly instrumental in urging Mr. Amyatt, with whom he

formed the sole exception to this savage massacre, which was perpetrated by Sumroo and two companies of sepoys. On the advance of the English, Patna was abandoned by its ruthless master; but the capture was not effected until the middle of November, after a prolonged and resolute defence. Meer Cossim, unable to offer further resistance, crossed the Caramnassa as a fugitive, and threw himself upon the protection of his ally, Shuja Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, who, from the nominal vizier, had by this time become the gaoler, of Shah Alum. Early in the following year, an army was assembled at Benares by Shuja Dowlah, who, it appears, desired to make the claims of his *protégé* a pretext for obtaining possession of the three provinces for himself. The prospect of invasion was alarming—less from the strength of the enemy than from the mutinous and disaffected condition of the British force. From the moment when a division of booty, to a hitherto unheard-of extent, commenced at the taking of Geriah in 1756, a marked deterioration had, as Clive truly observed, taken place in their health and discipline. Large numbers perished from sheer debauchery; and the survivors, imitating the civilians, were constantly on the watch for some new source of irregular gain. "A gratification to the army" had been one of the articles canvassed in council, as a point to be insisted on in case of Meer Cossim's supercession; but war had come on them at the last so suddenly, and had been attended with such an unexpected amount of danger and expense, that in the terms dictated to Meer Jaffier, after his reinstatement on the musnud, the council had scarcely leisure to do more than stipulate for thirty lacs on behalf of the company; for the reimposition of taxes on the oppressed natives; for their own total exemption, except a duty of two-and-a-half per cent. upon salt,* which, in their liberality, they offered to pay as a gratuitous assistance to the nabob; and, lastly, for complete reimbursement to individuals who might suffer loss by the stoppage of the inland trade. It is easy to understand who these individuals were, but difficult to conceive to what an extent a clause so indefinite as this might enable them to carry their extortions. Even Meer Jaffier seems to have had a notion that, in return for these stipulations, he also might put forward some peculiar claims; and he now successfully urged, as a condition of re-accepting the subahship, permission to employ, as one of his chief ministers, an intriguing Hindoo named Nuncomar, who was actually in confinement for having intrigued against the English with Shuja Dowlah and the French governor of Pondicherry. In these arrangements, all idea of a gratuity to the army was lost sight of; nor was any forthcoming, as expected, after the expulsion of Meer Cossim, although a specific pledge to that effect had, it appears, been given to the troops through Major Adams.†

Under such circumstances little vigour was displayed in opposing the invading troops, until, after ravaging Bahar, they penetrated as far as Patna. Here, however, they were defeated. The English soldiers and sepoys—but especially the latter, on whom the principal weight of the attack fell—behaved with great steadiness and gallantry; and the vizier, perceiving that his rude levies were quite unable to oppose a disciplined European force, soon began to evince an inclination for an amicable adjustment of affairs. But the English would make no terms that did not include the surrender of the fugitive nabob and his sanguinary instrument, Sumroo; and Shuja Dowlah, on his part, looked for nothing less than the surrender of the whole province of Bahar: consequently the discussion produced no result; and the tedious war dragged on until the approach of the rainy season compelled the vizier to conclude the campaign by retreating with all speed to Oude.

The arrival of Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro from Bombay, with European reinforcements, was the signal for an outbreak of the dissatisfaction long at work in the British army; and a whole battalion of sepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, marched off to join the enemy. The major detached a select body of troops in pursuit. The fugitives were surprised by night, while sleeping, and brought back as prisoners. By the decree of a court-martial of their own countrymen, twenty-four of the prisoners were condemned to die. They were tied up, four at a time, to the muzzle of as many guns, and blown away; the first to suffer being some grenadiers, who stepped forward and urged that, as they had constantly been allowed precedence in the hour of danger, so now it should be granted them in death. The claim was

had great influence, to adopt the policy which led to so melancholy a termination.—(*Narrative*, i., 164.)

* Even this rate was never levied.—(*Clive*, iii., 103.)

† Evidence of Major Munro.—(*First Report of Parliamentary Committee*, 1772.)

tacitly admitted to be true, by being granted, and the whole twenty-four were executed, despite the earnest remonstrances and even open opposition of their comrades.

Military men have applauded this transaction as a piece of well-timed and necessary severity; those who, like myself, question both the lawfulness and expediency of capital punishments, and deem war and standing armies the reproach and not the glory of Christian nations, will probably view the whole affair in a different light.

In the middle of September (1764) the British troops again took the field, and having crossed the Sone in spite of the opposition of a corps of cavalry, advanced towards the intrenched camp of the vizier at Buxar. A sharp conflict took place, and lasted about three hours; the enemy then began to give way, and slowly retired; but an immediate pursuit being commenced, Shuja Dowlah procured its abandonment, though at an immense sacrifice of life,* by destroying a bridge of boats upon a stream of water two miles from the field of battle. The emperor seized the opportunity of escaping from his tyrannical minister, pitched his tents beside those of the English, and placed himself under their protection. Renewed overtures for peace, on the part of Shuja Dowlah, were again met by a demand for the surrender of Meer Cossim and Sumroo. The former, fearing to trust his life any longer in the hands of one who had already taken advantage of his defenceless position to obtain possession of the chief part of the gold and jewels which he had brought from Bengal, now fled to the Rohilla country, whither he had fortunately caused some treasure to be conveyed before the confiscation ordered by his ungenerous ally, on pretence of paying the troops. Sumroo, no less faithless than cruel, had deserted him; and, with a large body of trained sepoys, had joined the force of Shuja Dowlah before the battle of Buxar. This piece of treachery nearly proved fatal to its perpetrator; for the vizier, anxious to come to terms with the English, and yet to avoid the infamy of delivering up the deserter, positively offered to procure his assassination in presence of any two or three witnesses chosen by Major Munro, and evinced great surprise at the rejection of this truly oriental proposal. It should be remarked, however, in justice to Shuja Dowlah, that though willing to plunder Meer Cossim to the last rupee, he could not be induced to surrender his person on any terms; and even for the life and liberty of the villain Sumroo, he would willingly have paid a heavy ransom; for it was not until after the rejection of the offer of a sum of fifty-eight lacs, in lieu of delivering up the fugitives, that he made the treacherous suggestion above narrated regarding Sumroo. Whether he really intended to carry it out, or if, on the contrary, some other stratagem was designed in the event of the plan being approved by the English, cannot be ascertained. It is certain that his army was in no condition to renew hostilities, and, indeed, never recovered the effects of the late decisive engagement.

Meanwhile corruption, venality, and oppression reigned unchecked in Bengal. The name of a nation, once highly honoured, became alike hateful in the ears of Mussulmans and Hindoos.† The approach of a party of English sepoys served as a signal for the desertion of whole villages, and the shopkeepers fled at the approach of the palanquin of the passing traveller, fearing that their goods might be seized for an almost nominal value, and they themselves abused and beaten for offering a remonstrance. The people at large were reduced to a state of unprecedented misery; the ungenerous and impolitic advantage taken of their weakness, having put it in the power of every marauder who chose to style himself an English servant, to plunder and tyrannise over them without control. The effect, Warren Hastings plainly declared to be, "not only to deprive them of their own laws, but to refuse them even the benefit of any." Had all this wrong proceeded from the will of a single despot, there can be little doubt he would have been speedily removed by a combination of his own officers, or, as Mohammedan history affords so many instances, been smitten to the earth by a private individual, in vengeance for some special injury. But the tyranny of a far-distant association, dreadful and incomprehensible beyond any bugbear ever painted by superstition, possessed this distinguishing feature above all other despotisms—that it was exercised through numerous distinct agencies,

* Stated at 2,000 men drowned or otherwise lost; besides which, 2,000 men were left dead on the field, with 133 pieces of cannon. The loss of the English, in killed and wounded, was 847.

† *Vide* Hasting's letter;—*Narrative*, ii., 78. Clive declares the oppressions practised had made "the name of the English stink in the nostrils of a Gentoo or a Mussulman."—(Malcolm's *Life*, ii., 380.)

of which the hundred hands and arms of the Hindoo idols could convey but a faint and feeble image.

Oppression reached a climax under the second administration of Meer Jaffier. He had previously complained in forcible language* of the injury done to the native merchants, as well as to the provincial revenues, by the abuse of the privileges conferred by the firmaun; but to this wrong he formally assented when replaced on the musnud. It soon, however, became manifest that it mattered little what the terms of the agreement had been; for he was regarded simply as "a banker for the company's servants, who could draw upon him as often, and to as great an extent as they pleased."† The clause for compensation to individuals proved, as might have been foreseen, a handle for excessive extortion. At the time of its insertion the nabob had been assured that, although it was impossible to specify the particular amounts of claims, they would not altogether exceed ten lacs; notwithstanding which, the demand was increased to twenty, thirty, forty, and at last reached fifty-three lacs. Seven-eighths of this sum, according to the testimony of Mr. Scrafton, then an E. I. director, "was for losses sustained (or said to be sustained) in an illicit monopoly of the necessaries of life, carried on against the orders of the company, and to the utter ruin of the India merchants." He adds, that "half of this sum was soon extorted from the nabob, though the company were at that time sinking under the burden of the war, and obliged to borrow great sums of money of their servants at eight per cent. interest, and even with that assistance could not carry on both their war and their investment, but sent their ships half loaded to Europe." ‡ The military establishment of the English had by this time increased to 18,000 horse and foot, and its ill-regulated expenditure soon swallowed up the thirty lacs paid by Meer Jaffier, as also the further sum of five lacs a month, which he had agreed to furnish during the continuance of the war.

Pressed on all sides by extortionate claims, despised and brow-beaten by the very men who had used him as an instrument for their private ends, the nabob sank rapidly to an unhonoured grave. His death in January, 1765, had been shortly preceded by the departure of Governor Vansittart and Warren Hastings for England; and in the absence of any restraining influence, the council were left to conduct the profitable affair of enthroning a new nabob after their own fashion. The choice lay between the eldest illegitimate son of Jaffier, Nujeem-ad-Dowlah, aged twenty years, and the infant son of Meeran. The claim of the emperor to appoint an officer was considered far too inconvenient to be acknowledged; it would be easy to extort his sanction when the selection was made. Repeated offers had been made by him to bestow on the English real power over the revenues of Bengal, by vesting in them the right of collection. This office, called the *dewannee*, had been devised during the palmy days of the empire§ as a means of preventing attempts at independence on the part of the subahdar, the dewan being designed to act as treasurer, appointed from, and accountable to, the Delhi government, leaving the subahdar to direct in all other matters. This arrangement had been allowed to fall into disuse; for Ali Verdi Khan had usurped the whole authority, both financial and judicial. Shah Alum must have been too well acquainted with the state of affairs, to doubt that the English, if they accepted the dewannee, would be sure to engross likewise all real power vested in the subahdar; but he expected in return a tribute, on the regular payment of which dependence might be placed. It did not, however, suit the views of the representatives of the E. I. Cy. to occupy a position which should render them personally accountable for the revenues. A nabob—*i.e.*, a person from whom "presents" might be legally received—could not be dispensed with. The child of Meeran was old enough to understand the worth of sugar-plums, but hardly of rupees; and his claims were set aside for those of Nujeem-ad-Dowlah. The new nabob consented to everything demanded of him: agreed to entrust the military defence of the country solely to the English, and even to allow of the appointment, by the presidency, of a person who, under the title of Naib Subah, should have the entire management of the affairs of government. He eagerly advocated the nomination of Nuncomar to fill this important

* "The poor of my country," said Meer Jaffier, "used to get their bread by trading in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, which the English have now taken to themselves; by which my poor are starving, my revenues ruined, and no advantage to the company."—(*Vide* Scrafton's *Observations* on Vansittart's *Narrative*, printed in 1766, pp. 38-'9.)

† Clive's speech, 1772;—Almon's *Debates*, xiv.

‡ Scrafton's *Observations*, pp. 48-'9.

§ *See* preceding section on Mogul Empire, p. 117.

office, but in vain; and the selection of an experienced noble, named Mohammed Reza Khan, was perhaps the best that could have been made. The other articles of the treaty were but the confirmation of previous arrangements; and the whole affair wound up, as usual, very much to the satisfaction of the English officials concerned, among nine of whom the sum of £139,357 was distributed, besides gifts extorted from leading Indian functionaries, in all of which the chief share was monopolised by Mr. Johnstone, the dissenting member of council, who had so vehemently deprecated the conduct of the select committee of 1760, in receiving the largess of Meer Cossim. The money thus acquired was not destined to be enjoyed without a contest; for the curb (so greatly needed) was at length about to be placed on the greediness of Bengal officials.

Ever since the deposition of Surajah Dowlah, the E. I. Cy. had been spectators rather than directors of the conduct of their servants in Bengal. Clive had quitted their service with bitterness in his heart and defiance on his lips; and the example of insubordination, ambition, and covetousness given by him, had been closely imitated by men who could not appreciate the energy and perseverance which enabled him to swim where they must sink. The representations of Mr. Vansittart, the massacre at Patna, and the sharp contest with Shuja Dowlah following that with Meer Cossim, seriously alarmed the mass of East India proprietors;—anxiety for their own interests, and indignation at the wrongs heaped on the natives in their name, for the sole benefit of a few ungovernable servants, conspired to rouse a strong feeling of the necessity of forthwith adopting measures calculated to bring about a better state of things. Stringent orders were dispatched in February, 1764, forbidding the trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, and all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country;* and in the following May it was directed that new covenants should be executed by all the company's servants (civil and military), binding them to "pay over to their employers all presents received from the natives, which should exceed 4,000 rupees in value." The above orders, and the unsigned covenants, were actually lying at Calcutta when the treaty with the new nabob was made, and the sum above stated extorted from him. Probably the directors were not unprepared for disobedience, even of this flagrant character. The execution of orders so distasteful needed to be enforced in no common manner; and reasoning, it would seem, on the ground that it was one of those cases in which "the children of this world are wiser than the children of light," it was suggested that Clive (now a lord) was of all men the best fitted to root up the poisonous tree he had planted.†

The inducement was not wanting; for his jaghire had been called in question; and to ensure its continuance for the next ten

* Second Parl. Report on E. I. Cy., 1772.

† An Irish peerage was, after long delay, obtained by Clive, who took the title of Baron of Plassy: an English one, by his own account, might have been purchased with ease (*Life*, ii., 189); but then the enormous wealth which was to maintain its possessor on a level, in a pecuniary point of view, with the high-born aristocracy of England, rested on a precarious footing. Clive, notwithstanding his extraordinary facility of attributing to himself every possible perfection, never doubted that his position in society rested on his "bags of money and bushels of diamonds" (ii., 168), rather than on any mere personal qualifications; and when urged to exert his influence in the India House, soon after his return to England, for some special purpose, in contravention to the directors, he peremptorily refused, declaring, "my future power, my future grandeur, all depend upon the receipt of the jaghire; and I should be a madman to set at defiance those who at present show no inclination to hurt me." It must be remembered that Clive, besides the jaghire, had avowedly realised between three and four hundred thousand pounds during his second sojourn in India—a circumstance that greatly detracts from the effect of the fiery indignation with which, when the right was questioned of Meer Jaffier to bestow, or his own to accept, the quit-rent paid by the company, he came forward to save his "undoubted property from the worst of foes—a combination of ungrateful directors" (ii., 229.) "Having now," says Sir John Malcolm, "no choice between bartering his independence to obtain security for his fortune," Clive commenced hostilities after the old fashion, sparing neither bold strokes in the field, nor manœuvres in the closet. Upwards of £100,000 were employed by him in securing support by a means then commonly practised, but afterwards prohibited—viz., that of split votes. He had, however, some powerful opponents, with the chairman, Mr. Sulivan, at their head. This gentleman and Clive were at one period on intimate terms; but according to the latter, their seeming good-fellowship had been sheer hypocrisy, since, in reality, they "all along behaved like shy cocks, though at times outwardly expressing great regard and friendship for one another." The issue of the conflict in London was materially influenced by the critical state of affairs in Calcutta. The court of proprietors took up the matter in the most decided manner. Clive availed himself of the excitement of the moment, and besides the confirmation of his jaghire for ten years, obtained as a condition of his acceptance of the office of governor and commander-in-chief in the Bengal Presidency, the expulsion of Mr. Sulivan from the direction. The four persons associated with him, under the name of a select committee—Messrs. Sumner, Sykes, Verelst, and General (late Major) Carnac—were all subordinate to his will;

years to himself or his heirs, he agreed to return to India for a very limited period—signed covenants to refrain from receiving any presents by which he became pledged from native princes; and, invested with almost despotic power, reached Calcutta in May, 1765. Here he found matters in a widely different condition to that which had caused the E. I. Cy. so much well-founded apprehension. Meer Cossim had been expelled; the emperor had thrown himself upon the English for protection; and Shuja Dowlah was so reduced as to be on the eve of deprecating their wrath by a similar expedient of placing his person at their mercy. The majority of the reasons for which such extraordinary powers had been vested in Clive, in conjunction with a select committee of four persons devoted to his will, had therefore ceased to exist; but he persisted in retaining these powers, and with sufficient reason; for the task he had to perform, if conscientiously fulfilled, would have probably required their exercise. As it was, he excited a general storm of rage, without effecting any permanent good—at least so far as the civil department of the presidency was concerned. The general council, in all, included sixteen persons; though probably not half that number assembled at ordinary meetings. Among them was Mr. Johnstone, who had played so leading a part in the transactions of the last few years. He was a person possessed of advantages, in regard both of ability and connexions, which rendered him not ill calculated to do battle with Clive; and he scrupled not to retort the severe censures cast upon himself and his colleagues, by asserting that they had only followed the example given by the very man who now lamented, in the most bombastic language, the "lost fame of the British nation," and declared himself to have "come out with a mind superior to all corruption," and a fixed resolution to put down the exercise of that unworthy principle in others.*

The events of the next twenty months, though of considerable importance, can be but briefly narrated here. Immediately upon his arrival, Lord Clive, and the two members of the select committee who had accompanied him from England, without waiting for their destined colleagues, assumed the exercise of the whole powers of government, civil and military, after administering to themselves and their secretaries an oath of secrecy. Mr. Johnstone † made a desperate resistance to the new order of things, but was at length defeated and compelled to quit the service. The other members, for the most part, submitted, though with the worst possible grace; and the vacancies were supplied by Madras officials. The covenants forbidding the acceptance of presents were signed; then followed the prohibition of inland trade by the company's servants. This was a more difficult point to carry. Clive well knew that the salaries given by the E. I. Cy. were quite insufficient to maintain the political rank obtained by recent events.‡ Poverty and power, side by side with wealth and weakness, would, as he himself declared, offer to the stronger party temptations "which flesh and blood could not resist." With a full appreciation of this state of affairs, it was a plain duty to press upon the directors (as the clear-sighted and upright Sir Thomas Roe had done in the early part of the preceding century)§ the necessity of allotting to each official a liberal income, which should hold out to all a reasonable prospect of obtaining a competency, by legitimate means, within such

the first-named had been ignominiously expelled the company, for signing the violent letter quoted at p. 294, but subsequently reinstated.

* These sentiments Lord Clive accompanies with an adjuration which too clearly illustrates the condition of his mind regarding a future state. "I do declare," he writes, "by that Great Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be accountable *if there must be an hereafter*, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption." Yet at this very time Clive scrupled not to employ his private knowledge of the state of affairs, and of the increased value of stock likely to result from the acceptance of the dewannee, to write home directions in cipher (so that, if falling into strange hands, no other person should benefit by the information), desiring that every shilling available, or that could be borrowed in his name, should be invested in E. I. stock "without loss of a minute." Mr. Rous (a director) and Mr. Walsh acted with promptitude, by proceeding forthwith, though on a Sunday, to obtain the key of the cipher, which it seems they very imperfectly understood.—(*See* Thornton's *India*, i., 492.)

† Johnstone and his colleagues, when vainly pressed to make over to the company the monies received from Nujeem-ad-Dowlah, replied, that when Clive surrendered the money he had obtained from the father, they would yield in turn the gifts of the son.

‡ The salary of a councillor was only £250; the rent of a very moderate house in Calcutta, £200.

§ "Absolutely prohibit the private trade," said he, "for your business will be better done. I know this is harsh. Men profess they come not for bare wages. But you will take away this plea if you give great wages, to their content; and then you know what you part from." No amount of legitimate emolument will, however, assuage the thirst for gain inherent in many clever, unprincipled men.

stated term of years as experience had proved could be borne by an average European constitution. But Clive, instead of strenuously urging a policy so honest and straightforward as this, took upon himself to form a fund for the senior officers of the presidency, from the governors downwards, by resolving, after consultation only with Mr. Sumner and Mr. Verelst, that a monopoly should be formed of the trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, to be carried on for their exclusive benefit, with the drawback of a duty to the company estimated at £100,000 per annum. Monopolies are odious things at best: this one was of a peculiarly obnoxious and oppressive character; and the directors wisely and liberally commanded its immediate abandonment. The arrangements of Clive could not, however, be so lightly set aside; and they continued in operation until 1768.

With regard to Shuja Dowlah, it was deemed expedient that he should be replaced in the government of Oude, although a specific promise had been made that, on payment of fifty lacs of rupees for the expenses of the war, real power over the dominions of his tyrannical vizier should be given to the emperor, in the event of the English being triumphant. But this pledge, which had been needlessly volunteered, was now violated; the vizier being deemed (and with reason) a better protection against Mahratta and Afghan invasion, on the north-western frontier, than his gentle master. In another matter the claims of Shah Alum were treated in an equally arbitrary manner. The arrangements concluded with him by the Calcutta government were now revised, or, in other words, set aside by Clive. The emperor was given to understand, that since it was inconvenient to put him in possession of the usurped dominions of Shuja Dowlah (commonly called the "nabob-vizier"), the districts of Corah and Allahabad (yielding jointly a revenue of twenty-eight lacs) must suffice for a royal demesne; and, at the same time, some large sums of money unquestionably due from the company to the indigent monarch, were withheld on the plea of inability to pay them.* Shah Alum remonstrated warmly, but to no purpose: he was compelled to cancel all past agreements, and bestow on the company complete possession of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, under the name of the "perpetual Dewannee," clogged only by a yearly tribute of twenty-six lacs of rupees. The formal confirmation of the English in their various scattered settlements throughout the nominal extent of the empire, was likewise obtained; nor was the jaghire of Lord Clive, with reversion to his employers, forgotten in the arrangement. As a precautionary measure against the French (who, by virtue of a recent European treaty, had been reinstated in their Bengal settlements, with the proviso of neither erecting fortifications nor maintaining troops), it was deemed expedient to obtain from the emperor a free grant of the five Northern Circars, over which Nizam Ali, the brother and successor (by usurpation and murder) of Salabut Jung, then exercised a very precarious authority. In 1760, the Nizam (as he is commonly called) had proffered these Circars to the Madras government in return for co-operation against the Mahrattas and Hyder Ali; but his overtures were rejected, because the forces required could not be spared. In 1766, an arrangement was brought about by dint of no small amount of bribery and intrigue, by which four of the Circars were surrendered, and the reversion of the fifth, or Guntoor Circar, which was held by a brother of the Nizam, Bassalut Jung, was promised to the company, on condition of the payment of a rent of nine lacs of rupees, together with a most imprudent pledge to furnish a body of troops whenever the Nizam might require their aid in the maintenance of his government. The imperial firmaun, of which the chief articles have been just recited, took away the scanty remains of power vested by the Bengal presidency in Nujeem-ad-Dowlah. The weak and dissolute character of this youth rendered him an easy tool; and when informed by Clive that every species of control was about to pass from him, and that a stipend of fifty-three lacs would be allotted for the family of Meer Jaffier, out of which a certain sum would be placed at his disposal, this worthy prince uttered a thankful ejaculation, adding, "I shall now have as many dancing-girls as I please."†

A leading feature in the second administration of Clive remains to be noted—one of the most important, as well as the most interesting in his remarkable career. The other "reforms" effected by him were nothing better than a change of evils; but, in checking the spirit of insubordination and rapacity which pervaded the whole Anglo-

* Thirty lacs deficit of annual tribute, besides jaghires or lands in Bengal now withdrawn, amounting to five lacs and a-half of rupees per ann.—(*Mill.*)

† Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, iii., 125.

Indian army, he served both the company and the state well and bravely. Clive was essentially a military genius:* he scrupled not to declare in after-times, that all he had in the world had been acquired as the leader of an army; and when questioned regarding the very exceptionable trading regulations instituted under his auspices, he declared, with regard to an article under notice, that "of cotton he knew no more than the pope of Rome." He might have pleaded equal ignorance of the state of the immense native population of Bengal. But the condition of the troops was a subject he would naturally study *con amore*. Dissension, luxury, and profligacy, attended with alarming mortality, had immediately resulted from the large booty divided at Geriah under the auspices of himself and Admiral Watson. Since then excessive and extortionate gain, under pretence of trading, had become the predominant evil; and the severity of Major Munro, though it might for a time check, by the influence of terror, the insubordination of the sepoys, or even that of the European rank and file, left untouched the root of the evil—namely, the eagerness of the officers in the pursuit of trade, at the expense of professional duty. Now, Clive was the last person in the world to expect men to be content with honourable poverty, when they might acquire wealth without the cost of toil, or the stigma of indelible disgrace attached to certain heinous crimes; and this circumstance, together with not unnatural partiality, induced him to take measures for the introduction of a better system among the military servants of the company, with far more gentleness than he had evinced in dealing with the civilians. The officers were to be compelled to renounce all trading pursuits: this was the first reform to be carried out by Clive; the second was the final and uncompensated withdrawal of an extra allowance, called *batta*, given since an early period, but now to be abolished, excepting at some particular stations where, on account of the dearness of articles necessary to Europeans, it was to be either wholly or partially continued. The allowance originally granted by the company had been doubled by Meer Jaffier, who, at the instigation of Clive, paid the additional sum out of his own pocket, besides the regular expense of the English troops engaged in his service, but ostensibly as a boon revocable at pleasure. His successor, Meer Cossim Ali, made over to the company the districts of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, in lieu of certain monthly payments; and although the revenues of these territories more than covered the cost of the army, including the *double batta*, the directors, considering the large profits of their servants and their own necessities, stringently ordered the discontinuance of this allowance. Their repeated injunctions, the civil government, overawed by the military, had never dared to enforce; and even Clive did not bring forward the question of double batta until the restoration of peace had enabled him to remodel the army by forming it into regiments and brigades, with an increased number of field-officers.† These improvements were effected without opposition, and the prohibition of officers receiving perquisites, or engaging in certain branches of trade, was compensated in Clive's plan by allowing them a liberal share in the monopoly of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco. The proportions to be received by the senior servants of the company, independent of their fixed salaries, according to the lowest calculation, were £7,000 sterling per annum to a councillor or colonel, £3,000 to a lieutenant-colonel, £2,000 to a major or factor. Some scanty amends for the shameless oppression of taxing the natives thus heavily, was made by placing the management of the trade in their hands instead of under the guidance of European agents; but even this measure was adopted from the purely selfish motive of saving expense.‡

* In Chatham's words, "a heaven-born general."

† Previous to the capture of Calcutta by Surajah Dowlah, the Bengal establishment consisted of one small company of artillery, about sixty European infantry (including officers), and 300 Portuguese half-caste, called topasses; out of the above, three captains, five lieutenants, and four ensigns perished in the Black-Hole. On the recapture of Calcutta, a battalion of sepoys was raised and officered from the detachments which had been sent from Madras to the relief of Fort William; and others were subsequently formed in like manner; until, at Plassy, in 1757, the British force comprised 3,000 sepoys. In 1760 there were sixty European officers, viz.—nineteen captains, twenty-six lieutenants, and fifteen ensigns. In 1765, Clive found the amount raised to four companies of artillery, a troop of hussars, about 1,200 regular cavalry, twenty-four companies of European infantry, and nineteen battalions or regiments of sepoys—in all, about 20,000 men—whom he divided into three brigades, each comprising one European regiment, one company of artillery, six regiments of sepoys, and one troop of native cavalry. The brigades were respectively stationed at Monghyr, Bankipoor (near Patna), and Allahabad.—(Strachey's *Bengal Mutiny*.)

‡ Even Clive admitted that by his arrangement the

As yet all had proceeded smoothly, so far as the military were concerned, and Clive, with his usual self-reliance, considering the time at length arrived when the double batta might be safely abolished, withdrew it at the close of the year 1765. The remonstrances of the officers were treated as the idle complaints of disappointed men, and several months passed without any apprehension arising of serious consequences, until towards the end of April a misunderstanding among the parties concerned suddenly revealed the existence of a powerful and organised combination,* formed by the majority of the leading commanders, aided and abetted by many influential civilians, to compel the restoration of the extra allowances. It was a great and formidable emergency, but "*Frangas non flectes*" had been ever the motto of Clive, and now, rejecting all temporising measures, or idea of a compromise, he came forward with a deep conviction of the danger with which the precedent of military dictation would be fraught, and a firm resolve to subdue the mutiny or perish in the attempt. And there was real danger in the case; for his imperious bearing, combined with the unpopular regulations he came to enforce, had rendered him an object of strong personal ill-feeling to many individuals of note; yet, when told of threats against his life, alleged to have been uttered by one of the officers, he treated the report as an unworthy calumny, declaring that the mutineers were "Englishmen, not assassins." The dauntless courage which had distinguished the youthful defender of Arcot again found ample scope for exertion: it was no longer the over-dressed baron of Plassy †—the successful candidate for power and pelf—the head of the then generally detested class of Anglo-Indian "nabobs,"—but plain Robert Clive, who now, in the full vigour of manhood, his heavy, overhanging brow expressing more forcibly than words a stern purpose, set forth, not in the palanquin of the governor, but, soldier-like, on horseback, to face the disaffected troops. There were still some few officers on whom reliance could be placed; others were summoned from Madras and Bombay: commissions were liberally scattered throughout the ranks; the services of civilians were used to supply vacancies; and increase of pay, for a fixed period, was promised to the common soldiers, whom the officers, to their credit, had made no attempt to corrupt. The danger was in some sort increased by a threatened incursion of the Mahrattas, under their chief minister, the peishwa Mahdoo Rao; yet, on the other hand, this very circumstance aroused in the breasts of many of the malcontents a feeling of shame at the thought of deserting their colours in the face of the foe. The Monghyr brigade, under Sir Robert Fletcher, was the one in which the determination to resign had been most general; and Clive, after a long harangue, perceiving indications of a disposition to resist his orders, took advantage of the steady obedience of the sepoys, by directing them to fire on the officers unless they dispersed immediately. A general submission followed; courts-martial were held, and many of the delinquents cashiered: among others Sir Robert Fletcher, the head of the Monghyr brigade, who, although active in subduing the confederacy, was found to have been gravely implicated in its formation. No blood was shed in these proceedings, and the result proved that such severity would

price of salt had been made too high for the natives, and the profit to the monopolists unreasonably large. —(Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, iii., 259.)

* From the month of December, 1765, consultations had been held and committees formed under the veil of Masonic lodges, and no less than 200 officers pledged themselves to resign their commissions on 1st of June, 1766, but agreed to proffer their services for another fortnight, by the expiration of which time it was expected the extensive defection would compel Clive to consent to the restoration of the double batta. In the event of capital punishment being decreed by courts-martial, they swore to prevent the execution of any comrade at the cost of life; and each one signed a penalty bond of £500 not to re-accept his commission if offered, unless the object of the confederacy were gained.

† Like most biographers, Sir John Malcolm and his coadjutors have endeavoured to set forth the character of their hero in the most favourable light, and by this means have drawn a picture which every impartial reader must feel to be incomplete and one-sided. The termination of the life of Clive by his own hand is not even hinted at; and there is much reason to believe the same partiality to have chiefly guided the selection of letters for publication. Nevertheless, a very amusing one has crept in, addressed by Clive to his intimate friend and agent, Orme the historian, filled with commissions as numerous and minute in detail as any ever received by a London lady of fashion from a country cousin. Among the items, all of which were to be "the best and finest to be got for love or money," were 200 shirts, with wristbands and ruffles, worked to order. The dress of Clive at the durbar (or Oriental levee) was a "fine scarlet coat with handsome gold lace," which one of his purveyors, Captain Latham, considered preferable to "the common wear of velvet." The thick-set figure of Clive, arrayed in a scarlet coat *lined with parchment that the cloth might not wrinkle*, must have presented a strange contrast to the graceful forms and picturesque attire of the Indian nobles.

have involved a needless sacrifice; but the merit of moderation does not rest with Clive, who declared that his endeavours were not wanting to get several of the mutinous ringleaders shot; but his efforts were neutralised by some wholesome doubts in the minds of the judges regarding the extent of the company's authority. In the words of Sir John Malcolm "a misconstruction of the mutiny act inclined the court-martial *to mercy.*" It is a singular ending to the affair, that Sir Robert Fletcher, after this narrow escape, returned to India as commander-in-chief for the Madras presidency; while one John Petrie, sent home by Clive with a rope round his neck, came back to Bengal with a high civil appointment, through the influence of his friends the Johnstones. Soon after this dispersion of one of the most dangerous storms which ever menaced the power of the E. I. Company, the health of Clive failed rapidly, and though earnestly solicited to continue at least another year, and apparently not unwilling to do so, bodily infirmity prevailed, and he quitted Bengal for the third and last time in January, 1767. Shortly before his departure, the young nabob, Nujeem-ad-Dowlah, died of fever, and his brother Syef-ad-Dowlah was permitted to succeed him. In a political point of view the change was of less importance than would have been that of the chief of a factory, but it was advantageous to the company in a pecuniary sense, as affording an opportunity for reducing the stipend.*

* The conduct of Clive, in respect to pecuniary gain, during his second administration, is too important to be left unnoticed; yet the facts necessary to place it in a clear light, can be ill given within the compass of a note. It should be remembered, that by his agreement with the E. I. body, the famous jaghire was to be continued to him for ten years, and provided he should survive that period, was to become the property, not of Meer Jaffier, but of the company. Now jaghires, by the constitution of the Mogul government, in which they originated, were simply annuities, given for the most part expressly for the support of a military contingent. A jaghire was like an office of state, revocable at pleasure: so far from being hereditary, an omrah, or lord of the empire, could not even bequeath his savings without special permission; and we have seen that the Great Moguls—Aurungzebe for instance—never scrupled to exercise their claim as heirs to a deceased noble, leaving to the bereaved family a very limited maintenance as a matter of favour. Clive had solicited this jaghire simply to support his position as an omrah, and had no right whatever to expect its continuance for the purpose of building palaces and buying up rotten boroughs in England. The company might therefore well question the right of Meer Jaffier to bestow, or of their powerful servant to accept, as a perpetual jaghire the quit-rent paid by them for their territory in Bengal. But the question was altogether a perplexed one, inasmuch as Meer Jaffier's claims were wholly founded on the usurpation which had been accomplished by English instrumentality. Shah Alum was the only person who could have rightfully demanded a quit-rent from the company when bestowing on them the dewannee; but the truth was, that every advantage was taken of his necessitous position, regardless of the dictates of justice. The confirmation of the jaghire to Lord Clive, with reversion to the company in perpetuity, was exacted from the emperor; and in thus obtaining a boon for his employers, Clive was far from being uninfluenced by selfish motives; for, on coming to India, he was distinctly told that the strict observance of his pledge—of refraining from every description of irregular gain—should be acknowledged in a manner which must satisfy the expectations even of a man who, after a most extravagant course of expenditure, had still an income of £40,000 a-year. And when, on his return to England, the term of the jaghire was extended for ten years, or, in other words, £300,000 were guaranteed to him or his heirs, Clive had surely reason to admit that "no man had ever been more liberally rewarded." Nevertheless, his administration, even in a pecuniary point of view, had not been blameless. On arriving in India, it appeared that Meer Jaffier had bequeathed to Clive five lacs of rupees, which were in the hands of Munnee Begum, the mother of the reigning prince. Whether Meer Jaffier really left this sum either from friendship to Clive, or from a desire to propitiate him in favour of his favourite concubine and children, or whether they themselves offered a present in the only form in which he could have any excuse for accepting it, is not known; but it was no one's interest to examine into the affair, since Clive thought fit to set the matter at rest by employing the money as a fund greatly needed for the relief of the disabled officers and soldiers of the Bengal establishment, with their widows, and thus laid the foundation of the present establishment at Poplar. Even, however, in this case Clive took care of his personal interests, by inserting a clause in the deed providing that in case of the failure of his interest in the jaghire (then only guaranteed for ten years, of which a considerable portion had expired), the whole five lacs should revert to him. He moreover contrived to make the fund a weapon of political power, by threatening to exclude from it all persons whom he might think "undeserving in any respect soever."—(iii., 43.) With regard to the large sums of money *avowedly* received by him during his second administration, it certainly appears that he did not apply them to the increase of his fixed income, but systematically appropriated the overplus of such gains to the benefit of certain connections and friends (*i.e.*, his brother-in-law, Mr. Maskelyne; his physician, Mr. Ingham; and a Mr. Strachey, his secretary), "as a reward," he writes, in his grand-bashaw style, "for their services and constant attention upon my person."—(iii., 136.) On his arrival in India he at once embarked largely in the salt trade, and thereby realised in nine months a profit, including interest, of forty-five per cent.; his share in the monopoly of salt, established in defiance of the repeated orders of the company, was also greatly beyond that of any individual; and it is certain he employed these and other irregular gains for purely private purposes. Besides this, he sanctioned the unwarrantable conduct of many favoured officers in continuing to re-

It is hardly necessary to remark that the Bengal presidency did not assume a loftier tone of feeling in questions regarding religion or morality under the auspices of Lord Clive. The priestly office was not then deemed inconsistent with mercantile pursuits; and the saving of souls gave place to the engrossing cares of money-making. As to the general state of society, Clive's own account affords abundant evidence of the aptitude with which cadets and writers, fresh from public schools, or, it may be from the pure atmosphere of a quiet home, plunged headlong into a career of extravagance and notorious profligacy, of which the least revolting description would have made their mothers sicken with disgust. One walk about Calcutta would, it appears, suffice to show a stranger that the youngest writers lived in splendid style, which Lord Clive explains, by saying "that they ride upon fine prancing Arabian horses, and in palanquins and chaises; that they keep seraglios, make entertainments, and treat with champagne and claret;"—the certain result being, to become over head and ears in debt to the banyan, or native agent, who, for the sake of obtaining the cover afforded by the bare name of a servant of the powerful English company, supplied the youths with immense sums of money, and committed "such acts of violence and oppression as his interest prompts him to."* It may be remembered that Clive commenced his own Indian career by getting into debt; and there is reason to believe that for *all* the proceedings mentioned by him in the above quotation, the company's servants might have pleaded his lordship's conduct in extenuation of their own.†

After the departure of Clive, a select committee continued, by his advice, to preside over the affairs of Bengal, the chair of the governor being filled by Mr. Verelst until December, 1770. During the administration of this gentleman and his temporary successor, Mr. Cartier, no changes were made in the system of the "double government:" that is to say, of a sway carried on in the name of a nabob, but in reality by English officials. Mill forcibly describes the utter want of any efficient system, or of well-known and generally recognised laws, which formed the prevailing

ceive presents after they had been required to sign covenants enjoining their rejection. For instance, his staunch adherent, General Carnac, after his colleagues had executed the covenants, delayed a certain time, during which he received a present of 70,000 rupees from Bulwant Singh, the Hindoo rajah of Benares, who joined the English against Shuja Dowlah; and he appears to have afterwards obtained permission to appropriate a further sum of two lacs of rupees, given by the emperor, whose unquestioned poverty did not shield him from the extortions of British officers. It has been urged that Clive made atonement for the doubtful means by which he acquired his wealth by its liberal distribution; and the act chiefly insisted upon is the grant of an annuity of £500 a-year to General Lawrence, when he left India enfeebled by asthmatic complaints and the increasing infirmities of age, and returned in honourable poverty to his native land. Considering that Clive acknowledged that to the patronage and instructions of Lawrence he owed all his early success, the extent of the allowance was no very remarkable evidence of a munificent disposition. The dowries of three or four thousand pounds each to his five sisters, with an injunction "to marry as soon as possible, for they had no time to lose" (ii., 161), evince a strong desire to get them off his hands. The princely estates purchased by him, in various parts of the country, were undisguised manifestations of his ostentatious mode of life: among them may be named the noble property of Claremont (obtained from the Duchess of Newcastle), Walcot, Lord Chatham's former residence at Bath, and a house in Berkeley-square. No description of expense was spared to render these aristocratic dwellings fitting exponents of the grandeur of the Indian *millionnaire*; and the smaller accessories of picture galleries and pleasure-grounds did not hinder Clive from carefully following out his leading object—of obtaining parliamentary influence. Six or seven members were returned at his expense, and their efforts doubtless did much to mitigate, though they could not wholly avert, the storm which burst over his head in 1772. The decision of the committee employed in examining his past conduct pronounced, as was fitting, a sentence of mingled praise and condemnation. He had notoriously abused the powers entrusted to him by the nation and the company; but he had rendered to both important services. Such a decision was ill calculated to soothe the excited feelings of Clive, whose haughty nature had writhed under proceedings in which he, the Baron of Plassy, had been "examined like a sheep-stealer." The use of opium, to which he had been from early youth addicted, aggravated the disturbed state of his mind, without materially alleviating the sufferings of his physical frame; and he died by his own hand in Nov., 1774, having newly entered his fiftieth year.—(Malcolm's *Life.*)

* Clive's speech on East Indian Judicature Bill, March, 1722.—(Hansard's *Parl. Hist.*, 355.)

† The French translator of the *Siyar ul Mutakherin* (who was in the service of the Bengal presidency and well acquainted with Clive, to whom he occasionally acted as interpreter) explains a forcible denunciation by Gholam Hussein, of the conduct of certain persons who were tempted by the devil to bring disgrace on families, as an allusion to the violation of all decorum committed by Meer Jaffier, in giving to Clive "ten handsome women out of his seraglio—that is, out of Surajah Dowlah's." Had the donation been conferred on a good Mussulman, instead of a disbeliever in the Koran, the sin would, it seems, have been thereby greatly diminished.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 722.)

feature of this period. The native tribunals retained scarce the shadow of authority; the trade of the country was almost ruined by the oppressions committed on the people; and the monopoly of the inland traffic in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, when at length unwillingly relinquished by the English officials, did not prove the relief to the Bengalee merchants that might have been expected, owing to the heavy pressure of tyranny and extortion to which they were subjected. In fact, there were so many channels by which the natives could be wronged and the company plundered, that closing up one or two might change the direction of the flood, but could not diminish its volume. Clive was naturally unwilling to acknowledge how much of the task for which he had been munificently rewarded had been left unfulfilled; and it was not till after long and bitter experience that the E. I. Cy. learned to appreciate, at their proper value, his exaggerated account of the revenues* obtained through his aggressive policy. And here it may be well to pause and consider for a moment the nature of our position in Bengal, and, indeed, in the whole of the south of India. The insatiable ambition of Aurungzebe had urged him onwards without ceasing, until every Mohammedan kingdom in the Deccan had become absorbed in the Mogul empire. The impolicy of this procedure has been before remarked on. The tottering base forbade the extension of an already too weighty superstructure; but the emperor persevered to the last. Beejapoor and Golconda fell before him, and the governments established by their usurping dynasties were swept off by a conqueror who had time to destroy institutions, but not to replace them. The result was the rapid rise of the many-headed Mahratta power, and the equally rapid decay of Mogul supremacy, even while Aurungzebe, his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons were all in arms together for its support. The death of the emperor, well nigh hunted down by the foes who from despising he had learned to hate, followed as it was by repeated wars of succession and intestine feuds, reduced his descendants, step by step, until their last representative, Shah Alum, became nothing better than the pageant of every successful party. The disastrous battle of Paniput (1761) left the Mahratta state thoroughly unhinged, and, together with internal strife, incapacitated its rulers for assuming that dominant position in India under which such men as Sevajee, Bajee Rao, or the first peishwa, Maharashtra, would doubtless have aspired. In fact, India in the middle of the eighteenth century, resembled, in a political point of view, a vast battle-field strewn with the fragments of ruined states, and affording on every side abundant evidence of a prolonged and severe conflict, from which even the victors had emerged irretrievably injured. In the Deccan this was especially the case; and the only relics of legitimate power rested with a few small Hindoo states (Tanjore, Mysoor, Coorg, &c.), whose physical position or insignificance had enabled them to retain independence amid the general crash of monarchies. The representatives of the E. I. Cy. in India understood the state of affairs, but very imperfectly: it appears that, in 1756, they did not even clearly know who Ballajee Bajee Rao (the actual ruler of the Mahratta state) might be; but at the same time, they had been too long anxious spectators of the proceedings of Aurungzebe and his successors, to be ignorant of the thoroughly disorganised state of the empire. The successful manœuvres of Dupleix and Bussy must have sufficed to remove any lingering doubt on the subject; while the jealousy of the two nations in Europe rendered it evident, that in the absence of a native power (Mussulman or Hindoo) sufficiently strong to compel their neutrality, a contest for supremacy must, sooner or later, take place between the French and English, especially as the former had all along assumed political pretensions ill at variance with the peaceful pursuits of trade. Without entering on the difficult question of the general proceedings of the English company, far

* In addressing the House of Commons, in 1772, Clive described Bengal as "a country containing fifteen millions of inhabitants, a revenue of £4,000,000, and trade in proportion." The extreme distress then existing he treated as a temporary effect of dissensions in the company at home, and misgovernment in India, dating of course from his departure; and he spoke of the venality that prevailed, equally among high and low, with a bold assumption of disinterestedness, declaring, "that in the richest country in the world, where the power of the English had become absolute, where no inferior approached his superior but with a present in his hand, where there was not an officer commanding H.M. fleet, nor an officer commanding H.M. army, nor a governor, nor a member of council, nor any other person, civil or military, in such a station as to have connection with the country government who had not received presents, it was not to be expected the inferior officers should be more scrupulous."—Almon's *Debates*, 1772.

less attempting to vindicate the special aggressions and tricky policy of Clive and his successors, it seems, nevertheless, of absolute necessity to bear in mind the hopeless complication of affairs through which Anglo-Indian statesmen had to grope their way at this critical period; nor do I feel any inconsistency, after employing the best years of my life in pleading—faintly and feebly, but most earnestly—the rights of native British subjects (made such by the sword), in avowing, in the present instance, my conviction, that having once taken a decided course by the deposition of Surajah Dowlah, it would have been better to have assumed at once all power, in name as in reality, over Bengal, and given the natives the benefits they were entitled to expect under a Christian government, instead of mocking their hopes by placing on the musnud a Mussulman usurper of infamous character,—deposing, reinstating, and after his death continuing the pretence in the person of his illegitimate son. Such an unworthy subterfuge could answer no good purpose; it could deceive no one—certainly not the European governments of Spain, Portugal, Holland, and France; for they were severally experienced actors in the theatre of oriental policy. The native population knew, to their cost, that all real authority was now vested in the English presidency; but its members were far too eagerly employed in gathering up spoil for themselves, to heed the cries of the poor in Bengal, or the remonstrances of the company in England. The consequence was, the "middle-men" reaped an abundant harvest, heedless of the ruinous effects of their negligence and venality alike on those they served and those they governed. The directors in London, buoyed up by the representations of Clive, and the flattering promises of their servants abroad, augmented their dividends, fully expecting to find this step justified by largely increasing remittances from India. On the contrary, the anarchy which prevailed, and the additional expenses of every department of government, with the abuses that crept in,* swallowed up the diminishing revenues; and though every ship brought home individuals who had amassed wealth as if by magic, yet heavy bills continued to be drawn on the company; the bullion sent for the China trade was wholly, or in part, appropriated; and the investments continued to diminish alike in quantity and quality. The British government had before set forth a claim to control both the revenues and territorial arrangements of India. The subject was warmly contested in parliament; and in 1767, a bill passed obliging the E. I. Cy. to pay the sum of £400,000 per annum into the public treasury,† during the five years for which alone their exclusive privileges were formally extended. In 1769, a new term of five years was granted, on the same condition as that above stated, with the additional stipulation of annually exporting British manufactures to the amount of £300,000 and upwards. The directors, in the following year (1770), declared a dividend at the rate of twelve per cent; but this improvident procedure was taken in the face of a failing revenue and an increasing debt. In the Carnatic, the ill-advised pledge of co-operation with the Nizam had brought the Madras presidency in collision with Hyder Ali; and in Bengal, affairs grew more and more involved, until the necessity for a change of policy became evident to save the country from ruin and the company from bankruptcy. Mr. Vansittart (the ex-governor), Mr. Scrafton, and Colonel Forde, were sent out in 1769, to investigate and arrange the business of the three presidencies: but this measure proved of no effect; for the *Aurora* frigate, in which they sailed, after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, was never more heard of, and probably foundered at sea.

The loss of Mr. Vansittart was a new disaster to the native population of Bengal, since he well knew the ruinous condition to which they had been reduced by the baneful influence of the monopolies so cruelly enforced by his countrymen; and notwithstanding the perverse proceedings of Clive, and his adherents in the E. I. House in associating with him as fellow-commissioner his sworn foe, Luke Scrafton, still some comprehensive measure might have been expected to have been devised by a man generally considered kind-hearted, to relieve the overwhelming misery in which he would have found the native population involved, had he been permitted to reach

* Clive, in allusion to the charges of contractors, commissioners, engineers, &c., said—"Every man now who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune." During his own administration, he found soldiers charged for in the hospital-list, whose funeral expenses had been long paid.—(*Life*, iii., 137—288.)

† The E. I. Cy. themselves proposed to purchase the extension of their privileges by suffering the public to participate in the territorial acquisitions gained with the aid of the army and navy. The government interfered (ostensibly at least) to check the simultaneous increase of debt and dividend.

Calcutta in safety. The miseries of a land long a prey to oppression and misgovernment, had been brought to their climax by drought. The rice crops of December, 1768, and August, 1769, were both scanty, and the absence of the heavy periodical rains, usual in October, produced an almost total failure of the harvest earnestly desired in the following December. The inferior crops of grain and pulse ordinarily reaped between February and April, were dried to powder by the intense heat, and Bengal, formerly the granary of India, became the scene of one of the most awful famines on record. Not merely whole families, but even the inhabitants of entire villages were swept off by this devastating scourge.* The bark and leaves of trees were eagerly devoured by thousands of starving wretches, who therewith strove—too often in vain—to appease the gnawing pangs of hunger, happy if their sufferings did not goad them to seek relief by more unnatural and loathsome means; for the last horrors that marked the siege of the Holy City were not wanting here; the child fed on its dead parent, the mother on her offspring. The people thronged the towns in the hope of obtaining succour, the highways were strewed with the corpses of those who had perished by the way, and the streets of Moorshedabad and Calcutta were blocked up with the dying and the dead. Day after day the Hooghly rolled down a pestilential freight of mortality, depositing loathsome heaps near to the porticoes and gardens of the English residents. For a time a set of persons were regularly employed in removing the rapidly accumulating masses from the public thoroughfares; but the melancholy office proved fatal to all employed in it: exposure to the effluvia was certain death; and during the worst period, dogs, vultures, and jackals were the only scavengers. The hot, unwholesome air was filled with shrieks and lamentations, amidst which arose the voices of tender and delicate women, nurtured in all the refinements of oriental seclusion, who now came forth unveiled, and on their knees besought a handful of rice for themselves and their children.†

Large subscriptions were raised by the presidency, the native government, and individuals of all ranks and countries. In Moorshedabad alone, 7,000 persons were fed daily for several months; and fearful scenes, involving the destruction of large numbers of the weak and the aged, took place at these distributions, from the fierce struggles of the famished multitudes. Of the total amount of life destroyed by this calamity, no trustworthy estimate has ever been given.‡ Mr. Hastings—perhaps the best authority—supposes Bengal and Bahar to have lost no less than half their inhabitants: other writers state the depopulation at one-third; and even the lowest calculations place the loss at three million of human beings—or one-fifth the inhabitants of the three provinces (including Orissa.)

The question of how far the Bengal authorities were to blame for this calamity, was warmly discussed in England. Their accusers went the length of attributing it wholly to a monopoly of rice by them; but this was so far from being the case, that, with the exception of the necessary measure of storing a sufficient quantity (60,000 maunds) for the use of the army, all trading in grain was strictly forbidden by an order of council in September, 1769. If, as was asserted, certain functionaries did — as is very possible, in defiance of prohibitions, enunciated but not enforced§—make enormous profits of hoards previously accumulated, these were but exceptional cases; and it may be added (without any attempt to exculpate those who, in the face of misery so extreme, could bargain coolly for exorbitant gains), that the reason for regret was

* The anonymous but well-informed author of *English Transactions in the East Indies*, published at Cambridge in 1776, states, that the duty laid by Clive on salt was thirty-five per cent.; the previous tax, even under the monopolies established by Mohammedan nabobs, having been only two-and-a-half. He adds, that the five gentlemen who signed resolutions regarding trading monopolies in India, to levy taxes upon necessaries of more than one-third their value, instead of the fortieth penny with which they were before charged, were all, on their return to England, chosen as members of parliament to co-operate in arranging the national assessments.—(143.)

† *Vide Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 438. Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, i., 214. Macaulay's *Clive*, 83.

‡ Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 309. Malcolm's *Clive*, iii., 253. Grant's *Sketch*, 319.

§ The author of *English Transactions*, recently quoted, concurs with many writers of the period in asserting, that some of the company's agents, finding themselves conveniently situated for the collection of rice in stores, did buy up large quantities, which they so managed as to increase immensely the selling price to the people, for their private gain (p. 145); and Dr. Moodie, in his *Transactions in India* (published anonymously in London in 1776, but of which a copy bearing his name, with many MS. additions, is in the possession of the E. I. Cy.), mentions the case of a needy English functionary at the court of the nabob, who made £60,000 in a few months.

not that some few persons had had the forethought to make provision for the day of want, but that a policy of evident necessity should have been neglected by the rulers of a population mainly dependent for subsistence on so precarious a staple as rice. The true cause of complaint against the Bengal presidency—and it is a heavy one—rests on the systematic oppression and utter misgovernment which their own records reveal as having existed, despite the orders of the directors in England. These again, deceived by the gross exaggerations of Clive, looked upon Bengal as a fountain fed by unseen springs, from which wealth, to an immense extent, might be perpetually drawn, without the return of any considerable proportion to the country from whence it was derived. Clive, during his second administration, had promised the company a net income from Bengal of £2,000,000 per annum, exclusive of all civil or military disbursements; and he declared in parliament, in 1772, that India continued to yield "a clear produce to the public, *and to individuals*, of between two and three million sterling per annum."* It is certain that the Bengal investment of 1771, amounting in goods alone to £768,500, was "wholly purchased with the revenues of the country, and without importing a single ounce of silver"†—a fact which abundantly confirms the declaration of Hastings,—that the sufferings of the people, during the famine, were increased by the violent measures adopted to keep up the revenues, especially by an assessment termed na-jay, "a tax (in a word) upon the survivors, to make up the deficiencies of the dead."‡ Besides this, when the immense and absolutely incalculable amount of specie exported, from the time of the deposition of Surajah Dowlah to the epoch of the famine, is considered in connexion with the notorious deficiency of the circulating medium, and the abuses and erroneous policy connected with the coinage,§ it is easy to understand how fearfully scarcity of money must have aggravated the evils of failing harvests; and how, when rice rose from a standard of price (already permanently augmented under British supremacy to four, six, and even ten times the usual rate), it became of little importance to the penniless multitudes whether it might or might not be purchased for a certain sum, when all they had in the world fell short of the market value of a single meal. In England, the rates of labour are always more or less influenced by the price of provisions; but when the Bengal merchants endeavoured to raise the manufacturing standard, their attempts were soon forcibly put down by the local authorities, who well knew that Indian goods, purchased at a premium consistent even with a Bengalee's humble notion of a "fair day's wages for a fair day's work," would not, when sold in the European markets, indemnify the company for prime cost, for

* Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, iii., 287.

† Verelst's *State of Bengal*, see pp. 81—85.

‡ Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 310.

§ A cotemporary English writer, reviewing the evidence given before parliament in 1772, remarks, that from 1757 to 1771, it is acknowledged or proved, that the E. I. Cy. and their servants received between twenty-nine and thirty millions sterling from Indian princes and their subjects, besides a sum not known, arising from trading monopolies.—(Parker's *Evidence*, 281.) Of the amount above stated, the company received nearly twenty-four million, and their servants upwards of five-and-a-half as presents, which were, however, but one form of what Clive termed the "long track of frauds under the customary disguise of perquisites," which annually brought lacs to junior servants whose salaries were mere pittances.—(*Life of Clive*, iii., 84; *Life of Hastings*, i., 300.) No estimate could be formed of the fortunes thus accumulated, because the prohibition of the directors to send remittances home, exceeding a certain limited amount, by bills drawn on them in England, led Clive and the whole body of officials who, at a humble distance, followed in his footsteps, to invest their wealth in the purchase of diamonds, or to transmit vast sums through the medium of the Dutch and French companies, by which means these inferior settlements had money in abundance, while the investments at Calcutta were often procured by loans, of which eight per cent. was the lowest interest taken for a long series of years. Among the charges brought against Clive, when examined before parliament in 1772, were frauds in the exchange and the gold coinage. According to Ferishta, no silver coin was used in India as late as A.D. 1311; and Colonel Briggs, in commenting on this passage, remarks, that up to a very late period, the chief current coin in the south of India was a small gold fanam, worth about sixpence.—(i., 375.) Since then, however, gold having been entirely superseded by silver, measures were instituted to bring the former again into circulation; and on the new coinage Clive received a heavy per-centage, as governor. The ill-fated bankers—Juggut Seit and his brother—had introduced a tax on the silver currency during the short reign of Surajah Dowlah, which the English very improperly adopted. It consisted in issuing coins called sicca rupees, every year, at five times their actual value, and insisting on the revenues being paid in this coin only, during the period of its arbitrary value—that is, during the year of coinage. In three years it sank to the actual value of the silver; but its possessor, on payment of three per cent., might have it recoined into a new sicca rupee of the original exaggerated value. *Vide* Dow's account of this ingenious method of yearly "robbing the public of three per cent. upon the greater part of their current specie."—(*History of Hindoostan*, i., *Introduction*, p. cxlvii.)

duties and other expenses, exclusive of the profit, which is the originating motive of all commercial associations. Now, it is a well-known fact, that many men who, in their private capacity, would sooner face ruin than inflict it on the innocent, will, as members of a senate or corporation (under the influence of a vague notion of state-necessity or the good of proprietors, whose interests it is their acknowledged duty to consult), institute proceedings of a character utterly opposed to the simple principles of action which guide them in the daily intercourse of domestic life. Flagrant wrong they shrink from with unaffected disgust; but still there are few men who do not, with strange inconsistency, manifest by their practice that public affairs require a constant sacrifice of integrity to expediency, which once admitted as justifiable in their private career, must inevitably destroy the mutual confidence which forms the basis of that distinguishing national characteristic—an English home. The ignorance of the E. I. Cy. of the actual state of affairs (in great measure the result of the newness of their position), was doubtless the leading cause of their suffering the continuance of many unquestionably faulty practices, from the difficulty of providing efficient substitutes. The course of events was well fitted to teach them the great lesson—that there is no course so dangerous to rulers as a persistance in tyranny and misgovernment. The misery of the mass, aggravated by the shameless extortions of English functionaries, necessitated a large increase of military expenses:* taxes were literally enforced at the point of the bayonet; "bur-jant," or the compulsory sale of articles at less than their actual cost, became a notorious practice; and, simultaneous with these iniquitous proceedings in India, were the pecuniary involvements of the company in London; and, what was yet more disgraceful, the fierce strife between the proprietors and directors, and again between both these and his majesty's ministers.

While the sums obtained from Meer Jaffier and Cossim Ali were in process of payment, the affairs of the company went on smoothly enough: annual supplies were furnished for the China trade, and likewise for the Madras presidency (which was always in difficulties, notwithstanding the various sums obtained from Mohammed Ali, the nabob of Arcot), while five lacs or more were yearly drawn by the Bombay presidency.† The dividend of the E. I. Cy., from Christmas, 1766, to Midsummer, 1772, averaged eleven per cent. per annum; during the last-named year it had reached twelve-and-a-half per cent., and this notwithstanding the stipulated payment to government of £400,000, in return for the continuance of the charter. Meantime the bonded debt of Bengal increased from £612,628, in 1771, to £1,700,000, in 1772; and the company, though most unwillingly, were obliged to throw themselves upon the mercy of the ministry (of which the Duke of Grafton and Lord North were at the head), and confess their utter inability to furnish their annual quota; and further, their necessity of soliciting from the Bank of England a loan of above a million sterling to carry on the commercial transactions of the ensuing season.

The government, thus directly appealed to, had ample grounds for instituting an inquiry into the condition of an association which, notwithstanding its immense trading and territorial revenues, had again become reduced to the verge of bankruptcy. It was argued, that the bitter complaints of venality and mismanagement, freely reciprocated by the directors and the servants of the company, were, on both sides, founded in truth. Moreover, the representations made on behalf of Mohammed Ali by his agents, particularly Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Macpherson, had considerable effect, not only generally in producing an unfavourable opinion of the dealings of the E. I. Cy. with Indian princes, but specially by inducing the sending to Arcot of a royal ambassador, Sir John Lindsay, and subsequently of Sir Robert Harland, between both of whom and the local government the most open hostility existed. These proceedings have had too little permanent effect to need being detailed at length, but they illustrate the state of feeling which led to the parliamentary investigations of 1772, and resulted in the first direct connexion of the ministry with the management of East Indian affairs, by the measure commonly known as the *Regulating Act* of 1773. A loan was granted to the company of £1,400,000 in exchequer bills,‡ and various

* Dow asserts, that "seven entire battalions were added to our military establishment to enforce the collections."—(*Hindoostan*, i., cxxxix.)

† *Original Papers*, sent from India and published in England by Governor Vansittart.—(ii., 74.)

‡ The conditions of the loan were, that the sur-

distinct provisions were made to amend the constitution of that body, both at home and abroad, and to ameliorate the condition of the native population newly brought under their sway. A governor-general (Warren Hastings) was nominated to preside over Bengal, and to some extent control the presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen (in Sumatra); the number of counsellors was reduced to four; and these, together with the governor-general, were appointed for five years:* the old Mayor's Court at Calcutta was set aside, and a Supreme Court of judicature, composed of a chief justice and three puisne judges (all English barristers) established in its place, and invested with civil, criminal, admiralty, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all British subjects† resident in the three provinces (Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa); but the governor-general and members of council were exempted, unless indicted for treason or felony. Europeans were strictly forbidden to enter into the inland traffic in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, and rice; and the governors, counsellors, judges, and revenue-collectors, were rigidly prohibited all trade whatever. Not only the covenanted servants of the company, but also the civil and military officers of the crown, were forbidden to receive presents from the natives; and the maximum of the legal rate of interest in Bengal was fixed at twelve per cent. per annum. Specific punishments were affixed to the violation of the above enactments, on conviction before the Supreme Court.

The majority of these regulations were of a nature which, from the political character of the English constitution, could be enforced against British subjects only by the express authority of their national rulers.‡ The privity of the Crown thus of necessity established in the affairs of the company, was further secured by a proviso, that all financial and political advices transmitted from India, should, within fourteen days after their arrival, be communicated to the administration by the Court of Directors;§ and any ordinance of the governor-general in council might be disallowed by the Crown, provided its veto were pronounced within two years after the enactment of the obnoxious measure.

The state of Bengal, at the period at which we have now arrived, has been sufficiently shown in the foregoing pages. The only events still unnoticed with regard to the Calcutta Presidency, are the death of the nabob, Syef-ad-Dowlah, of small-pox; the accession of his brother, Mobarik-ad-Dowlah, a boy of ten years old; and the departure of Shah Alum from Allahabad to take possession of his own capital of Delhi. After the retreat of the Doorani invader, the government of this city had been assumed by Nujeeb-oo-Dowla (the Rohilla chief frequently alluded to in previous pages), and, together with such authority, territorial and judicial, as yet remained

plus of the clear revenue of the company should be paid half-yearly into the exchequer, till the liquidation of the debt; that in the interim, their annual dividend should not exceed six per cent.; and that until the reduction of their total bond-debt to £1,500,000, the dividend should not exceed seven per cent.—(13 George III., c. 64.) Among the alterations made by this enactment in the internal arrangements of the association, was a decree for the annual election of six directors for the term of four years; the interval of a year to be then suffered to elapse before the same person could be again eligible; whereas the directors had been previously annually chosen for a single year, at the close of which they might be at once re-elected. The qualification for a vote was raised from £500 to £1,000 stock, and regulations were framed to prevent the collusive transfer of stock for electioneering purposes.

* The salary of the governor-general was fixed at £25,000 per ann.; the counsellors, £10,000 each; chief justice, £8,000; puisne judges, £6,000 each; to be received in lieu of all fees or perquisites.

† Notwithstanding the absolute nullity of any power in the youth on whom the title of nabob had been last conferred, the natives of Bengal were not yet viewed as British subjects; and by the *Regulating Act*, could not be sued in the Supreme Court, (except upon any contract in writing, where the object in dispute exceeded 500 rupees in value), unless they were themselves willing to abide by the decision of that tribunal. This protective clause was set forth only in the directions for civil proceedings, and (probably from inadvertence) not repealed in those which regarded the penal court. The omission enabled the chief justice to adjudge the celebrated Nuncomar to death for forgery, at the suit of a native.

‡ The preamble to the act states it to have been a necessary measure, because several powers and authorities previously vested in the E. I. body had "been found, by experience, not to have sufficient force and efficacy to prevent various abuses which have prevailed in the government and affairs of the said company, as well at home as in India, to the manifest injury of the public credit, and of the commercial interests of the said company."

§ The regulations and ordinances decreed by the governor-general in council, were invalid unless duly registered and published in the Supreme Court of judicature. Appeals against any of them might be laid before the king in council by any person in India or in England, if lodged within sixty days after the publication of the act complained of, either at the Supreme Court or the E. I. House, where notices of all such measures were to be affixed.

connected therewith, was exercised by him in the name of the young prince, Jewan Bukht, the eldest son of Shah Alum, who had been left behind at the period of his father's flight in 1758. The encroachments of the Jat Rajah, Sooraj Mull, into whose hands Agra had fallen after the battle of Paniput, in 1761, resulted in a regular conflict between him and Nujeeb-oo-Dowla, in 1764. The rajah was killed at the very commencement of hostilities; and the endeavour of his son and successor, Jowher Sing, to prosecute the war by the assistance of the Mahratta chieftain, Mulhar Rao Holcar, proved ineffectual. In 1769, the peishwa's army crossed the Chumbul, and after desolating Rajast'han and levying arrears of chout from the Rajpoot princes, they proceeded to overrun the country of the Jats, which at this time extended from Agra to the borders of Delhi on the north-west, and near to Etawa on the south-east, and afforded a revenue of nearly £250,000. The Mahrattas gained a decided victory near Bhurtpoor, and made peace with the Jats on condition of receiving a sum of about £75,000. They then encamped for the monsoon, intending at its expiration to enter Rohilcund, and revenge on the leading chiefs the part played by them in concert with the Afghan victor at the bloody field of Paniput. Nujeeb-oo-Dowla took advantage of the interval to negotiate a treaty on behalf of himself and the Rohillas in general; and his overtures were favourably received, on account of the mutual need each party had of the other to obtain an object desirable in the sight of both, the withdrawal of the emperor from the immediate influence of the English, and his re-establishment in Delhi. The arrangement was marred by the death of Nujeeb-oo-Dowla, at the close of 1770. His son, Zabita Khan, who appears to have inherited the ambition, unchecked by the loyalty or prudence of his father, assumed the charge of affairs, and showed no inclination to procure the return of his liege lord. In the following year, Rohilcund was overrun by the Mahrattas; the strong fortress of Etawa fell into their hands; Delhi was seized by them, and Zabita Khan fled to Seharunpoor, the capital of his own patrimony in Rohilcund. The prince, Jewan Bukht, was treated with marked respect, and the emperor given to understand, that if he did not think fit to accept the repeated invitations made to him to return to his capital, his son would be formally placed on the throne. In an evil hour, Shah Alum yielded to a natural desire of taking possession of the scanty remains of imperial power which formed his ill-omened inheritance. The darkest hour he had hitherto encountered had afforded him experience of the fidelity of a Mahratta general;* nor does there seem to have been any sufficient reason for his anticipating the mercenary and unprincipled conduct which he eventually received at their hands, which, however, never equalled in treachery the proceedings of his professed friend and nominal servant, but most grasping and relentless foe, Shuja Dowlah, the cherished ally of the English. In fact, the insidious counsels and pecuniary aid furnished by this notable schemer, were mainly instrumental in resolving Shah Alum to quit Allahabad, which he did after receiving from the Bengal presidency a strong assurance "of the readiness with which the company would receive and protect him, should any reverse of fortune compel him once more to return to his provinces."† The commander-in-chief (Sir Robert Barker) and Shuja Dowlah attended the royal march to the frontier of the Corah district, and then took leave with every demonstration of respect and good-will; the latter declaring that nothing but the predominant influence of the Mahrattas at court prevented his proceeding thither and devoting himself to the performance of the duties of the vizierat. Shah Alum reached Delhi in December, 1771, and entered its ancient gates amid the acclamations of the populace. Happily, his enjoyment of this gleam of prosperity was unmarred by a knowledge of the almost unexampled miseries which awaited him during the chief part of the ensuing six-and-twenty years. Could but a passing glimpse of coming sorrows have been foreshadowed to him, the lowliest hut in Bengal would have seemed a blessed refuge from the agonies of mind and body he and his innocent family were doomed to endure within the stately walls of their ancestral home.

* Etal Rao lay encamped on the banks of the Jumna, when the emperor (then heir-apparent) fled from Delhi. He received the fugitive with the utmost kindness,—swore on the holy waters of the Ganges not to betray him; and more than redeemed his pledge, in spite of threats and bribes, by guarding the prince for six months, and then escorting him to a place of safety.—(Francklin's *Shah Alum.*)

† Official Letter from Bengal, 31st August, 1771. Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 287

The Bombay Presidency, so far as its finances were concerned, continued to be a heavy tax on the E. I. Cy., the net revenue not sufficing to defray a third of its civil and military expenditure.*

In the Madras Presidency, events had taken place which the superior importance and interest of Bengal affairs have prevented from being noticed in chronological succession. Reference has been made to the ill-feeling which sprang up between the E. I. Cy. and Mohammed Ali (the nabob of their own nomination.) The cause was twofold—first, the English expected to find the province, of which Arcot was the capital, a mine of wealth, and hoped to derive from the nabob, when firmly established there, considerable pecuniary advantage. They soon discovered their mistake as to the amount of funds thus obtainable, and still more with regard to the expenditure of life and treasure to be incurred in establishing the power of a man who, though of very inferior capacity, was inordinately ambitious, and yet distrustful—not perhaps without cause—of the allies, by whose assistance alone his present position could be maintained, or his views of aggrandisement carried out. The chief points in the long-continued hostilities, undertaken by the presidency to enforce his very questionable claims to sovereignty or tribute, may be briefly noted, nor can the painful admission in justice be withheld—that many expeditions dispatched under the auspices of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Pigot, whatever their ostensible motive, were really prompted by a desire to replenish a treasury exhausted by military expenses, especially by the long war with the French, which commenced in 1746, and terminated with the reduction of Pondicherry in 1761. The miseries of the native population must have been too great to admit of much increased exaction. Since its first invasion by Aurungzebe,† the Carnatic had been, almost without interruption, the scene of rapine and disorganisation; imperial agents, usurping nabobs, and chout-collecting Mahrattas had claimed revenues, and exacted contributions, as each found opportunity; and the commanders of districts and forts maintained their often ill-gotten authority, by resisting or complying with the demands made upon them, according to the urgency of the case. But the great load of suffering fell ever on the unarmed and inoffensive peasantry, whose daily sustenance was to be procured by daily work. This suffering was not of a character peculiar to the epoch now under consideration: it would seem that, from time immemorial, the working classes of Hindoostan had practically experienced the scourge of war; for every one of the multifarious languages of the peninsula has a word answering to the Canarese term *Wulsa*, which, happily, cannot be explained in any European tongue without considerable circumlocution. The Wulsa denotes the entire population of a district, who, upon the approach of a hostile army, habitually bury their most cumbrous effects, quit their beloved homes, and all of them, even to the child that can just walk alone, laden with grain, depart to seek shelter (if, happily, it may be found) among some neighbouring community blessed with peace. More frequently the pathless woods and barren hills afford their sole refuge, until the withdrawal of the enemy enables them to return to cultivate anew the devastated fields. Such exile must be always painful and anxious: during its continuance the weak and aged die of fatigue; if long protracted, the strong too often perish by the more dreadful pangs of hunger. Colonel Wilks affirms, that the Wulsa never departed on the approach of a British army, when unaccompanied by Indian allies;‡ but this is poor comfort regarding the measures taken on behalf of Mohammed Ali, since there is no reason to suppose his troops more scrupulous than their fellows, or less feared by the unhappy peasantry. The fort and district of Vellore were captured for him, in 1761, from Murtezza Ali,§ with the assistance of the English, after a three months' siege; but the treasure taken there ill repaid the cost of the conquest. The latter part of 1763, and nearly the whole of the following twelve-

* In the *Report of Select Committee*, June, 1784, the net revenue of Bombay for the year ending April, 1774, is stated at £109,163; civil and military charges, £347,387: leaving a deficiency of £238,224.

† During the nineteen years preceding the death of Aurungzebe, in 1707, his favourite general, Zulfeccar Khan, was employed in the Carnatic in ceaseless and destructive hostilities; and it is recorded that nineteen actions were fought, and 3,000 miles marched by this officer in six months only. Famine and pestilence—the direct consequences of prolonged and systematic devastation—followed, and even exceeded in their ravages the scourge of war. The terrible sufferings of the people, during this melancholy period, are affectingly described in many of the memoirs comprised in the valuable Mackenzie collection.

‡ Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 309.

§ *See* previous pages, especially Note †, p. 252.

months, were taken up in a struggle with Mohammed Esoof, a brave and skilful officer, who had long and faithfully served the English as commandant of sepoys. He had been placed in command of Madura, as renter; but the unproductive condition of the country rendered it, he declared, impossible to pay the stipulated sum. The excuse is believed to have been perfectly true; but it was treated as a mere cloak to cover an incipient attempt at independence. An army marched upon Madura, and Esoof, fairly driven into resistance, commenced a desperate contest, which occasioned heavy loss of life on the side of the English, and the expenditure of a million sterling, before hostilities terminated by the seizure and betrayal of his person into the hands of Mohammed Ali, by whom he was condemned to die the death of a rebel, and actually executed as such.

His betrayer was a man named Marchand, who had joined him among a body of French troops sent to his aid by the Mahratta rajah of Tanjore, from whom a heavy sum had recently been extorted on the plea of arrears of tribute due to the general government of the Carnatic. The acquisition of the Northern Circars, in 1766, and the treaty made by Lord Clive with Nizam Ali, has been noticed, as also the impolicy of engaging to hold a body of troops in readiness to do the will of so belligerent and unscrupulous a leader. It was not long before the fulfilment of this pledge was insisted on, and the immediate consequence proved the commencement of a long and disastrous series of wars with Hyder Ali. Since his sudden separation from the French, in 1760, his road to eminence had been short and sanguinary. Force and fraud, used indifferently, according to the nature of the obstacle to be overcome, had raised Hyder to the supreme authority in Mysoor; and a skilful admixture of the same ingredients, enabled him gradually to acquire possession of many portions of Malabar and Canara, until then exempt from Moslem usurpation. The strife at one period existing between Nizam Ali and his elder brother, Bassalut Jung, induced the latter to make an attempt at independence, in prosecution of which he marched, in 1761, against Sera,* a province seized by the Mahrattas, and separated by them from the government of the Deccan, of which it had previously formed a part. The resources of Bassalut Jung proving quite insufficient for the projected enterprise, he gladly entered into an arrangement with Hyder Ali; and, on receiving five lacs of rupees, made over his intention of conquering Sera to that chief, on whom he conferred the title of nabob, together with the designation of Khan Bahadur—"the heroic lord." Sera was speedily subdued, and its reduction was followed, in 1763, by the seizure, on a most shameless pretext, of Bednore,† a territory situated on the loftiest crest of the Ghauts, 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, abounding in magnificent forests, and fertilized by copious rains, which produce harvests of remarkable abundance. The sequestered position of this little kingdom, had hitherto preserved it from Mohammedan invasion, and enabled successive rulers to accumulate

* The districts of Great and Little Balipoor were included in the province of Sera: the former was held as a jaghire by Abbas Kooli Khan, the persecutor of Hyder in childhood. Bassalut Jung wished to exclude this territory from that over which he assumed the right of investing Hyder with authority,—(a right, says Wilks, which could only be inferred from the act of granting); but the latter declared the arrangement at an end, if any interference were attempted with the gratification of his long-smouldering revenge. Abbas Kooli Khan fled to Madras, leaving his family in the hands of his bitter foe; but Hyder showed himself in a strangely favourable light; for in remembrance of kindness bestowed on him in childhood by the mother of the fugitive, he treated the captives with lenity and honour. This conduct did not, however, embolden Abbas Kooli to quit the protection of the English, or throw himself on his mercy; and, some years later (in 1769), when Hyder presented himself at the gates of Madras, he embarked in a crazy vessel, and did not venture to land until the hostile force had reascended the mountain-passes.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, i., 440.)

† The last actual rajah of Bednore died in 1755, leaving an adopted heir, of about seventeen years of age, under the guardianship of his widow. The youth animadverted with severity on the conduct of the ranee, with regard to a person named Nimbeia, and the result was his own assassination by a *jetti* or athlete, who watched an opportunity to dislocate his neck while employed in shampooing him in the bath. The guilty ranee selected an infant to fill the vacant thone; but, about five years after, a pretender started up, claiming to be the rightful heir, and describing himself as having escaped the intended doom by means of a humane artifice practised by the athlete. Hyder readily availed himself of the pretext for invading Bednore, though he probably never entertained the least belief of the truth of the story; and the whole army treated the adventurer with the utmost derision, styling him the "Rajah of the resurrection." So soon as Bednore was captured, Hyder, setting aside all conditions or stipulations previously entered into, sent the ranee and her paramour, with his own *protégé*, to a common prison in the hill-fort of Mudgherry, whence they were liberated on the capture of the place by the Mahrattas in 1767. The ranee died directly after her release.

much treasure. The mountain capital (eight miles in circumference) fell an easy prey to the Mysoorean chief; "and the booty realised may," says Colonel Wilks, "without the risk of exaggeration, be estimated at twelve million sterling, and was, through life, habitually spoken of by Hyder as the foundation of all his subsequent greatness."* The subjugation of the country was not, however, accomplished without imminent danger to the life of the invader.†

Hyder now assumed the style of an independent sovereign, and struck coins in his own name. Having completed the necessary arrangements for the occupation of the lesser districts included in his new dominions (which comprehended two places often named in the history of early European proceedings on this coast,—Onore and Mangalore), he next seized the neighbouring territories of Soonda and Savanoor, and then rapidly extended his northern frontier almost to the banks of the Kistnah. Here, at length, his daring encroachments were arrested by Mahdoo Rao, the young and energetic Mahratta peishwa, who (taking advantage of the accommodation with Nizam Ali, which had succeeded the partial destruction of Poonah by the latter in 1763) crossed the Kistnah, in 1764, with a force greatly outnumbering that of Hyder. A prolonged contest ensued, in which the advantage being greatly on the side of the Mahrattas, and the army of Hyder much reduced, he procured the retreat of the peishwa, in 1765, by various territorial concessions, in addition to the payment of thirty-two lacs of rupees. When relieved from this formidable foe, he forthwith commenced preparations for the conquest of Malabar, which he succeeded in effecting after an irregular war of some months' duration with the proud and liberty-loving Nairs, or military cast; for the disunion of the various petty principalities neutralised the effects of the valour of their subjects, and prevented any combined resistance being offered. Cananore,‡ Cochin, Karical—all fell, more or less com-

* *History of Mysoor*, i., 452. Mill says—"More likely it was not a third of the sum" (iii., 469); but native testimonies and the reports of the French mercenaries in the service of Hyder, with other circumstances, tend to confirm the opinion of Wilks. In a life of Hyder Ali, written by the French leader of his European troops, whose initials (M.M.D.L.T.) are alone given, it is stated that two heaps of gold, coined and in ingots, and of jewels, set and unset, were piled up until they surpassed the height of a man on horseback. They were then weighed with a corn measure. Hyder gave a substantial proof of the extent of his ill-gotten booty, by bestowing on every soldier in his service a gratuity equal to half a year's pay.—(*History of Ayder Ali Khan, Nabob Bahader;* translated from the French: Dublin, 1774.)

† The ministers of the late dynasty entered into an extensive conspiracy for his assassination and the recovery of the capital. Some vague suspicions induced Hyder to cause inquiry to be made by his most confidential civil servants. The persons so employed were, strangely enough, all concerned in the plot. They performed their commission with apparent zeal, and read the result to the dreaded despot as he lay on a couch shivering with ague. His keen perceptions were undimmed by bodily infirmity; but affecting to be duped by the garbled statements made by the commissioners, he detained them in consultation until he felt able to rise. Then, entering the durbar, or hall of audience, he examined and cross-examined witnesses until the mystery was quite unravelled. The commissioners were executed in his presence, many unhappy nobles of Bednore arrested, and, before the close of the day, 300 of the leading confederates were hanging at the different public ways of the city. Hyder, we are told, retired to rest with perfect equanimity, and rose on the following morning visibly benefited by the stimulating effect of his late exertions. Peace of mind had, however, fled from him; and, notwithstanding the terrible perfection which his inquisitorial and sanguinary police system subsequently attained, the dagger of the assassin was an image never absent from his sleeping or waking thoughts, save when banished by the stupor of complete intoxication, which became to him a nightly necessity. One of his most intimate associates relates, that after having watched over him during a short interval of convulsive sleep, snatched in his tent during a campaign, Hyder exclaimed on awaking—"The state of a yogee (religious mendicant) is more delightful than my envied monarchy: awake, they see no conspirators; asleep, they dream of no assassins."—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, i., 143.)

‡ The Dutch possessions on the Malabar coast had been materially lessened during the interval between the last mention made of them in 1740 (p. 245), and the invasion of Hyder Ali in 1766. The expensive trading establishments maintained there proved a heavy drain on the finances of the company, which Stavorinus, on the authority of Governor Mossel, alleges to have been occasioned by the continual disputes and wars in which they had been engaged with the native princes, "and not a little by the infidelity and peculation of the servants who have been employed here." Mossel declares, "it would have been well for the Dutch company had the ocean swallowed up the coast of Malabar an hundred years ago." Under these circumstances, the best thing was to get rid of such unfortunate acquisitions. Cranganore was sold to the rajah of Travancore; and Cananore, in 1770, for the sum of 100,000 rupees, to a recently established potentate, styled by Stavorinus the Sultan of Angediva or Anchediva, a little rocky isle, two miles from the coast of North Canara. This chief belonged by birth to the mixed class, the offspring of intercourse (after the Malabar custom) between native women and Arabian immigrants: they bore the significant appellation of Moplah or *Mapilla* (the children of their mothers); but were mostly believers in the Koran. Ali Rajah, the purchaser of Cananore, had risen by trade to wealth, and thence to political importance: he took

pletely, into the power of Hyder; and Maan Vecram Raj, the Zamorin, or Tamuri rajah of Calicut, disgusted by the faithlessness of his unprincipled opponent, and terrified by the cruel and humiliating tortures inflicted on his ministers to extort money, set fire to the house in which he was confined, and perished in the flames.* Shortly after this event, Hyder was recalled to Seringapatam by the alarming intelligence that the English and Mohammed Ali had united with the Nizam in a confederacy for the reduction of his dangerous ascendancy. Hyder was a complete master of every description of intrigue. He succeeded, by dint of bribery, in withdrawing Nizam Ali from the alliance into which the English had unwisely entered, and the very corps which had accompanied the Nizam into the dominions of Hyder, sustained in its retreat an attack from their united forces.† Madras was imperilled by the unlooked-for appearance of 5,000 horse, under the nominal command of Tippoo, the eldest son of Hyder Ali, then a youth of seventeen. The president and council were at their garden-houses without the town; and had the attention of the invaders been less absorbed in the accumulation of plunder, they might have seized as their prize the whole of these functionaries, and dictated at leisure the terms of general peace and individual ransom. But they delayed until news arrived of a decisive victory gained by Colonel Smith, at Trincomalee,‡ over Hyder and Nizam Ali, which being closely followed by other advantages on the side of the English (including the successful defence of Amboor),§ brought the campaign to an end. Hyder retreated within his own frontier, and the Nizam concluded a peace with the English in February, 1768, by which he agreed to receive seven lacs per annum for six years, as temporary tribute for the Circars, instead of the perpetual subsidy of nine lacs per annum previously promised. Hyder was himself equally solicitous of forming a treaty with the Madras presidency. He did not scruple to avow his inability to oppose at once both them and the Mahrattas; and he candidly avowed that disinclination to make common cause with the latter people, was the leading incentive to his repeated overtures for alliance with the English. His offers were,

an early opportunity of propitiating the favour of Hyder, at the expense of the high-born Hindoo princes in his vicinity. When Stavorinus himself visited India, in 1775–'8, the Dutch possessions on the Malabar coast nominally extended a distance of about thirty-two leagues; but, excepting the little island of Paponetty, and a few insignificant villages on the shore, the company had "no other actual property in the soil than in that upon which their fortifications are constructed."—(Stavorinus' *Voyages*, iii., chapters xiii. and xiv.)

* Several of the personal attendants of the Zamorin being accidentally excluded when the doors were fastened, threw themselves into the flames, and perished with their master. This catastrophe had no effect in softening the heart of Hyder, or inducing him to show compassion to the ministers. The Nairs, rendered desperate by his cruelty, rose against him repeatedly, and were, if captured, either beheaded or hanged, until the idea struck their persecutor of preserving them to populate certain other portions of his dominions. The experiment proved fatal to the majority of the unhappy beings upon whom it was tried: of 15,000 who were subjected to this forced emigration, only 200 survived the fatigue and hardships of the way and the change of climate, which Indians in general—and particularly the natives of Malabar—can ill bear under every possible circumstance of alleviation.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, i., 477.)

† Either from generosity or policy, five English companies, attached to the Nizam as a guard of honour, were suffered by him to depart and join the force under Colonel Smith three days before the commencement of open hostilities by the new allies.

‡ Hyder prevailed on the Nizam to give the order to retreat, and was himself clearly perceived by the English issuing directions for that purpose, in the midst of a select body of infantry, whose scarlet dresses, with lances eighteen feet long, of bamboo, strengthened by bands of polished silver, rendered them no less picturesque in appearance than formidable in reality. The retreat was, for the moment, delayed by a singular incident. Nizam Ali invariably carried his favourite wives in his train, even to the field of battle. On the present occasion, directions were given to the drivers of the elephants on which they were seated, to decamp forthwith,—an undignified procedure, which was firmly opposed by the fair occupant of one of the howdahs. "This elephant," she exclaimed, "has not been instructed so to turn; he follows the imperial standard:" and though the English shot fell thick around, the lady waited till the standard passed. A considerable body of cavalry, roused to action by the sense of shame inspired by this feminine display of chivalry, made a partial charge upon the enemy.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 38.)

§ The assault lasted twenty-six days, at the expiration of which time, the besieged were relieved by the approach of the British army. In honour of the steady courage there manifested, the 1st battalion of the 10th regiment bear "the rock of Amboor" on their colours. Hyder had a narrow escape during this enterprise; for while examining the fortifications, under cover of a rock which sheltered him completely from the direct fire of the fort, a cannon-shot rebounded from a neighbouring height, and cut in two his only companion, leaving him unhurt. The Mysoorean court were, according to Colonel Wilks, the most unscientific in all India; and being ignorant of the simple principle by which a ball would rebound amid the rocks which limited its influence, until its force was spent, they attributed the fate of Khakee Shah to a miracle of vengeance, wrought to punish his recent offence of taking a false oath on a false Koran, to aid Hyder in deceiving and entrapping his ancient and much-injured patron, Nunjeraj.—(Wilks.)

however, haughtily rejected. Driven to desperation, he put forth all his powers, ravaged the Carnatic, penetrated to Trichinopoly, laid waste the provinces of Madura and Tinnevelly, and finally, after drawing the English army, by a series of artful movements, to a considerable distance from Madras, he selected a body of 6,000 cavalry, marched 120 miles in three days, and suddenly appeared on the Mount of Saint Thomas, in the immediate vicinity of the English capital. The presidency were struck with consternation. The fort might undoubtedly have held out till the arrival of the army under Colonel Smith, but the open town with its riches, the adjacent country, and the garden-houses of the officials, would have been ravaged and destroyed; moreover, the exhausted state of the treasury afforded little encouragement to maintain hostilities with a foe whose peculiar tactics enabled him to procure abundant supplies for his troops in a hostile country, and to surround his enemies with devastation and scarcity in the heart of their own domains.* A treaty was concluded with him in April, 1769, of which the principal conditions† were a mutual restoration of conquests and a pledge of alliance, defensive but not offensive. The distinction involved in the latter proviso was, as might have been foreseen, of little avail; for the foes against whom Hyder especially desired the co-operation of the English troops, were the Mahrattas, who periodically invaded his territories; and on the expected approach of Mahdoo Rao, he urgently appealed to the presidency for the promised aid, which they withheld on the plea of complicated political relations, and thus excited, with too just cause, the vindictive passions of their ally. The military abilities of the peishwa were of no common order: and he approached with the determination of materially circumscribing the power of a rival whose proceedings and projects, after long undervaluing, he began to appreciate correctly. Seizing one by one the conquests‡ of Hyder,

* Hyder, throughout his whole career, displayed a peculiarly teachable spirit in every proceeding relative to his grand object in life—the art of war. Kunde Rao, a Brahmin, early instructed him in Mahratta tactics; and by their joint endeavours a system of plunder was organised, which Sevajee himself might have admired. The Beder peons (described by Colonel Wilks as "faithful thieves") and the Pindarries (a description of horse who receive no pay, but live on the devastation of the enemy's country), were among the most effective of Hyder's troops. The general arrangement seems to have been, that the army, besides their direct pay, should receive one-half the booty realised; the remainder to be appropriated by their leader; and the whole proceeding was conducted by a series of checks, which rendered the embezzlement of spoil almost impossible. Moveable property of every description, obtained either from enemies or (if practicable without exciting suspicion) by simple theft from allies, was the object of these marauders;—from convoys of grain, cattle, or fire-arms, down to the clothes, turbans, and earrings of travellers or villagers, whether men, women, or children. Kunde Rao at length became disgusted by the uncontrolled ambition and covetousness of Hyder. Unwilling to see the ancient Hindoo institutions of Mysoor swept off by an avowed disbeliever in all religion, he went over to the side of the unfortunate rajah, and was, as before stated, in the hour of defeat delivered up to his fierce and relentless foe, who retained him two years exposed in an iron cage in the most public thoroughfare of Bangalore; and even when death at length released the wretched captive, left his bones to whiten there in memory of his fate. (*See* Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 434, the French *Life of Ayder*, and Dr. Moodie's *Transactions in India from* 1756 *to* 1783, for an account of this almost unexampled act of barbarity.) In his later career, Hyder declared, that the English were his chief tutors in military stratagems; and for Colonel Smith he expressed particular respect, calling him his preceptor in the science of war, and having his picture suspended in the palace of Seringapatam.

† Other clauses provided, that the company were to be allowed to build a fort at Onore, and to have the sole right of purchasing pepper in the dominions of Hyder Ali; payment to be made to him in guns, saltpetre, lead, gunpowder, and ready money. The directors strongly reprobated the supply of offensive implements to so dangerous a potentate, and likewise the cannon afterwards sold to him, and the shipping built by his orders,—remarking, that such a procedure could not conduce to the welfare of the presidency, although it might suit the views of individuals.

‡ The battle of Chercoolce, which occurred while the Mysooreans were retreating to Seringapatam, was attended by some incidents singularly illustrative of the character of Hyder, who, though well able to be courtly on occasion, was habitually fierce in his anger and coarse in his mirth, and in either case equally unaccustomed to place any restraint on his tongue or hand. When under the influence of intoxication, his natural ferocity occasionally broke out in the most unbridled excesses; but he rarely drank deeply, except alone and at night. On the eve of this disastrous battle, the alarms of war prevented him from sleeping off the effects of his usual potation; and in a state of stupid inebriety he sent repeated messages desiring the presence of Tippoo, which owing to the darkness and confusion, were not delivered until daybreak. When Tippoo at length appeared, his father, in a paroxysm of rage, abused him in the foulest language, and snatching a large cane from the hand of an attendant, inflicted on the heir-apparent a literally severe beating. Burning with anger, and smarting with pain, the youth, when suffered to retire, hastened to the head of his division, and dashed his sword and turban on the ground, exclaiming, "My father may fight his own battle; for I swear by Allah and the Prophet, that I draw no sword to-day." Then throwing aside his outer garment of cloth of gold, he tied a coloured handkerchief round his head, and assumed the guise of one

he marched onward until the Mysoor state shrank into narrower limits than it had occupied under the native government at the beginning of the century. The authority of the usurper tottered; and the Hindoo rajah, thinking the conjuncture of affairs favourable to the assertion of his claims, strove to open a communication with the Mahratta general; but the proceeding being detected, the unhappy prince was immediately strangled while in the bath. Still Hyder cared not, at this crisis, openly to seat himself on the ivory throne of Mysoor: double governments were in fashion throughout India, and the brother of the late rajah was proclaimed his successor. He did not long survive this perilous distinction; and Hyder, with unblushing effrontery, affected to choose from the children of the royal lineage, for the next pageant, a boy of sense and spirit—qualities which would necessarily unfit him to be the tool of the deadly foe of his family.* The retreat of the Mahrattas was secured on more favourable terms than could have been expected, by reason of the fast-failing health of the peishwa, who, in the same year (1772), died of consumption. He left no child, and his widow, to whom he had been devotedly attached, burnt herself with his body. Maharashtra is described as having greatly improved under his sway, and as being, in proportion to its fertility, probably more thriving than any other part of India, notwithstanding the inherent defects of its administrative system, and the corruption which Madhoo Rao restrained, but could not eradicate. His death, says Grant Duff, "occasioned no immediate commotion: like his own disease, it was at first scarcely perceptible; but the root which invigorated the already scathed and wide-extending tree, was cut off from the stem; and the plains of Paniput were not more fatal to the Mahratta empire, than the early death of this excellent prince."†

The above sketch illustrates, so far as the limits of this work will permit, the position of the three presidencies and of the leading neighbouring states, at the period when great and rapid changes were about to be effected in the whole scope and tenor of Anglo-Indian policy. The princes of Rajast'han were engaged in holding their own against the marauding Jats and Mahrattas, under Holcar and Sindia,‡ who, for their own ends, thought fit to interfere in a disputed suc-

who had renounced the world. After the ensuing complete victory of the Mahrattas, Tippoo was advised by his faithful friend, Seyed Mohammed (who related the adventure to Colonel Wilks), to make his way to Seringapatam as a travelling mendicant; and they contrived to reach the capital that night, to the great relief of Hyder, who believing his son lost, had refused to enter the city, and was awaiting further intelligence in a small mosque, probably unable to bring himself to encounter the burst of anger and sorrow to which his wife, the mother of Tippoo, who had great influence with him, would give vent on learning the circumstances which he knew, and the issue he feared.—(*Mysoor*, ii., 146.)

* Hyder assembled the children in the royal hall of audience, which he had previously caused to be strewn with fruits, sweetmeats, flowers, books, coin, and toys of all description: each took what struck his fancy; one boy seized a brilliant little dagger, and soon afterwards a lime with the unoccupied hand. "That is the rajah," said Hyder; "his first care is military protection; his second, to realise the produce of his dominions."—(*Idem.* ii., 163.)

† *History of the Mahrattas*, ii., 237. The actual revenue of the Mahratta state, at this period (including the jaghires of Holcar, Sindia, Janojee Bhonslay, and Dummajee Guicowar, together with tribute, fees, fines, and extra revenue of every description), amounted to about seven million sterling per ann., including Mahdoo Rao's personal estate, which seldom exceeded £30,000 per ann. He was, however, possessed of twenty-four lacs of private property, which he bequeathed to the state, and which indeed was much needed. At the time of his accession, a large outstanding debt existed; and although at his death, reckoning sums due, the value of stores and other property, a nominal balance existed, yet the treasury itself was empty. The ordinary army of the peishwa comprehended 50,000 good horse; and calculating the contingent which Guicowar and Bhonslay were bound to furnish at from ten to fifteen thousand, Holcar and Sindia's army at 30,000, and allowing 3,000 for the Puars of Dhar, his total force at command must have amounted to about 100,000 fine cavalry, exclusive of Pindarries. No wonder that Hyder Ali should have been ever solicitous to shun contact with, and form alliances against, such a force under such a leader. By official records, it appears that of 449 officers under Mahdoo Rao, ninety-three were Brahmins, eight Rajpoots, 308 Mahrattas, and forty Mohammedans.—(*Idem.*, p. 270.)

‡ Holcar and Sindia both acquired valuable territorial possessions (or rather the mortgage of them) in Mewar, which, like most of the Rajpoot principalities, was about this time a prey to internal miseries,—its fields, mines, and looms all unworked, and hordes of "pilfering Mahrattas, savage Rohillas, and adventurous Franks" let loose to do their wicked will in its once fruitful valleys. Oudipoor had nearly fallen before Sindia, but was bravely and successfully defended by Umra Chund, the chief minister of Rana Ursi, who, in 1770, succeeded in compelling Sindia to accept a ransom, and raise the siege. This excellent minister fell a victim to court intrigues; but his death, says Tod, "yielded a flattering comment on his life: he left not funds sufficient to cover the funeral expenses, and is, and will probably continue, the sole instance on record in Indian history, of a minister having his obsequies defrayed by subscription among his fellow-citizens." They yet love to descant upon his virtues; and "an act of vigour and integrity is still designated *Umra-chunda*—evincing, that if virtue has few imitators in this country, she is not without ardent admirers."

cession to the throne of Amber or Jeypoor. Pretexts, more or less plausible, were put forth by other Mahratta leaders for the same course of invasion and plunder. The state of the Rohillas will be more particularly mentioned in a subsequent page. The far-distant Seiks had gradually increased in number and power, and could now furnish 80,000 men fit to bear arms. They possessed all the fertile country of the Punjaub between Sirhind and Attoc.

ADMINISTRATION OF WARREN HASTINGS.—This celebrated governor superseded Mr. Cartier in the Bengal presidency in April, 1772. He had accompanied Mr. Vansittart to England in 1764, and was at that time in the enjoyment of a moderate independence, and a reputation for ability and disinterestedness of no common order. Presidents and counsellors, commanders military and naval—in a word, the whole body of European officials, of any rank in the service—are recorded as having received costly presents from the native princes. In this list the name of Warren Hastings is alone wanting; and as it is certain his position in the court of Meer Cossim must have afforded more than average opportunities for the accumulation of wealth in a similar manner, the exception tends to prove that the love of money formed no part of his "sultan-like and splendid character."* On the contrary, he was generous even to prodigality; by which means, a brief sojourn in England, surrounded by family claims, reduced his finances to a condition little above that in which they had been fifteen years before; when, through the influence of a distant relative in the E. I. direction, the impoverished scion of a noble house had been dispatched, at the age of seventeen, as a writer to Calcutta.† There, as we have seen, he had risen from the lowest grade of office to a seat at the council-board, aided by general talent and application to business, but especially by the then rare advantage of acquaintance with the Persian language—the medium through which official correspondence in India was mainly conducted. The evidence given by him during the inquiry instituted by parliament in 1766, regarding the system of government adopted by the E. I. Cy., afforded a fair opportunity for the exposition of his views on a subject of which he was well calculated, both by experience and ability, to form a correct opinion; and although the hostility of the Clive party in the India House, prevented—happily for Hastings—his being suffered to accompany his former chief, Mr. Vansittart, in the projected mission to Bengal, no objection was made to his appointment to the station of second in council at Madras, whither he proceeded in 1769. Here his measures

* Bishop Heber's *Journal* (London, 1828), i., 330.

† The pedigree of the young writer can, it is affirmed, be traced back to the fierce sea-king, long the terror of both coasts of the British channel, whose subjugation called forth all the valour and perseverance of the great Alfred; and in tracing the political career of the Indian governor, one is tempted to think that not a few of the piratical propensities of Hastings the Dane, were inherited by his remote descendant. The more immediate ancestors of Warren Hastings were lords of the manor of Daylesford, in Worcestershire, and retained considerable wealth up to the time of the civil war in which King Charles I. lost his crown and life, and their existing representative all his possessions, except the old manor house, which being from poverty unable to retain, they sold in the following generation to a London merchant. To regain the ancient home of his family was the aspiration of Warren Hastings, while still a child of seven years old; and the hope which first dawned on his mind as he lay on the bank of the rivulet flowing through the lands of Daylesford to join the Isis, never passed away, but cheered him amid every phase of his chequered career, from the time when he learned his daily tasks on the wooden bench of the village school, or laboured at a higher description of study at the next school to which he was sent, where he was well taught, but so scantily fed, that he always attributed to that circumstance his stunted growth and emaciated appearance. From Newington Butts he was transferred to Westminster school, where Churchill, Colman, Lloyd, Cumberland, Cowper, *and Impey*, were fellow-students. His comrades liked and admired the even-tempered boy, who was the best of boatmen and swimmers; and so high were his scholarly acquirements, that upon the sudden death of the uncle, who had placed him at Westminster, Dr. Nicholl, then head-master, offered to bear the expense of sending his favourite pupil to Oxford. But the distant relative on whom the responsibility of the decision devolved, persisted in sending the youth to India, and he was shipped off accordingly. Some seven years after, when about four-and-twenty, he married the widow of a military officer. She soon fell a victim to the climate, leaving Hastings one child, who was sent to England for health and education. The death of this son, to whom he was fondly attached, was the first intelligence received by the bereaved father on his arrival in 1764, and it rendered him more than commonly indifferent to the management of his pecuniary affairs. On leaving India, the chief part of his savings remained vested there, the high rate of interest being probably the inducement; but great advantages of this description are usually of a precarious character, and Hastings lost both principal and interest. This calamity did not hinder him from providing liberally for an aunt, for an only and beloved sister, like himself, the offspring of an early and ill-starred marriage, and for other pensioners, although his own Indian equipment had to be purchased with borrowed money.

were especially directed to improve the investments on which the dividends of the company mainly depended, and these exertions were instrumental in procuring his promotion to the station of governor of the Bengal presidency.*

Affairs there had reached the last stage of disorganisation. Seven years had elapsed, since the acquisition of the dewannee, without the establishment of any efficient system for the government of the people, and the result was the total absence of "justice or law, or adequate protection to person or property anywhere in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, except at Calcutta; the boys of the service being sovereigns of the country, under the unmeaning title of supervisors, collectors of the revenue, administrators of justice, and rulers, heavy rulers, of the people." These youths — whom Hastings elsewhere describes as "most of them the agents of their own banyans (native managers), and they are devils"— occupied more lucrative positions than the governor himself, obtaining from one to three lacs a-year; but they were a dangerous class to meddle with, being "generally sons, cousins, or *élèves* of directors."† The new governor was not the man to risk provoking a powerful opposition to his administration by their recall, but contented himself with some indirect and partial attempts to retrench their power, and pave the way for its gradual withdrawal.

Meanwhile, the measures dictated by the Court of Directors were to be carried out, and the task was one of much greater delicacy and importance than persons imperfectly acquainted with the constitution of Indian society could possibly conceive. The company were extremely dissatisfied with the amount of revenues levied by the native officials, and were well disposed to attribute to their mismanagement and venality the ruinous condition both of their own finances and of the trade of the country. This frame of mind procured a ready reception to the charges brought before them through irregular channels, by means of the long purse and restless intrigues of Nuncomar, against Mohammed Reza Khan, who, it was alleged, had been guilty of extensive embezzlements of revenue, and likewise of an illicit monopoly of rice during the recent famine. Hastings was consequently directed to put in immediate execution the resolve of the company—"to stand forth as dewan, and to take upon themselves the entire care of the revenues;" and, likewise, to institute a public examination into the conduct of the ex-dewan. These instructions were addressed by the secret committee of the company, not to the council, but privately to the governor, and were received by him in the evening of the tenth day after his accession to office. On the following morning, orders were dispatched to Moorshedabad for the seizure of Mohammed Reza Khan, which was effected with the utmost secrecy in the silence of midnight. The Mussulman, with characteristic composure, upon being unexpectedly made a prisoner, attempted neither resistance nor expostulation, but bent his head and submitted to the will of God. It was considered necessary by the presidency to subject to a like arrest and examination the brave Hindoo chief, Shitabroy, whose distinguished services had been rewarded by a similar appointment in Bahar to that given to Mohammed Reza Khan in Bengal, although the directors had given no order on the subject, nor was any accusation whatever on record against him. The inquiry into the conduct of these ex-officials and their subordinates was delayed for some months, on the plea of giving time for the

* Among the fellow-passengers of Hastings, during his voyage, was a German baron named Imhoff, who, in the hope of finding remunerative employment as a portrait painter, was proceeding to India, accompanied by his wife, a very beautiful and accomplished woman, a native of Archangel, and their children. The result of some months of constant intercourse between two persons of high intellectual acquirements, and feelings stronger than their principles, may be conjectured. Hastings was taken dangerously ill; the lady nursed him (according to the Rev. Mr. Gleig) "with a sister's care;" and before the vessel reached Madras, it was arranged that a divorce should be sued for in the Franconia courts by the baroness, who, during the long years which might and did elapse pending the decision of the judges, was to continue to live with the baron. This arrangement was actually carried out· the Imhoffs followed Hastings from Madras to Calcutta; and when the marriage was at length formally dissolved, the baron returned to his native country with wealth to purchase and maintain the position of a landed proprietor, leaving the governor-general of India to marry the divorced lady, and adopt her two sons. Whether from ignorance of these facts, or a politic desire to overlook the antecedents of the union of a distinguished public servant, it appears that Queen Charlotte welcomed Mrs. Hastings with especial affability to a court remarkable for its high standard of female character. It is but justice to state, that Mr. and Mrs. Hastings remained devotedly attached to each other; and that the affectionate attentions of her son and daughter-in-law, Sir Charles and Lady Imhoff, were the solace of Hastings under the many self-sought sorrows of his old age.

† *Life of Warren Hastings*, pp. 147, 235, 269.

deposition of complaints. In the meanwhile, the *Khalsa*, or government revenue establishment, was transferred from Moorshedabad to Calcutta; the office of naib-dewan was abolished both for Bengal and Bahar; the British council formed into a board of revenue; and a native functionary or assistant dewan, under the old Hindoo title of roy-royan,* appointed to act in the Khalsa, to receive the accounts in the Bengal language, and make reports. The great obstacle to an equitable and satisfactory arrangement of the revenues, was the utter ignorance of the law-makers regarding the tenure of land; but Hastings, influenced by the necessity of a speedy decision, and considering it better "to resolve without debate, than to debate without resolving,"† cut the Gordian knot by determining to let the lands in farm for a period of five years.‡ In many instances, the hereditary Hindoo rulers of districts had sunk into the condition of tributaries, and in that character had been forcibly included by their Moslem conquerors in the large class of zemindars or middle-men, by whom the village authorities of the old system of numerous independent municipalities were gradually supplanted in Bengal. By the present regulations, when the zemindars, and other middlemen of ancient standing, offered for the lands, or rather land-rents, which they had been accustomed to manage, terms which were deemed reasonable, they were preferred; when their proposals were considered inadequate, a pension was allotted for their subsistence, and the lands put up for sale—a proceeding which, of necessity, involved the repeated commission of glaring injustice and impolicy; for many men who had nothing to lose were installed, to the expulsion of previous zemindars, who only offered what they could realise with ease to their tenants (for so these must be called, for want of a proper term to express a false position) and remuneration to themselves. To the ryots, or actual cultivators, leases or titles were given, enumerating all the claims to which they were subject, and prohibiting, under penalties, every additional exaction. These arrangements, however fair-seeming in theory, were founded on incorrect premises, and proved alike injurious to the interests of the company and the welfare of the people.§ Regarding the administration of justice, Hastings exerted himself with praiseworthy zeal. Aware of the intention of the home government to take this portion of Indian affairs under their especial consideration, he feared, not without reason, that their deliberations might issue in an endeavour to transplant to India the complicated system of jurisprudence long the acknowledged and lamented curse of lawyer-ridden England. In the hope of mitigating, if not averting this evil, he caused digests of the Hindoo and Mohammedan codes to be prepared under his supervision, and forwarded them to Lord Mansfield and other legal functionaries, with an earnest entreaty that they might be diligently studied; and in such changes as the altered state of affairs immediately necessitated, he was careful, by following the plain principles of experience and common observation, to adapt all new enactments to the manners and understanding of the people, and the exigencies of the country, adhering as closely as possible to ancient usages and institutions.||

There was justice as well as policy in this procedure; and it is only to be regretted that it was not carried out with sufficient exactitude. All attempts to force a code of laws, however excellent, upon people unfitted by antecedent circumstances to receive the boon, have proved abortive: a heathen nation must be educated—and that often very gradually—in the principles of truth and justice brought to light by the Gospel, before they can rightly appreciate the practical character of these virtues. The thief will not cease to steal, the perjuror to forswear, or the corrupt judge abstain from bribery at mere human bidding; a stronger lever is requisite to raise the tone of society, and produce a radical change in its

* The roy-royan had before been the chief officer under the naib-dewan, having the immediate charge of crown lands, and the superintendence of the exchequer.—(Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 369.)

† Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 301.

‡ Under Mohammed Reza Khan's management, the system followed was the ruinous one introduced by Mohammedan nabobs, of farming out the lands annually.—(Dow's *Hindoostan*, vol. i., p. cxxxv.)

§ No European was permitted, directly or indirectly, to hold lands in any part of the country.

|| Halhed's *Digest of Hindoo Laws* was drawn up in Sanscrit by certain pundits (Hindoo doctors of law), translated from Sanscrit to Persian, and thence to English. The Mohammedan code, such as it is, has but one legitimate source—the Koran; nevertheless, an immense mass had been written on the subject, of which a digest called *the Hedaya*, filling four large folio volumes, was framed by order of Aurungzebe; and of this work a *précis* was now executed under the supervision of Hastings. The Brahmins would accept nothing for themselves but bare subsistence during their two years' labour. Promises were made of endowments for their colleges,

whole spirit, before public virtue could flourish in a moral atmosphere so deeply vitiated as that of Bengal. After centuries of oppression and venality, the new rulers felt that their safest policy was to commence a course of gradual amelioration, rather than of abrupt changes—abolishing only punishments openly at variance with the common dictates of humanity, such as torture and mutilation. Stipendiary English magistrates were appointed to act with native colleagues; civil and criminal tribunals were established in each district, under the check of two supreme courts of appeal—the Suddur Dewannee Adawlut, and the Nizamut Suddur Adawlut. In these arrangements one great error was, however, committed, in overlooking, or wilfully setting aside, the system of *punchayets*, or Indian juries, which had, from time immemorial, been the favourite and almost unexceptionable method of deciding civil disputes.

The immediate difficulties of the presidency at this period were, how to raise funds wherewith to provide the investments, which were expected to be regularly furnished from the revenues; and to obtain relief from a bond-debt, varying from a crore* to a crore and a-half of rupees, the interest of which alone formed an item of ten lacs in the yearly disbursements. In a pecuniary point of view, the cessation of the enormous salary of nearly £100,000, paid to Mohammed Reza Khan, was an advantage. He had filled, during the preceding seven years, the double office of naib-subah (properly subahdar) and naib-dewan; that is to say, he had been entrusted with the exercise of all the higher powers of government, judicial and financial (comprehended in the nizamut), and likewise with the charge of the education and management of the household affairs of Mubarik-ad-Dowlah; the expenditure of the yearly stipend of £320,000 having been entrusted exclusively to him. Hastings now resolved on reducing the nabob's allowance by one-half—a diminution which, together with the stoppage of the salaries of Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitabroy, effected, it is asserted, a clear yearly saving of fifty-seven lacs of rupees, equivalent, at the then rate of money, to between six and seven hundred thousand pounds. The youth and inexperience of Mubarik-ad-Dowlah rendered it necessary to nominate a new superintendent for his establishment; and the selection made was so strange, that it gave rise to much subsequent criticism, as to the real motive for choosing a female, and yet setting aside the mother of the prince. Hastings thought fit to appoint to the post of *gouvernante* Munnee Begum—a person who, previous to her entrance into the seraglio of Meer Jaffier, had been a dancing-girl, but who was now possessed of great wealth; the ostensible reason for the choice being "the awe" with which she was regarded by the nabob, and the improbability of her forming any plots against the English rulers. There were, of necessity, many affairs which eastern customs forbade to be transacted by a woman; and the coadjutor chosen for her was Rajah Goordass, the son of Nuncomar, who, because he inherited neither the ability nor the guile of his father, would, Hastings alleged, prove a safe instrument of conferring favour on the latter, and inducing him to make every effort for the establishment of the guilt of Mohammed Reza Khan. The Hindoo, however, needed no incentive to stimulate his deep-rooted animosity against his Mussulman rival; yet, with all his ingenuity, he failed to establish the justice of the charges of embezzlement and monopoly† brought against the ex-dewan, or to prevent his acquittal, after prolonged examination before a committee, over which the governor presided. The innocence, and more than that, the excellent conduct, of Shitabroy, and the great exertions made by him to mitigate the sufferings of the people during the famine, were clearly proved at an early stage of the inquiry. A formal apology was made for the restraint to which he had been subjected; and a *sirpah,* or costly state

but not performed.—(*Hastings,* iii., 158.)——* A crore of rupees, according to the existing standard, amounted to much above a million sterling.

† The charge of oppressing the people, and applying the most cruel coercion to delinquent renters, was certainly not disproved. Dow, who was in Bengal during the early part of the administration of Mohammed Reza Khan, declares that, on the plea of their inability to fulfil their contracts being a pretence, many of the zemindars were bound to stakes and whipped with such unrelenting barbarity, that "not a few of them expired in agonies under the lash;" and many of the ryots, reduced to despair, fled the country.—(*Hindoostan,* i., cxxxvi.) These statements derive corroboration from the reasons given by the directors for ordering the trial of the dewan. In the same communication, allusion is made to the repeated accusations brought against the agents of English officials, "not barely for monopolising grain, but for compelling the poor ryots to sell even the seed requisite for the next harvest."—(Letter to Bengal, 1771.) *See* Dr. Moodie's *Transactions in India* for important information regarding the conduct of Mohammed Reza Khan during the famine.

dress, with jewels, and an elephant richly caparisoned, were presented, to adorn his triumphant return to Patna, to fill the office of roy-royan—the highest to which a native functionary could, by the recent regulations, be appointed. No small degree of humiliation was therefore blended with these marks of returning favour, which, even if unalloyed, would probably have arrived too late to repair past wrongs. Above a twelvemonth's detention in the uncongenial climate of Calcutta, aggravated by the workings of a proud spirit subjected to unmerited indignity, inflicted a mortal injury on the health of the brave chief, who died shortly after his acquittal. The appointment of roy-royan was, in testimony of his worth, transferred to his son Callian Sing, to whom the English, by the oddest assumption in the world, thought fit "to confirm the title of Maha Rajah."* But the recent changes, notwithstanding the diminution of expenditure with which they were attended, did not furnish ready money to cover the current outlay of the civil and military services of the presidency, which had risen to an enormous height; much less to meet the demands of the company at home. Hastings was deeply impressed with the exigencies of the case; and although the Court of Directors—however strongly they urged the adoption of measures to procure relief from the bond-debt by which their movements were fettered—uniformly stated, in the most forcible language, their desire for the merciful government of the people over whom they had assumed sway, and urged the adoption of an honest and straightforward policy on all occasions, yet their representative, on looking round him, and perceiving the difficulties attendant on the strict fulfilment of the various duties enjoined, thought it best, whatever else he slighted, to obey the leading injunction of getting money, comforting himself with the belief that his employers would gladly receive the fruits of his success, without caring to question the manner in which they had been acquired. In this resolution he was, no doubt, strengthened by the exceptional instance in which, deviating from their usual tone of instruction, they suggested the policy of taking a shameful advantage of the condition of the emperor, by withholding from him the annual subsidy of about £300,000, guaranteed by them in return for the perpetual grant of the dewannee.† So flagrant an inconsistency was quite enough to inspire Warren Hastings with a general distrust of the sincerity and good faith of his employers, and to incite him to grasp at immediate and unjust gains, rather than frankly set forth the actual position of affairs, and trust to the common sense and humanity of the company to give him time to develope the resources of the country, invigorate its wasted trade, cheer the drooping spirits of its industrious population; and, by these legitimate means, together with reformatory measures for the reduction of the illicit gains of European officials, to restore the commerce and revenue of Bengal to a healthy and flourishing condition.

But such a course of conduct required an amount of sturdy independence—or, better far, of stanch religious principle—rarely manifested by public men of any age or country. Warren Hastings, gifted as he was in many respects, had no pretensions of this nature. A long series of years spent in the company's service, had rendered their interest a primary consideration with him. Though lavish in his expenditure, he had, as has been before shown, no avarice in his composition. "He was far too enlightened a man to look upon a great empire merely as a buccaneer would look on a galleon."‡ The love of power and fame burned strong within him; and in taking possession of the highest appointment in the gift of the E. I. Cy., he expressed his disgust at the possibility of the government of Bengal continuing "to be a mere chair for a triennial succession of indigent adventurers to sit and hatch private fortunes in;"§ and urged the advisability of being entrusted

* Letter from Bengal, Nov., 1773. The ancient title of Maha Rajah (the great king), borne by the highest Indian potentates before the Christian era, was not, it appears, usurped by Hindoos in modern times until the later Mogul emperors took upon themselves to confer titles, which their own usurpations had rendered unmeaning, and which by Hindoo laws could be obtained only by inheritance. Under the English, "Maha Rajahs" became very frequent; and Nuncomar held this title, which descended to his son Goordass. I have been unable to trace the origin of this celebrated man, or to find the authority upon which Macaulay speaks of him as the "head of the Brahmins of Bengal."—(*Essay on Hastings*, 36.)

† As early as Nov., 1768, the select committee, in a letter to Bengal, began to speculate on finding a plea for breaking faith with the emperor; remarking, among other contingencies—"If he flings himself into the hands of the Mahrattas, or any other power, we are disengaged from him; and it may open a fair opportunity of withholding the twenty-six lacs we now pay him."—(Thornton's *British India*, ii., 37.)

‡ Macaulay's *Essay on Warren Hastings*, p. 10.

§ Gleig's *Life of Hastings*, i., 377.

with sufficient authority to carry into execution, without check or hindrance, the ambitious schemes which filled his mind, and to the fulfilment of which he was ready to devote his life. The constitution of the presidency was a subject of grave complaint with him; for, saving a certain prestige attached to the chair, and the single privilege of a casting vote, the governor had no superiority over any other member of the board, except the invidious description of exclusive authority, occasionally conferred by private communications, as in the case of Mohammed Reza Khan.

A change was at hand, but by no means such as Hastings desired; in the meanwhile, during the continuance of the old system, the majority of the councillors sided with him, and enabled him to pursue his own policy, despite the opposition and remonstrances offered by the minority on various occasions, especially with regard to his summary method of dealing with the emperor. The removal of this unfortunate prince from the immediate sphere of British protection, was asserted to be sufficient justification not only for the withdrawal of the yearly subsidy (to which the faith of the company had been unconditionally pledged),* but even for the repudiation of the arrears which Shah Alum had been previously assured were only temporarily kept back by reason of the pecuniary difficulties occasioned by the famine. Nor was this all: the emperor, while at the mercy of the arrogant Mahrattas, was compelled to sign *sunnuds*, or grants, making over to them Allahabad and Corah. The governor left by him in charge of these districts, knowing that the order for their relinquishment had been forcibly extorted, asked leave to place them under British protection. Hastings agreed with the Mogul officer in the impropriety of obeying a mandate issued under compulsion; but that same mandate was not the less set forth by him as conveying a formal renunciation, on the part of Shah Alum, of these districts, which were forthwith formally resumed in the name of the company; and as their distance from Calcutta rendered them too expensive possessions to be retained without an addition of military force quite disproportioned to the revenue derivable therefrom, they were openly sold to the man who had once before obtained them by treachery and murder, and who (p. 287), after his defeat by the English, had spared neither intrigue nor bribery for their regainment.† It was an act quite unworthy the representative of a great English association, to let the paltry sum of fifty lacs induce him to sacrifice the last remnants of dominion to which the unfortunate emperor had been taught to look as a refuge from the worst evils that could befall him, to the ambition of his faithless and ungrateful servant. Sir Robert Barker remonstrated earnestly against this procedure, which was arranged after repeated private conferences at Benares, held between Shuja Dowlah and Mr. Hastings, during nearly three weeks of close intercourse. He declared it to be a flagrant breach of the treaty of Allahabad of 1765, by which the dewannee of Bengal was granted to the company; and said that the emperor might, and probably would, if opportunity offered, bestow the sunnuds on a rival nation. Hastings treated the possibility with scorn; declaring, "the sword which gave us the dominion of Bengal, must be the instrument of its preservation:" if lost, he added—"the next proprietor will derive his right and possession from the same natural charter." Even had the imperial grants been worth no more than the parchment they were written on, the company would have been unjustifiable in withholding the purchase-money they had pledged themselves to give: but the truth was, the sunnuds had a real, though not very definite value, of which Hastings was fully aware, though he now chose to ridicule them as much as his predecessor Clive had exaggerated their importance; and for precisely the same reason—of temporary expediency.‡ It is difficult for the

* The very sunnuds which form the title-deeds of the company, distinctly set forth the annual payment of twenty-six lacs to the emperor, Shah Alum, as a first charge on the revenues of Bengal.

† Col. Smith attested that, in 1768, Shuja Dowlah came to him, expressed his desire to possess Allahabad and Corah, and "proffered four lacs of rupees in ready money, and to swear secrecy on the Koran, if he would aid in its accomplishment." The same officer bore witness, that the emperor sensibly felt the conduct of the vizier, and had declared, with emotion, that it seemed as if he "did not wish him to have an habitation of his own on the face of the earth."—(Auber's *India*, i., 191–'2.)

‡ In 1784, when arguing in favour of aiding, instead of oppressing the emperor, Hastings writes, that he demanded assistance from the English on the right of gratitude; asserting, "that when the French and Hyder earnestly solicited his grants of the Carnatic, and offered large sums to obtain them, he constantly and steadily refused them. We know, by undoubted evidence, that this is true." These firmauns had therefore a marketable value very different to that of "waste paper."—(*Life*, iii., 192.)

English reader to appreciate the feelings which, in the minds of the Indian population, lent a peculiar degree of legality to grants unquestionably issued by the Great Mogul. The powerful and arrogant ruler of Oude ventured not on assuming the style of a sovereign: he knew the temper of neighbouring communities, and possibly of his subjects, too well to attempt this innovation; and his successor earnestly solicited, and at length with difficulty obtained from Shah Alum the title of vizier, or first subject of an empire which had little more than nominal existence, while he was himself undisputed master of an independent state as large as Ireland.

The sale of Allahabad and Corah was only one portion of the treaty of Benares. The counterpart was an arrangement for the hire of the British force to Shuja Dowlah, in the novel and degrading character of mercenary troops; and this, notwithstanding the repeated orders of the directors to refrain from all participation in aggressive warfare, and the recent (July, 1772) and unanimous declaration of the council, when called upon to assist their ally against the invasions of the Mahrattas—"that no object or consideration should tempt or compel them to pass the political line which they had laid down for their operations with the vizier, which were to be defensive only;" adding, that "not a single sepoy was to pass the frontiers of his territories."*

The people against whom Hastings agreed to co-operate, in violation alike of the orders of his employers and the resolutions of his colleagues, were the Rohilla rulers of the country lying N.W. of Oude and E. of the Ganges. The establishment of this military colony had been, as we have seen, forcibly effected during the decline of the empire, partly by the retention of lands as hereditary property, which had been originally granted on the ordinary jaghire tenure, but chiefly by the aggressions of Ali Mohammed Khan,† the adventurous leader of an ever-increasing body of Afghans, whose title was avowedly that of the sword. Successive rulers of the Oude province—themselves usurpers of equally short standing—had made various attempts to subdue Rohilcund, and annex it to their own dominions, but without any permanent result. The country was, at the present time, divided into numerous petty principalities, under independent chiefs or sirdars, all of whom derived their origin from the same stock, being of one tribe—that of Ali Mohammed Khan. The very nature of their power rendered their union improbable for any other purpose except temporary coalition against an invading force; but in that event—if all were true to the common cause—they could, it was estimated, bring into the field 80,000 effective horse and foot. Still it was less their number than their bravery, dexterity with the sword, and skill in the use of war-rockets, that had heretofore enabled them to hold their ground against the imperial troops, the rulers of Oude, and their worst foes—the Mahrattas. Against the latter they had fought with relentless fury on the plains of Paniput; and though, for a time, the prudence of Nujeeb-oo-Dowla had averted the threatened vengeance, the danger was delayed, not dissipated. The open hostility displayed by his son, Zabita Khan, to Shah Alum, and the evident preparations made by him for war at Seharunpoor, were followed by the invasion of his territories by the imperial troops, under a brave commander named Nujeeb Khan, in conjunction with the Mahrattas; but the latter contrived to reap all the benefit of the enterprise.

Shuja Dowlah did not view without uneasiness the prospect of the subjugation of Rohilcund by the Mahrattas. To have a territory he had long coveted seized and occupied by the most dangerous people all India could furnish for neighbours, was a calamity to be averted at any hazard; and he gladly entered into an alliance with the Rohillas, in 1773, to which the English became a party, to make common cause against the invaders. The leading Rohilla chief, Hafiz Rehmet, whose territories formed the western boundary of Oude,‡ though compelled by dire necessity to consent to co-operate with the nabob-vizier, as the sole means of defence against an immediate and overpowering foe, was so distrustful of his ultimate designs, that he positively refused to take the field against the Mahrattas until

* Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 385.

† Ali Mohammed is said to have been the son of a Hindoo *aheer* or shepherd, adopted in infancy by a Rohilla chief, and treated in all respects as his own child.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, iii., 20.)

‡ The possessions of Hafiz Rehmet Khan joined the western limits of Oude, and were situated entirely on the north side of the Ganges, except Etawa and one or two straggling districts. Those of Zabita Khan commenced on the Jumna, about fourteen miles from Delhi, and were bounded by Sirhind on the west; and those of Ahmed Khan Bungush, bordered on the Corah country—Furruckabad being the capital.—(Auber's *India*, vol. i., 189.)

assured by Sir Robert Barker, on the faith of the English, that no ungenerous advantage should be taken of his absence from his own frontier by their mutual ally. This temporary and precarious confederacy of powers, strong only if heartily united, did not prevent the hostile force from crossing the Ganges and committing great ravages in Rohilcund; but their withdrawal was at length purchased by a bond for forty lacs, given by Hafiz Rehmet, on behalf of himself and his fellow-chiefs, to Shuja Dowlah, who became guarantee for the gradual payment of the money to the Mahrattas. The succeeding events are very confusedly, and even contradictorily, related by different writers. The native, and apparently least inconsistent version, is given in the narrative of the son of Hafiz Rehmet, who states that the Mahratta leaders, Holcar and Sindia, subsequently negotiated with his father to join them against Shuja Dowlah, offering, as an inducement, to surrender to him the bond given on his behalf, and a share of such conquests as might be made in Oude. The Rohilla chief, whom all authorities concur in describing as of upright and honourable character, refused to listen to this proposition, and warned his ally of the intended attack, which, however, the Mahrattas were prevented by intestine strife from carrying into execution. The ever-treacherous and ungrateful vizier, relieved from this danger, immediately demanded the payment of the bond which he held simply as a guarantee against loss, for the benefit, not of the Mahrattas, but of himself and the English; and he had the art to persuade the latter people that the deed in question had actually been drawn up for the express purpose of providing for the expenses incurred in resisting the common foe. Hafiz Rehmet, however disgusted by this shameless demand, was not in a condition to offer effectual resistance, having lost many of his bravest commanders in the recent hostilities. He therefore forwarded his own share of the required sum, and entreated his fellow-chiefs to follow his example; but they refused to submit to such extortion; and after many ineffectual attempts at compromise, he reluctantly prepared for the inevitable conflict, observing, "that as he must die some time, he could not fall in a better cause."*

Shuja Dowlah, notwithstanding the pains he had taken to win over some of the minor sirdars or governors, the indefensible character of the country, and the vast numerical superiority of his own troops, was little disposed to confront, without extraneous assistance, the small but hardy Afghan bands, who were resolved to struggle, even unto death, in defence of their hearths and homes in the fair valleys of Rohilcund. There were soldiers in India whose steady disciplined valour might be depended upon when fighting as hired mercenaries against such combatants as these. A single English battalion was to native armies as the steel to the bamboo: with this addition they became all-powerful; without it, the death of a favourite leader, the outburst of a thunder-storm, a few wounded and ungovernable elephants, or a hundred other possible and probable contingencies, might change in an instant the shout of victory and the eager advance, into the yell of defeat and the headlong flight, amidst which even the commanders would lack presence of mind to issue any better orders than the very watchword of panic—chellao! chellao! (get on! get on!)† The deceitful representations made by Shuja Dowlah regarding the reason for which he had been intrusted with the Rohilla bond, was intended to give the English a plausible pretext to aid him in punishing an alleged breach of treaty. At the same time, he was too well acquainted with the wants and difficulties of the Calcutta presidency, and with the character of the governor, to feel any necessity for circumlocution in intimating his desire of seizing Rohilcund, and his readiness to pay a large sum for the assistance of a British force in the accomplishment of the projected usurpation.

Neither regard for the honour of his nation, nor the dignity of his own position as the representative of a great commercial body, nor even for the private reputation which he often declared "it had been the study of his life to maintain unblemished," withheld Hastings from receiving this proposition with favour, and even encouraging it by dwelling on the advantages to be derived by the projector from its execution. The result was the insertion of a clause in

* *Life of Hafiz Rehmet*, English abridgment, published by Oriental Translation Fund, pp. 112—113. Also Sir Robert Barker's evidence in 1781. Thornton's *British Empire in India*, ii., 44.

† *Vide* Colonel Wilks' graphic narrative of the battles of Hyder Ali, especially of his defeat by the Mahrattas at Chercoolee, and flight to Seringapatam. —(*History of Mysoor*, ii., 144.)

the treaty of Benares, by which the English governor agreed to furnish troops to assist the ruler of Oude in "the reduction" or expulsion of their late allies the Rohillas, for a gratuity of forty lacs of rupees, to be paid when the "extermination" should be completed, the vizier to bear the whole charge (computed at 210,000 rupees a month) of the British force employed in the expedition.*

In the spring of 1774, the second of the three brigades into which the Bengal army was divided—viz., that of Allahabad,† joined the forces of Shuja Dowlah, and the combined troops entered the Rohilla country. The English commander was possibly already prejudiced against Hastings, on account of the determination manifested by the latter to keep the military under the complete control of the civil authority; but this circumstance was not needed to deepen the natural disgust excited by being employed in an undertaking deservedly stigmatised as "infamous." The conduct of the nabob-vizier was, from first to last, as bad as cruelty, cowardice, and rapacity could make it. The Rohillas, astounded by the approach of English troops, anxiously strove to make terms of peace; but the demand of the invader for *two crore* of rupees, evinced his uncompromising resolve to proceed to extremities. Hafiz Rehmet took post near the city of Bareilly, with an army of 40,000 men. The English commenced the attack by a cannonade of two hours and a-half, the rapidity and persistance of which defeated the frequent attempts of the enemy to charge; at length, after Hafiz Rehmet‡ and one of his sons, with several chiefs of note, had been killed whilst rallying their dispirited followers, the rest turned and fled. Shuja Dowlah had heretofore remained a quiet spectator of the fight, surrounded by his cavalry and a large body of artillery; but the fortune of the day being decided, his troops made up for their past inactivity by pursuing, slaughtering, and pillaging the fugitives and the abandoned camp, "while the company's troops, in regular order in their ranks, most justly observed," (says their commander), "we have the honour of the day, and these banditti the profit." Then followed a fearful destruction of villages, the whole country being overspread with flames for three days after the battle. Colonel Champion vainly besought Shuja Dowlah to give orders for the cessation of these atrocities; and he also appealed to Hastings§ to plead the cause of the unhappy family of Hafiz Rehmet; but the answer was, that such interference would probably aggravate the sufferings it was designed to alleviate: and this rebuff was accompanied by an intimation that it was the business of Colonel Champion to fight and not to diplomatise, and that it was especially incumbent on him to refrain from any line of conduct which should afford the nabob-vizier a pretext for refusing to pay the forty lacs—literally, the price of blood.

Thus sharply admonished, Colonel Champion was compelled to abide by the "great political maxim," till then utterly disregarded in Anglo-Indian policy,—"that no power which supports another as the mere second in a war, has the smallest right to assume a prominent place in the negotiations which are to conclude that war."||

Shuja Dowlah was therefore suffered to finish the affair entirely to his own satisfaction; which he did by following up the slaughter of about 2,000 Rohillas on the field of battle, with the expulsion of 18,000

* Hastings avowed himself "glad of any occasion to employ the E. I. Cy's forces, which saves so much of their pay and expenses" (*Life*, i., 359); and regrets being unable to derive "some advantage from the distractions of the Mahratta state."—(i., 397.)

† The Allahabad brigade, established by Clive, drew from Fort William no less than two million sterling in five years. The sum of 30,000 rupees per month, paid according to agreement by Shuja Dowlah, during that period, was scarcely felt as a relief, for the officers in command contrived to reap the chief benefit therefrom.—(Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 343.)

‡ The old warrior, conspicuous from his long white beard, stately bearing, and noble charger, when all was lost, was seen to gallop forward to perish (to our shame) on English bayonets.—(Heber, i., 434.)

§ Warren Hastings remarked, that Colonel Champion had little reason to express indignation regarding the destruction of the villages; and he quoted a letter written by this officer during the war with the vizier, in 1764, in which he declared, that according to his instructions he had been ravaging the enemy's country, and had "destroyed upwards of 1,000 villages." This barbarous system was unhappily employed, without scruple, by European commanders; and Clive especially, as a favourite measure, subsidised bands of Mahrattas for the express purpose of spreading devastation round the French settlements and encampments. Orme's work contains irrefragable testimony of the desolating hostilities of even Europeans, practised at the expense of the wretched peasantry, who beheld every art of a boasted civilisation employed in strife and bloodshed, and their fields not only ravaged by rival invaders with fire and the sword, but even the mounds reared with unwearied labour thrown down, and the waters let loose to destroy the cultivations previously irrigated with unavailing toil.

|| *Life of Hastings*, i., 439.

of their countrymen, who, with their wives and children,* were driven forth to beg, steal, or starve. The Hindoo peasantry, who formed the mass of the population, were unfavourably affected by the change. It was at first attempted to show that they had experienced a great benefit by being delivered from the "grinding tyranny" of the Rohillas; but other and more trustworthy accounts, describe the case differently, and assert that these people, unlike their race in general, encouraged agriculture, while in another point they shared the Afghan characteristic—of freedom from any passion for the accumulation of wealth. The population over whom they had usurped sway, being left in the undisturbed possession of their religion and customs, were therefore probably better situated under the immediate sway of these independent chiefs, than beneath the delegated despotism of the Mogul emperors.† Their expulsion was, however, not quite complete; for one chief, Fyzoolla Khan, continued to resist the power of the usurper, and took post with the remains of the army on the skirts of the mountains near Pattir Ghur. After some ineffectual attempts to dislodge him, the vizier found his own troops becoming so discontented from arrears of pay, that he was glad to bring hostilities to a close, by entering into an agreement with Fyzoolla Khan, who agreed to surrender half the treasure which he had contrived to carry off, on condition of receiving a grant of Rampoor and certain dependent districts in Rohilcund, yielding a revenue of above £150,000 per annum.

This arrangement was, however, hurried to a conclusion more by a consideration of the failing health of the vizier, than even from the discontent of the troops. The cause of his rapid decline was ostensibly attributed to a cancerous disease; but the Mussulman historian of these times alludes to a current report—that it was the direct consequence of a wound inflicted by the hand of the daughter of Hafiz Rehmet, who, when the murderer of her father filled up the measure of his crimes by an attempt to dishonour her, stabbed him with a small dagger she had concealed for the purpose. The unhappy girl was immediately put to death; but the wound she had inflicted, though slight, proved mortal, the dagger having been previously poisoned by her mother. Such is the story told by Gholam Hussein and his translator. The former denies, the latter affirms, its truth, and adduces certain circumstances—such as the friendship of the author for the sons of Hafiz Rehmet, his alliance with the English, and other causes, for a desire to pass slightingly over so painful a matter.‡ This at least is certain,—that Shuja Dowlah, immediately after the accomplishment of his much-desired object, the possession of Rohilcund, was seized by mortal sickness, while yet strong in the full energy of middle life; that he lingered through many months of intense bodily anguish, and then died, leaving his usurped dominions to a youth whose addiction to the most hateful forms of sensuality rendered him an object of general contempt.

The Rohilla war was the last transaction of importance which marked the career of Hastings as governor under the old system. Among the other measures of this epoch, was one of a quite unexceptionable character—the removal of a tax on marriage. He likewise exerted himself vigorously for the suppression of gangs of thieves and plunderers, who, under the name of *decoits*, committed terrible ravages in Bengal. Troops of *senassies*, or religious mendicants, (the pilgrim-gipsies of Hindoostan), did great mischief under the cloak of fanatical zeal. The truth was, that during the late season of anarchy, crime of all descriptions had been greatly augmented; and many who had first laid violent hands on food, at the instigation of ravening hunger, continued as a trade what they had yielded to as a momentary temptation. The measures adopted for suppressing gang-robbery were, however, of a character so flagrantly unjust, that no Christian governor could be justified in adopting, far less in initiating them. Each convicted criminal was to be executed in his native village, of which every member was to pay a fine according to his substance; and the family of the transgressor were to become slaves of the state, to be disposed of at the discretion of government. These iniquitous regulations were enacted, notwithstanding the avowed knowledge of the presidency, that the custom of selling slaves was alike repugnant to the doctrines of the Koran and the Shastras. Moreover, it was at this very time found necessary to take measures to check the kidnapping of chil-

* Stated by Colonel Champion at 100,000 souls.

† Hafiz Rehmet is said to have been "an excellent sovereign" (Heber, i., 434), and Fyzoolla Khan "a liberal landlord."—(*Report on Rohilcund* 1808.)

‡ *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, iii., 268.

dren, and carrying them out of the country in Dutch and French vessels,—a practice which "had greatly increased since the establishment of the English government."*

*Hastings Governor-general.* — The great change in the constitution of the Bengal presidency, decreed by the Regulating Act of 1772–'3, was unwelcome intelligence to the governor, who justly considered the actual though ill-defined supremacy vested in the Calcutta presidency, with the high-sounding but empty title given to its head, poor compensation for having his movements fettered by four coadjutors, each one scarcely less powerful than himself. The erection of a Supreme Court of judicature, to be conducted by Englishmen after the national method, he knew to be an innovation likely to produce considerable dissatisfaction in the minds of the natives; and the result proved his surmise correct: but no small part of the blame attaches to the individuals of whom it was composed, their ignorance of the customs of the people they came to judge being aggravated by a haughty indifference to the deep-rooted and undeviating adherence to ceremonial observances and the rights of sex and caste, which form so prominent a feature in the manners of the whole native population, both Hindoo and Mohammedan. Hastings, indeed, consoled himself for the dangerous character of the new legal courts, because the chief justice, Sir Elijah Impey, his old schoolfellow at Westminster, was the best man that could have been chosen for the office "in all England."† Most authorities have formed a very different estimate of the same person; and Macaulay has not hesitated to declare, that "no other such judge has dishonoured the English ermine since Jefferies drank himself to death in the Tower."‡

Towards the new councillors—General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis§—Hastings was not favourably disposed. They knew this, and came prepared to resent any semblance of disrespect. The occasion offered itself before they set foot in Calcutta: the salute from Fort William consisted of seventeen, instead of twenty-one, discharges; and the expected guard of honour did not await their landing. The governor-general understood the effect of these apparent trifles on the minds of the natives of all ranks, and had calculated the degree of respect absolutely necessary to be shown to his colleagues: so, at least, they reasoned; and within six days after their arrival in October, 1774, a struggle commenced, which rendered the council-chamber of Calcutta a scene of stormy debate for the space of four years.

Mr. Barwell, the fourth member nominated by the Regulating Act, was an experienced Indian official. He had not always been on good terms with Hastings; but he now steadily, though with little effect, adhered to him against the new-comers. Hastings himself possessed a remarkable degree of self-control,‖ and rarely suffered the violence of Clavering, the pertinacity of Monson—or, worse than all, the sharp tongue and ready pen of Francis—to drive him from the 'vantage ground of equanimity, or tempt him to lay aside the quiet tone of guarded cynicism, to which the eloquent enthusiasm of his earlier and purer life had long since given place.

The Benares treaty and the Rohilla war were the first subjects of discussion. On the plea of keeping faith with the political agent¶ placed by him at the court of Shuja Dowlah, Hastings refused to produce the correspondence; and this circumstance, combined with other manifestations of a desire to crush or evade inquiry into matters in which he was personally concerned, gave rise to many grave imputations on his character. The Rohilla war was deservedly denounced by the majority as a shameful expedient to raise money; but, unhappily, party feeling against Hastings alloyed their zeal, and ensured defeat by its own violence. In diplomacy, all three combined were no match for him, as they soon learned with bitter mortification. The clause in their instructions which directed examination to be made into past oppressions, was ample war-

* *Revenue Consultations* of April and May, 1774; and official letters from Bengal of this date, quoted in Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 432.

† *Life of Hastings*, i., 471.

‡ *Essay on Warren Hastings*, p. 50.

§ Pronounced very decidedly by Macaulay to be the author of the *Letters of Junius*.—(*Idem*, p. 30.) The strongest argument on the other side, is the steady denial of Francis himself, which he reiterated so late as 1817—that is, the year before his death, at the advanced age of eighty-eight.

‖ In the council-chamber at Calcutta hangs a portrait of Hastings, bearing the legend—"*Mens æqua in arduis*;" and no better comment need be desired to accompany the semblance of the pale face, slight frame, singularly developed brow, penetrating eye, and thin, firmly-closed lips of the man of whom it has been said, "hatred itself could deny no title to glory—*except virtue*."—(Macaulay's *Essay on Warren Hastings*, p. 92.)

¶ The Mr. Middleton mentioned under such suspicious circumstances in the next page.

rant for the inquiries instituted by them into various complaints urged by natives of rank against the governor.* No doubt, many of these were well founded; for it is not likely that a person, so indifferent to the common rules of honesty and humanity in all matters of foreign policy, would be scrupulously just in his internal arrangements. But the most puzzling point in the quarrels of this epoch, is the repeated accusation brought against him of venality—urged with a degree of vehemence which may be illustrated by a single extract from the official records, in which the "gentlemen of the majority" (as Hastings sarcastically called them) complain, in plain terms, of the "formidable combination of reciprocal interest" which he had established, "by accepting unwarrantable advantages himself, and conniving at those which were received by the company's servants."† To this heavy charge is added:—"In the late proceedings of the revenue board, there is no species of peculation from which the honourable governor-general has thought it right to abstain."‡

It has been before stated, that Hastings was not avaricious—far from it: he had neither taste nor talent for the accumulation of wealth, and appears to have habitually mismanaged his pecuniary affairs. For that very reason, the high salary attached to his office proved insufficient to cover his ill-regulated expenditure: and this circumstance may account for his having availed himself of means to recruit his own exchequer, closely resembling in character those simultaneously employed by him on behalf of the company.

Many specific accusations were urged against him. Among others, the extraordinary appointment of Munnee Begum as guardian to the nabob, was now distinctly stated to have been purchased by her in the first instance, and subsequently retained by bribery; and it was alleged in corroboration, that in the examination of her receipts and disbursements, a large sum remained unaccounted for. She was placed under restraint, and on being closely questioned as to the cause of the defalcation, she pleaded having given three lacs of rupees to the governor-general and his immediate retainer, Mr. Middleton.§ The receipt of this sum was not denied; but Hastings vindicated his own share in the transaction, by asserting that the lac-and-a-half taken by him had been used as "entertainment money," to cover the extraordinary outlay necessitated by his visit to Moorshedabad, over and above the charge of upwards of 30,000 rupees made by him on the Calcutta treasury for travelling expenses; together with a large additional sum for his companions and attendants.

This explanation is quite insufficient as regards the exaggerated scale of expenditure adopted by the governor-general during his absence from Calcutta; far less can it justify so large a deduction from the income of the nabob, immediately after his allowance had been cut down to the lowest point. The result of the investigation was the removal of Munnee Begum from office, and her supersession by Rajah Goordass, the son of Nuncomar, by whom the accusation of collusion between the begum and the governor had been preferred. The appointment was the act of the majority, conferred—not, of course, for the sake of Goordass, who was deemed incapable of doing much good or harm—but as a strong mark of the feelings entertained by them to his father; although, at this very time, as Hastings savagely declared, "the old gentleman was in gaol, and in a fair way to be hanged."||

* Among these was the ranee of Burdwan, the relict of the late rajah, Tillook Chund, whose ancestors had governed their rightful heritage as a zemindarree during the whole period of Mohammedan rule. The ranee complained that she had been set aside from the government during the minority of her son, a boy of nine years old, to make room for a corrupt agent. Another accusation brought against Hastings was that of unduly favouring his native steward, named Cantoo Baboo (a former servant of Clive's), who had been not only allowed to farm lands to the value of £150,000 per annum, but also to hold two government contracts, one in his own name, and the other in that of his son, a boy of ten or twelve years of age, amounting to a still higher sum.—(Dr. Moodie's *Transactions in India*, p. 241.)

† The majority steadily refused even the customary presents or *nuzzurs* (of comparatively small value, offered by the natives of rank), as a dangerous practice; and commented severely on the reasons adduced by Hastings for receiving and paying them into the company's treasury, and by Barwell for receiving and retaining them.—(*Letter from Bengal*, October, 1774.)

‡ *Consultations of Bengal Council*, May, 1775.

§ Of the lac-and-a-half of rupees (which, by the existing standard, considerably exceeded £15,000 in value) no account was ever rendered, or defence set up, by Mr. Middleton.—(Mill's *India*, iii., 633.)

|| The concentrated bitterness of this expression appears in a striking light when contrasted with the singular moderation of Hastings at the time of the trial of Mohammed Reza Khan, on the charges of wholesale plunder and sanguinary oppression. He then remarked on the little chance of capital punishment being inflicted, let the trial end how it would; giving as a reason—"On ne pend pas des gens qui ont un million dans leur poche."—(*Life*, i., 264.)

The means by which the most dangerous and deadly foe ever encountered by Hastings was dashed to the ground at the very moment when his hand was uplifted to strike, are of a nature which must ever leave some degree of uncertainty as to the degree of culpability attributable to the chief actors.*

The antecedent circumstances require to be rightly understood before any clear conception can be formed on a matter which created no ordinary degree of interest in the mind of the English public, and afforded to Burke a fitting theme for some of the most thrilling passages in his eloquent speeches, in the long subsequent impeachment of Hastings. It will be remembered that Nuncomar, previous to his appointment as naib-dewan to Meer Jaffier, had been detained at Calcutta by order of the directors, on the ground of being a dangerous intriguer, whose liberty might endanger the safety of the state; and this conclusion was arrived at mainly through evidence brought forward by Hastings, who conducted the examination, and was known to entertain a very unfavourable opinion of Nuncomar. At the period of the trial of Mohammed Reza Khan, the governor-general took great credit for the manner in which, notwithstanding his private feelings, he had entered freely into all the complaints brought forward by the Brahmin ex-dewan against his Mussulman successor. He even showed Nuncomar considerable personal attention until the termination of the affair, when the accusations not being established, were pronounced malicious and libellous. Nuncomar felt that he had been used as a mere tool; and, stung to the soul by the disgrace in which his ambitious schemes had terminated, he retired into temporary obscurity, and eagerly waited an opportunity of revenge.

The dissensions which took place in the council, speedily afforded the desired opportunity; and just four months after the establishment of the new government, Nuncomar presented a memorial to the council, which contained a formal statement of bribes, to a great extent, received by the governor-general from Mohammed Reza Khan, as the price of bringing the inquiry into his conduct to a favourable termination. Francis read the paper aloud: a stormy altercation followed. Hastings, for once, lost all temper; called his accuser the basest of mankind; indignantly denied the right of the councillors to sit in judgment on their superior; and, upon the request of Nuncomar to be heard in person being granted by the majority, he left the room, followed by Barwell. General Clavering took the vacant chair,—Nuncomar was called in, and, in addition to the previous charges, he alleged that two crore and a-half of rupees had been paid by Munnee Begum to Hastings, and that he had himself purchased his son's appointment, as her colleague in office, with another crore.

Hastings felt the ground giving way beneath his feet. The arrangement (to use the most lenient epithet) between him and Munnee Begum, regarding the "entertainment money," would, if other testimony were wanting, suffice to prove that he had not scrupled to obtain, in a more or less surreptitious manner, large sums in addition to the regular salary (£25,000 per annum), and allowances attached to his position of governor-general. The probability was a strong one, that the various and specific charges which the vindictive Brahmin was prepared to maintain at the hazard of his life, would contain at least sufficient truth to enable the adversaries of Hastings to triumph over him, by the ruin of the reputation he had, from early youth, spent laborious days and anxious nights in acquiring. To lose this was to lose all: he had no extraneous influence with the crown, the ministers, in parliament, or even with the company, sufficient to prop up his claims to the high position which credit for personal disinterestedness, still more than for great and varied talents, had obtained for him. With a mind depressed by gloomy apprehension, he prepared for the worst; and, to avoid the last disgrace of dismissal, placed in the hands of two confidential agents† in London his formal resignation, to be tendered to the directors in the event of a crisis arriving which should render this humiliating step of evident expediency. Meanwhile he met his foes with his usual undaunted mien, and carried the war into the enemy's country, by instituting proceedings in the Supreme Court against Nuncomar and two kinsmen, named Fowke, in

* One of the most moderate and unprejudiced authorities on this subject truly remarks, that "opinions may, indeed, differ as to the extent of Hastings' culpability; but he must be a warm partisan, indeed, who will go to the length of declaring that the hands of the governor-general were altogether clean."—(Thornton's *British India*, ii., 71.)

† Col. Macleane and Mr. Graham.

the company's service, for an alleged conspiracy to force a native, named Camul-oodeen, to write a petition reflecting falsely and injuriously on himself and certain of his adherents, including his banyan Cantoo Baboo, on whom he was known to have conferred undue privileges. Clavering, Monson, and Francis, after hearing the evidence adduced at an examination before the judges, placed on record their conviction that the charge was a fabrication, and had no foundation whatever in truth. Within a few days from this time a more serious offence was alleged against Nuncomar—he was arrested on a charge of forging a bond five years before, and thrown into the common gaol. The ostensible prosecutor was a native of inconsiderable station; but Hastings was then, and is still, considered to have been the real mover in the business. The majority manifested their convictions in the most conspicuous manner: they dispatched urgent and repeated messages to the judges, demanding that Nuncomar should be held to bail; but to no purpose. The assizes commenced; a true bill was found; Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey, and after a protracted examination, involving much contradictory swearing, was pronounced guilty by a jury of Englishmen, and condemned to death.

The animus of the whole affair could not be mistaken: all classes were infected by a fever of excitement; and Clavering, it is said, swore that Nuncomar should be rescued, even at the foot of the gallows. Impey behaved throughout the trial with overbearing violence, and not only refused to grant a reprieve until the pleasure of the home authorities should be known, but even censured the counsel of Nuncomar, in open court, for his laudable attempt to prevail on the foreman of the jury to join in recommending his client to mercy.* Hastings, who might, had he chosen, have set his character in the fairest light by procuring the respite of his accuser, remained perfectly quiescent, and thereby confirmed the general conviction that he dared not encounter the charges of Nuncomar.

The sufficiency of the evidence by which the act of forgery was established, is a question of secondary importance when compared with the palpable injustice of inflicting capital punishment for a venial offence on a person over whom the judges had but a very questionable claim to exercise any jurisdiction at all.† Forgery in India was the very easiest and commonest description of swindling—a practice which it was as needful, and quite as difficult, for men of business to be on their guard against in every-day life, as for a lounger in the streets of London to take care of the handkerchief in his great-coat pocket. The English law, which made it a capital offence, was just one of those the introduction of which into Bengal would have been most vehemently deprecated by Hastings, had he not been personally interested in its enforcement. The natives, both Mussulman and Hindoo, were astounded at the unprecedented severity of the sentence; many of them, doubtless, remembered the notorious forgery of Clive, and the fate of Omichund: and now an aged man, a Brahmin of high caste, was sentenced to a public and terrible doom for an act, a little more selfish in its immediate motive, but certainly far less dreadful in its effects. The offence which had not barred an Englishman's path to a peerage, was now to doom a Hindoo to the gallows. And yet not so; the ostensible reason deceived no one; and even the warmest partisans of Hastings could not but view Nuncomar rather as the determined opponent of the governor-general, about to pay with life the forfeit of defeat, than as a common felon, condemned to die for a petty crime. The Mussulmans were mostly disposed to view with exultation the fate of the inveterate foe of Mohammed Reza Khan; but the Hindoos waited in an agony of shame and doubt the dawn of the day which was to witness the

* Thornton's *British India*, ii., 84. Burke publicly accused Hastings of having "murdered Nuncomar, through the hands of Impey." Macaulay views the matter more leniently as regards Hastings; but deems the main point at issue quite clear to everyone, "idiots and biographers excepted," and considers any lingering doubt on the subject quite set aside by the strong language in which Impey was subsequently described by Hastings as the man "to whose support I was at one time indebted for the safety of my fortune, honour, and reputation."—(ii., 255.) But this evidence is not unexceptionable, since it is very possible that these words referred to the important decision of the judges, at a subsequent crisis in the career of Hastings, when his resignation was declared invalid, and Clavering reluctantly compelled to relinquish his claim to the position of governor-general.

† Inasmuch as Nuncomar was not a voluntary inhabitant of Calcutta at the time when the offence was said to have been committed, but a prisoner brought and detained there by constraint, under the circumstances referred to in the preceding page.

ignominious end of a Brahmin who, by their laws, could, for the darkest crime ever pictured by the imagination of man, only be punished with loss of caste. The fatal morning of the 5th of August arrived, and Nuncomar stepped into his palanquin with the dignified serenity so often displayed by his countrymen when brought face to face with a violent death, and was borne through countless multitudes, who beheld the melancholy procession with an amazement which swallowed up every other feeling. Calmly mounting the scaffold, the old man sent a last message to the three councillors who would, he knew, have saved him if possible, commending to their care his son, Rajah Goordass. He then gave the signal to the executioner. The drop fell, and a loud and terrible cry arose from the assembled populace, which immediately dispersed—hundreds of Hindoos rushing from the polluted spot to cleanse themselves in the sacred waters of the Hooghly.

The majority in council, thus publicly defeated, sympathised deeply with the fate of this victim to political strife; and the older English officials could not but remember for how many years Nuncomar had played a part, of selfish intrigue it is true, but still an important and conspicuous part in Anglo-Indian history; for his co-operation had been gained at a time when governors and members of council, then mere commercial factors, paid assiduous homage to native functionaries.* The feelings of Hastings may be conjectured from an expression which escaped him many years later, that he had never been the personal enemy of any man but Nuncomar,† "whom from my soul I detested even when I was compelled to countenance him." He likewise foresaw the effect the fate of his fallen foe would produce in the minds of the natives. To contest with a fortunate man, was, in their sight, especially in that of the Mohammedan population, like fighting against God himself—as futile, and, in some sort, as impious. As to the power of the majority in council, its prestige was gone for ever; although, how the right of making war and peace, levying taxes, and nominating officials, came to be vested in one set of men, and the exclusive irresponsible infliction of capital punishments in another, was a question quite beyond the comprehension of the Bengalees. The governor-general felt relieved from the danger of any more native appeals, pecuniary or otherwise;‡ and whilst the air was yet filled with weeping and lamentation, he sat down to write a long and critical letter to Dr. Johnson about the *Tour to the Hebrides*, Jones' *Persian Grammar*, and the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India. From this time he renounced all idea of resigning his position, and repeatedly declared, in both official and private communications, that nothing short of death or recall should hinder him from seeing the result of the struggle with his colleagues. That result may be told in his own words—"his adversaries sickened, died, and fled,"§ leaving him

* Nuncomar was governor of Hooghly in 1756. He was induced by the English to take part with them against his master, Surajah Dowlah, whose orders of affording aid to the French when besieged in Chandernagore he disobeyed, to serve his secret allies, to whom on several occasions he rendered considerable service, and in so doing incurred the suspicions of the nabob, and was dismissed from office. His subsequent career has been shown in previous pages; its termination adds another name to the list of remarkable deaths which awaited the chief actors in the conspiracy that was carried into execution on the field of Plassy. At the division of spoil which took place in the house of the Seit brothers, nine persons were present. Of these, three (the Seits and Roy-dullub) were murdered by Meer Cossim Ali; the fourth (Clive) died by his own hand; the fifth (Meeran) perished by lightning; the sixth (Scrafton) was lost at sea; the seventh (Omichund) died an idiot; the eighth (Meer Jaffier) went to his grave groaning under every suffering which pecuniary difficulties, domestic sorrows, and bodily diseases, resulting from debauchery, could inflict. Of the death of Mr. Watts I have seen no record. Gassitee Begum, and several confederates not present on the occasion above referred to, were put to death at various times. Meer Cossim himself died poor and in obscurity.

† *Life*, iii., 338. This speech needs qualification; for Hastings, on his own showing, entertained for Francis, Clavering, and many minor functionaries, a feeling for which it would be difficult to find any other name than personal enmity. One gentleman, appointed by the majority to supersede a favourite nominee of his own as resident at Oude, he speaks of as "that wretch Bristowe;" and entreats his old friend Mr. Sulivan (the ancient opponent of Clive, and the chairman of the Court of Directors) to help rid him "from so unworthy an antagonist," declaring that he would not employ him, though his life itself should be the forfeit of refusal.—(ii., 336.)

‡ Francis, when examined before parliament in 1788, declared, that the effect of the execution of Nuncomar, defeated the inquiries entered into regarding the conduct of Hastings; "that it impressed a general terror on the natives with respect to preferring accusations against men in great power;" and that he and his coadjutors were unwilling to expose them to what appeared to him and his fellow-councillors, as well as to the Bengalees, a manifest danger.—(Mill, iii., 641.)

§ *Life of Hastings*, iii., 305.

the undisputed master of the field. The first to fail was Colonel Monson, who, after two months' sickness, fell a victim to the depressing influence of climate, and the wear and tear of faction. The casting vote of Hastings, joined to the undeviating support of Barwell, restored his complete ascendancy in council, which he exercised by reversing all the measures of his adversaries, displacing their nominees to make way for officials of his own appointment, and by reverting to his previous plans of conquest and dominion, of which the leading principle was the formation of subsidiary alliances with the native princes, especially of Oude and Berar, —a policy which, in skilful hands would, he foresaw, act as a powerful lever wherewith to raise England to a position of paramount authority in India. But once again his ambitious career was destined to receive a severe though temporary check. The accounts sent home by the Clavering party, furnished both the government and the directors of the E. I. Cy. with strong arguments for his immediate recall. With the proprietors he had been, and always continued to be, a special favourite, and they vehemently opposed the measure. Still there seemed so little chance of his continuance in office, save for a limited time, and on the most precarious and unsatisfactory tenure, that his agents and friends, after much discussion, thought themselves warranted in endeavouring to effect a compromise, by tendering his voluntary resignation in return for a private guarantee on the part of government for certain honours and advantages not clearly stated. The resignation was proffered and accepted, but it appears that the conditions annexed to it were not fulfilled; for the negotiators sent Hastings word, by the same ship that brought an order for the occupation of the chair by General Clavering (pending the arrival of the newly-appointed governor-general, Mr. Wheler), that they hoped he would not abide by the pledge given on his behalf, since the stipulations made at the same time had been already flagrantly violated.*

On receipt of this varied intelligence, Hastings was, or affected to be, at a loss how to act; but the violence of General Clavering in attempting the forcible assumption of the reins of government, afforded him an inducement or a pretext to repudiate the proceedings of his representatives in London, and declare that his instructions had been mistaken; that he had not, and would not resign. Clavering insisted that the resignation which had been tendered and accepted in England, could not be revoked in India: he therefore proceeded, with the support of Francis, to take the oaths of office, issue proclamations as governor-general, hold a council, and formally demand the surrender of the keys of the fort and the treasury. But Hastings had the advantage of that possession which an old adage pronounces to be "nine-tenths of the law:" he warned the officers of the garrison at Fort William, and of all the neighbouring stations, to obey no orders but his at their peril, and altogether assumed so daring an attitude, that his adversaries shrank from the alternative of civil war, and consented to abide by the decision of the judges. The notorious partiality of the chief justice left little doubt of the issue; but apart from any such bias, the decree was sufficiently well-grounded. The right of Clavering rested on the resignation of Hastings, and Hastings would not resign. In such a case the most reasonable course was to let things remain as they were, pending the decision of the home authorities. The defeated party, and especially Francis, behaved with unexpected moderation; but the victor, not contented with his triumph, strove to prevent Clavering from reassuming his place in the council, on the ground that it had been formally vacated, and could not be reoccupied except with the combined sanction of the ministers and directors. This absurd proposition Hastings maintained with all the special pleading of which he was an unrivalled master; but the judges could not, for very shame, support him, and Clavering was suffered to resume his former position. These proceedings occurred in June, 1777. They had a most injurious effect on the health of the high-principled but hasty-tempered general; so much so, that Hastings'

* *See* Letters of Macleane and Stewart.—(*Life*, ii., 95.) The "gross breach" of agreement so loudly complained of, was the investment of General Clavering with the order of the Bath. This same "red ribbon" created as much spleen and envy among the English functionaries, as the privilege of carrying a fish on their banners did among the ancient Mogul nobility; and a strange evidence of the consequence, attributed to the intriguing nabob of Arcot at the English court, was afforded by the knightly insignia being sent to him, with authority to invest therewith General Coote, and the royal ambassador, Sir John Lindsay.—(Auber's *India*, i., 306.) The greatest wonder is, that the honest and plain-spoken general did not flatly refuse to receive the honour by the hand of one he so thoroughly despised.]

prophecy that he would soon die of vexation, was realised in the following August.* Mr. Wheler, on his arrival in November, was compelled to content himself with the rank of a councillor, instead of the high office he had expected to fill. National difficulties fast following one another, engaged the whole attention of English politicians; and war with America, conjoined to the hostility of France, Spain, and Holland, with the armed neutrality of the Baltic, and growing discontent in Ireland, left the ministry† little inclination to begin reforms in India, which must commence with the removal of a man whose experience, energy, and self-reliance might be depended upon in the most perilous emergency for the defence of British interests in India; although, in less critical times, his aggressive policy necessitated an amount of counter-action quite inconsistent with the unchecked authority he so ardently desired to obtain, and which, for many reasons, it seemed advisable to vest in the governor-general. These considerations procured for Hastings a temporary confirmation in office after the expiration of the term originally fixed by the Regulating Act. In 1779, a new parliamentary decree announced that the £1,400,000 borrowed of the public, having been repaid by the company, and their bond-debt reduced to £1,500,000, they were authorised to declare a dividend of eight per cent. The raising of the dividend seems to have been an ill-omened measure; for once again it was followed by an increase of pecuniary distress, which not even the inventive brain and strong arm of the governor-general could find means to dissipate, although the departure of Francis freed him from the restraining presence of a severe and prejudiced, though public-spirited censor. Before their final separation, a partial and temporary reconciliation took place, effected under peculiar circumstances, through the mediation of Mr. Barwell, who, having amassed an ample fortune, returned to enjoy it in England in 1780. Unanimity in the council was indeed of the first necessity to meet a great and instant danger—namely, the alarming excitement occasioned among the native population by the persevering attempts of the Supreme Court to extend its jurisdiction over the whole of the company's territory, and to exert a controlling power even over the council itself. Macaulay has drawn a picture of this period in language too vivid and graphic to be condensed, and which has a peculiar value as proceeding from the pen of one who himself filled the position of councillor in the Bengal presidency, in an expressly legal capacity. In enumerating the evils attending the new tribunal, he states that it had "collected round itself,"—

"A banditti of bailiffs' followers compared with whom the retainers of the worst English spunging-houses, in the worst times, might be considered as upright and tender-hearted. Many natives highly considered among their countrymen were seized, hurried up to Calcutta, flung into the common gaol, not for any crime even suspected, not for any debt that had been proved, but merely as a precaution till their cause should come to trial. There were instances in which men of the most venerable dignity, persecuted without a cause by extortioners, died of rage and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils of Impey. The harems of noble Mohammedans, sanctuaries respected in the east by governments which respected nothing else, were burst open by gangs of bailiffs. The Mussulmans, braver, and less accustomed to submission than the Hindoos, sometimes stood on their defence; and there were instances in which they shed their blood in the doorway, while defending, sword in hand, the sacred apartments of their women. Nay, it seemed as if the faint-hearted Bengalee, who had crouched at the feet of Surajah Dowlah—who had been mute during the administration of Vansittart, would at length find courage in despair. No Mahratta invasion had ever spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of English lawyers. All the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of a Supreme Court." * * * "The lapse of sixty years, the virtue and wisdom of many eminent magistrates who have during that time administered justice in the Supreme Court, have not effaced from the minds of the people of Bengal the recollection of those evil days."—(*Essay*, p. 49.)

The power of the Supreme Court continued to increase, until it seemed as if every other function of government would be swept away in the vortex created by its ever-growing circles. Not satisfied with treating with the utmost contempt the magistrates and judges of the highest respectability in the country, the "black agents," as the chief justice con-

* It was about this period that the news of the much-desired divorce arrived, which enabled the Baroness Imhoff to become Mrs. Hastings. The Mussulman chronicler, in relating the splendid festivities with which the marriage was celebrated, asserts that the governor-general, vexed at the absence of Clavering, went himself to his house, and at length brought him in triumph to pay homage to the bride. The fatigue and excitement, perhaps, accelerated a crisis, for the general died a few days later.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 477.)

† The dissolution of the Rockingham ministry, by the sudden death of its chief, in 1782, was one of the circumstances which prevented Hastings' recall.

temptuously termed them,* he at length fairly ventured upon a distinct assumption of dominant authority in Bengal, by summoning the governor-general and council individually to defend themselves against a suit for trespass committed by them in their official capacity. Hastings could bear much from his "respectable friend, Sir Elijah Impey;" but there were limits even to his tolerance; and Francis, who had long vehemently remonstrated against the tyranny of the Supreme Court, willingly shared the responsibility of releasing various persons wrongfully imprisoned by the judges, and of preparing to resist the outrageous proceedings of the sheriff's officers, if necessary, by the sword. But before matters had proceeded to the last extremity, a compromise was effected between the governor-general and chief justice, by means of an offer which the former had clearly no right to make, and the latter no shadow of excuse for accepting. It will be remembered, that before the Regulating Act came into operation in India, a court of appeal had been projected, under the title of *Sudder Dewannee Adawlut*, to consist of the governor-general and council in person; but this arrangement had not been carried out, because the intended members feared to find their decisions set aside by the overweening authority assumed by the "king's judges," as the officers of the Supreme Court delighted to style themselves, in contradistinction to the company's servants. It was precisely this independence (in itself so just and necessary, though misused in unworthy and indiscreet hands) that Hastings desired to destroy; and he did so, for the time at least, most effectually, by offering Impey, in addition to the office already held by him, that of chief justice of the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, with a salary and fixed emoluments amounting to nearly £8,000 a-year, to be held during the pleasure of the governor-general and council. Francis and Wheler united in opposing this arrangement, and stated, in plain terms, that the idea of establishing peace upon the ground of adverse claims still unrelaxed, and which nothing even appeared to reconcile but the lucrative office given to the chief justice, could be maintained only upon suppositions highly dishonourable to the public justice and to the executive administration of Bengal. This view of the case was perfectly just. Even as far as the rival functionaries (executive and judicial) were concerned, it could produce only a temporary pacification, while its worst effect was—as a parliamentary committee afterwards affirmed—that it gave the governor-general an ascendancy by which he was "enabled to do things, under the name and appearance of a legal court, which he would not presume to do in his own person."† The measure was carried by Hastings and Coote,‡ in defiance of Francis and Wheler; and the chief justice entered on his double functions, and the receipt of his double salary, with much alacrity, but considerably diminished arrogance, and continued to give undeviating allegiance to his patron, until news arrived of an act of parliament, passed in 1782, for the limitation of the powers of the Supreme Court of judicature; accompanied by the recall of Impey, to answer before the House of Commons the charge of having "accepted an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the act 13 Geo. III."

The ascendancy of Hastings afforded some relief to the natives against wanton outrage, and the subsequent restraint laid on Anglo-Indian jurisdiction, contributed to their further relief. But the terrible prestige given by the unwarrantable proceedings of these times could not easily pass away. Moreover, even when its first terrors had been set aside, the labyrinth of innumerable and inexplicable forms, aggravated by the difficulties of a foreign language, in which a native found himself surrounded when brought within the mysterious circle of an English court of law, was calculated to deepen rather than remove the prejudices of persons who might be impelled by suffering to seek relief from present injury or redress for past wrongs, by a course of litigation which experience could scarcely fail to prove so tardy and expensive in its progress, as frequently to neutralise the benefit of an upright and unprejudiced decision. I can speak from personal experience of the fear entertained, by both Mussulmans and Hindoos, of being by any hook or handle involved in the harassing intricacies of a lawsuit; and even to the present day, many natives from the interior habitually fix their abodes on the safe side of the Mahratta ditch—the boundary of chancery and other civil branches of the Supreme Court.

The uncompromising opposition of Francis

* Letter of Impey to Lord Weymouth.—(Mill.)
† Report of Committee, 1781.
‡ Sir E. Coote, who had taken the place of Barwell, seconded Hastings, though with doubt and hesitation.

to the scheme of Hastings, together with differences on points of foreign policy, terminated in the renewal, and even increase, of former ill-feeling. The governor-general recorded, in an official minute, his disbelief in the "promises of candour" made by his opponent, and declared his public, like his private conduct, "void of truth and honour." Francis, whose health and spirits had been for some time visibly failing, and who, in the words of his opponent, had lost all self-control, and needed to be dealt with like "a passionate woman,"* could ill bear this unmerited taunt. After the council had risen, he placed a challenge in the hands of Hastings. It had been expected, and was immediately accepted. The example had been previously given by General Clavering (the commander-in-chief) and Mr. Barwell; and now the governor-general of India and the senior councillor, with remarkable disregard for the interests of their employers at a very critical period (not to speak of higher principles, which were quite out of the question), proceeded to edify an assemblage of women and children, by fighting a duel, as the Mussulman chronicler has it, "according to the established custom of the nation."† At the first exchange of shots, Francis fell, severely but not mortally wounded. He recovered slowly, and resumed his seat at the council board; until, wearied with the unequal contest, he threw up his position and returned to England at the close of 1782, leaving to Hastings the undisputed supremacy. Wheler had gradually been relaxing in his opposition. After the departure of his unbending colleague, he sided almost invariably with the governor-general, who spared no efforts to conciliate him by every possible means, especially by "providing handsomely for all his friends."‡ Yet, however great the triumph of Hastings, and undisguised his delight at the successful termination of a six years' conflict, abundant cause for anxiety remained, on every side, to lower the exulting tone he might have otherwise assumed. The ministers of the crown and the directors of the company suffered his retention of the highest office in India simply as a measure of temporary expediency; and even his stanch friends, the proprietors, failed not to give occasional and qualified censure to the unscrupulous deeds of the man on whose abilities and experience they relied for the fulfilment of those financial expectations which he had made it his great object to realise. But the very uncertainty of his position tended to encourage his innate propensity for temporising measures, and induced him to purchase golden opinions from his fellow-officials by conniving at innumerable illicit proceedings, for the interest of individuals, to the manifest injury of the revenues of the company and the prosperity of the provinces. Reforms are generally most unpopular where most needed; and Hastings, after forming plans for a large reduction of expenditure, set them aside until, as he remarked, he should be more certain of his own fate; "for I will not," he adds, "create enemies in order to ease the burdens of my successors."§ This very natural feeling, though somewhat inconsistent with the excessive zeal expressed by the writer for the pecuniary interests of the company, is quite in accordance with the unscrupulous manner in which he dealt with native princes—treating their rights and claims as valid or invalid, as substantial or mere empty-seeming, just as it suited his immediate object.|| Such habitual double-dealing, however convenient the weapons it might afford for an immediate emergency, could not fail to render his publicly-recorded opinions a tissue of the most flagrant contradictions; and it tended materially to produce the evils which he endeavoured to prove had resulted solely from the opposition made to his measures by the ex-majority. Those evils are thus enumerated by his own pen:—"An exhausted treasury; an accumulating debt; a system charged with expensive establishments, and precluded, by the multitude of dependents and the curse of patron-

* *Life of Hastings*, ii., 384.

† *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 518.

‡ Wheler's support was not, however, quite undeviating; and his despotic chief complained of his attachment to "the lees of Mr. Francis, and his practice of *a strange policy* of hearing whatever any man has to say, and especially against public measures."—(*Life of Hastings*, ii., 384.)

§ *Idem*, iii., 31.

|| He himself acknowledged how little he allowed an "expression dictated by the impulse of present emergency," to impose upon him "the obligation of a fixed principle." And one of his ablest and not least partial advocates, in the present day, admits that his determination to hold "his post and his purposes" in defiance of the directors, led him "to devise arguments and assign motives intended to meet the exigency of the moment, and, therefore, sometimes as much at variance with themselves as were the arguments of those by whom he was so vehemently and invariably opposed."—(Professor Wilson's Note on Mill's *India*, iv., 30.)

age, from reformation; a government debilitated by the various habits of inveterate licentiousness; a country oppressed by private rapacity, and deprived of its vital resources by the enormous quantities of current specie annually exported in the remittance of private fortunes, in supplies sent to China, Fort St. George, to Bombay, and lately to the army at Surat, and by an impoverished commerce; the support of Bombay, with all its new conquests; the charge of preserving Fort St. George, and recovering the Carnatic from the hands of a victorious enemy; the entire maintenance of both presidencies; and lastly, a war, either actual or depending, in every quarter and with every power of Hindostan."*

Before proceeding to describe the manner in which Hastings, now alone at the helm, steered his way through this troubled sea of dangers and difficulties, and likewise through personal trials of his own seeking, it is necessary to narrate, as briefly as possible, the leading events which, since his promotion to the station of governor-general in 1772, had taken place in the minor or sister presidencies of Bombay and Madras.

Bombay, 1772 to 1780.—The possession of the little island of Salsette and the fort of Bassein had long been earnestly coveted by the E. I. Cy., and in 1768, they strongly urged on their Indian representatives the additional security to Bombay to be derived from the annexation of these places; which, however, they desired to see effected "rather by purchase than war." Under the strong government of Madhoo Rao, the latter experiment would have been sufficiently hazardous; and the result of negotiations opened in 1772, clearly proved the small chance that existed of a voluntary surrender of territories no less valued by the one party than desired by the other. The death of the Mahratta peishwa produced dissensions in the state which, by destroying unity of interest even in Poona itself, offered to the English a prospect of obtaining, in the character of mediators or partisans, the concessions vainly sought for by more legitimate means. Madhoo Rao, always patriotic and unselfish, had diligently striven to avert the calamities by which his early death was likely to be attended. Perceiving his end approaching, he caused his uncle Ragoba to be released from confinement, and in the most affecting and impressive manner entreated him to guard and guide the person and counsels of his brother and successor Narrain Rao, a youth of seventeen. Ragoba appeared kindly disposed to the nephew thus committed to his charge, and the new peishwa was formally invested by the pageant-rajah with the insignia of office. But before long, dissensions arose between the chief ministers of Narrain (Sukaram Bappoo, Nana Furnuvees, and others, appointed by Madhoo Rao) and Ragoba, the result of which was his confinement to certain apartments in the palace. While smarting under the check thus given to his ill-regulated ambition, Ragoba, stimulated by the evil counsels of his tale-bearing wife, Anundee Bye, was induced to gratify the jealous hatred entertained by her against Gopika Bye, the mother of Madhoo and Narrain, by giving a written sanction for the seizure of the young peishwa, which she wickedly converted into an order for his assassination, by changing the word *dhurawè* (to seize) into *marawè* (to kill.) A domestic, who had been publicly flogged by order of the destined victim, was a chief mover in the plot, which was carried out by working on the discontent of a body of unpaid infantry. They had been extremely turbulent during the afternoon of the 30th of August, 1773, and in the night the ringleader, Somer Sing, entered the palace by an unfinished doorway newly opened to make an entrance distinct from that of the portion inhabited by Ragoba. Narrain Rao, on starting from sleep, fled, pursued by Somer Sing, to his uncle's apartments, and flung himself into his arms for protection. Ragoba interfered, but Somer Sing exclaimed—"I have not gone so far to ensure my own destruction; let him go, or you shall die with him." Ragoba was too deeply compromised to give way to remorse: he disengaged himself from the grasp of his nephew, and got out on the terrace. Narrain Rao strove to follow him, but was seized by the leg and flung to the ground by the vengeful servant before named. At this moment one of the personal attendants of the peishwa entered, unarmed, and flew to his rescue; but his fidelity cost him his life, for both master and servant were dispatched by the swords of the assassins.† The unfortunate Narrain Rao appears to have manifested a degree of indecision and timidity, on this trying occasion, remarkable in one of his caste and nation; but these failings were probably not radical defects, but rather incidental

* *Life of Hastings*, ii., 329.

† Grant Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 249.

to an unformed character.* A searching investigation was instituted into the affair by Ram Shastree, the celebrated judge, whose integrity and ability had reflected so much honour on the administration of his beloved disciple Madhoo Rao. To him Ragoba confessed his partial participation in the crime, and asked what atonement he could make. "The sacrifice of your own life," replied the uncompromising judge; "for neither you nor your government can prosper; and, for my own part, I will neither accept of employment, nor enter Poona whilst you preside there."† He kept his word, and retired to a sequestered village, from whence he witnessed the fulfilment of his prediction; for Ragoba's "ill-luck" became proverbial, and communicated itself, in a greater or less degree, to every enterprise in which he was concerned. At the onset, the total absence of a rival claimant enabled him to obtain, without difficulty, the confirmation of the rajah of Sattara to his assumption of the rank of peishwa; but his title was subsequently rendered invalid by the posthumous birth of a son, the rightful heir to Narrain Rao. Considerable doubt was thrown upon the legitimacy of the child by the means adopted by the ministers (Nana Furnavees, Sukaram Bappoo, and others), to provide a male substitute, in the event of their influence being endangered by the birth of a girl; but, as the case happened, the manœuvre only served to endanger their own cause, and afford Ragoba a pretext for resisting the claims of the son of his murdered nephew, who was proclaimed peishwa when only forty days old. The English authorities appear to have been quite misled by the representations which accompanied his appeal for their assistance; and even when compelled to recognise the utter futility of attempting to establish his supremacy in defiance of the general feeling of the Mahratta nation, they seem never to have rightly understood the nature of his claims, or the basis on which they rested. The cession of Bassein and Salsette, with the payment of a large sum of money, formed the leading stipulations on the part of the Bombay authorities; but as Ragoba was very unwilling to consent to any sacrifice of territory, they took advantage of the plea afforded by an inclination manifested by the Portuguese to regain their ancient possessions, to forcibly occupy them with British troops, protesting, nevertheless, that they held them only on behalf of Ragoba, until he should himself settle the arrangements of the pending treaty. The part taken by Sindia and Holcar, in siding with the ministers, left him no choice but to comply with the demands of the English; and, in return for his concessions,‡ 2,500 men were landed at Cambay, under Colonel Keating, in the early part of the year 1775, to aid his own mob-like assemblage of about 20,000 men. The campaign was successful, though attended with considerable loss of life;§ but preparations for the renewal of hostilities, at the close of the monsoon, were suddenly arrested by the interference of the Bengal presidency. The Bombay authorities were sharply reprimanded for disregarding the recent regu-

* Madhoo Rao, whose generous nature rose superior to the unworthy considerations which induced the Mogul emperors to treat their near relatives as dangerous rivals, and confine them from infancy to state prisons, delighted in cherishing and drawing public attention to the good qualities of his intended successor. The Mahrattas relate, that the brothers were witnessing an elephant-fight from a small hill in the environs of Poona, when one of the animals becoming excited, rushed furiously towards the spot where they were seated. The companions and attendants of the peishwa, forgetting all courtly etiquette, took to their heels, and Narrain jumped up to run off with the rest. "Brother," said Madhoo Rao, "what will the ukbars [*native newspapers*] say of you?" The boy instantly resumed his seat, and retained it until the danger, which became imminent, had been averted by the bravery of a bystander, who, drawing his dagger, sprang in front of the peishwa and turned the animal aside by wounding it in the trunk.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 251.)

† *History of Mahrattas*, ii., 249. An interesting feature in the intercourse of Madhoo Rao and Ram Shastree, is related by Duff. The peishwa devoted himself, at one period, to the practice of "Jhep" or religious meditation, to a degree which interfered with his public duties. Ram Shastree told him, that if he were inclined to revert to the condition of devout and austere poverty, which by the Hindoo doctrine was the especial duty of a Brahmin, he would gladly do the same; but if, on the contrary, Madhoo intended to follow the example of his predecessors, and retain the position of an earthly potentate, the duties incumbent on the assumed office ought to be his first consideration. "The musnud, or a life of self-denial in the holy city of Benares,—which you will," said the honest Mentor; "I will abide with you in either station." Happily for Maharashtra, Madhoo Rao remained its ruler, and Ram Shastree its leading judge,—an unimpeachable one, for he had no thirst for power, and all his habits were consistent with his characteristic rule—to keep nothing more in his house than sufficed for the day's consumption.

‡ Ragoba, or Rugonath Rao, having no other funds, deposited with the company, jewels valued at upwards of six lacs. These gems were, about twenty-eight years later, freely presented to Bajee Rao on his restoration to the office of peishwa, in 1813.

§ In the small detachment of Colonel Keating, 222 persons perished, including eleven officers.

lations, which placed the control in matters of foreign policy in the hands of the governor-general and the supreme council; and, besides being blamed for insubordination, they were informed that an envoy (Colonel Upton) would be sent direct from Bengal to conclude a treaty of peace. This latter proceeding could not fail to irritate the Bombay officials, and to lower their authority, and, indeed, that of the English in general, in the eyes of the Mahratta ministers, than whom no men living were better able to appreciate the weakness arising from divided counsels. The consequence was, that after a negotiation conducted, on the part of the Mahrattas, with more than characteristic procrastination, Nana Furnavees and the ministers of the infant peishwa, concluded a treaty at Poorunder, by which Colonel Upton promised that the English should relinquish the cause of Ragoba, and guarantee the disbandment of his army on certain stipulations quite contrary to the views of that individual. Of Salsette Island they were to retain possession, but to relinquish certain cessions in Guzerat, made by the Mahratta chief Futteh Sing Guicowar. No sooner had this humiliating agreement been entered into than the home despatches arrived, highly applauding the conduct of the Bombay authorities, and bidding them, in any and every case, retain all their late acquisitions, especially Bassein, if it were included in the number; which was not the case. The mandate came late, but its effects were soon manifested in a partial breach of faith, by continued though guarded favour shown to Ragoba, and a decided inclination to break with the Poona ministry. Nana Furnavees, a politician of much ability and more cunning, strove to prevent the renewal of hostilities, by affecting to encourage the pretensions of a French adventurer, named St. Lubin, who, after imposing upon the Madras government in the character of an agent of the court of Versailles, had returned to France, and by exaggerated representations of the influence acquired by him at Poona, had induced the minister of marine to intrust him with a sort of clandestine commission, as an experiment for ascertaining if any footing might be gained (the port of Choul being especially desired.)

No one had less inclination to suffer the introduction of French power into Maharashtra than Nana Furnavees; and by the little favour shown to the avowed agent of another European state (Austria), then at Poona, it seems that he considered St. Lubin as a mere impostor, and encouraged him simply as a means of alarming the English government by an affected alliance with France. These proceedings served, on the contrary, to incite immediate operations before the anticipated arrival of French auxiliaries at Poona. Even Hastings was dissatisfied with the treaty of Poorunder; and notwithstanding the censure bestowed on the previous "unwarrantable" interference of the local authorities, they were now directed "to assist in tranquillising the dissensions of the Mahratta state." Ostensibly for the promotion of this object, Colonel Leslie was dispatched, with a strong detachment, to march across the centre of India, from Bengal to the western coast. The Bombay presidency, delighted with this indirect admission of the advisability of their former measures, determined not to wait the arrival of reinforcements, but to make war at once, upon the strength of their own resources; and Mr. Carnac, who had the lead in council, was himself placed at the head of a committee, to aid in the direction of military operations. In fact, despite the oddity of making war under the superintendence of civilians, the infirm health and inexperience in Indian warfare of Colonel Egerton, the officer on whom the command devolved by right of seniority, rendered such a step of absolute necessity to the carrying out, with any prospect of success, the wild plan of advancing with a force (including a few straggling horse under Ragoba) of less than 4,500 men, to attack the ministerial party in their own capital. So bold a design imperatively needed rapidity in execution; yet, after crossing the Ghaut (mountain-pass), the army, without any reason for such ill-timed tardiness, advanced only eight miles in eleven days. The enemy had fully prepared for their reception; and the deliberate progress of the English was but slightly opposed, until, at about sixteen miles from Poona, they found themselves face to face with the Mahratta host. Mr. Carnac and Colonel Cockburn (who had taken the lead, in consequence of the sickness of Colonel Egerton) seem to have been panic-struck by the imminent danger which they had wantonly incurred, and they immediately issued orders for a silent midnight retreat. In vain the junior officers and Ragoba, whose military experience was treated with undeserved contempt, urged that, from the

well-known tactics of the enemy, such an attempt, made in defiance of clouds of trained cavalry, was more perilous than the boldest advance. And so the event proved; for the first retrograde movement of the English gave the signal for attack to the whole hostile force. The bravery and skill of Captain Hartley, the officer in command of the rear-guard,* together with his extraordinary influence with the native troops, conduced materially to save the invading army from total destruction. After several furious charges, the enemy desisted, without having made a serious impression on any part of the line. But the loss of 300 men, including fifteen officers, had so completely dispirited the military leaders, that they now, in continued opposition to the arguments and entreaties of Hartley and others, declared advance and retreat alike impossible, and that nothing remained but to make peace with the Mahrattas on any terms,—in other words, to confess themselves caught in their own trap, and consent to such a ransom as their captors might dictate. They were even prepared to give up Ragoba to his foes, the ministers ; but he, aware of the ungenerous intention, made private terms of surrender with Sindia. The almost independent power of this chief, and the jealousy existing between him and the Poona authorities, enabled the English, by a direct application to him, to obtain more favourable terms than might otherwise have been conceded ; but despite the moderation of the victors, the Convention of Wurgaum formed a fitting ending to one of the few disgraceful campaigns recorded in the annals of the Anglo-Indian army. Every point in dispute was yielded ; all acquisitions made since the death of Madhoo Rao (of course including Salsette) were to be relinquished, as also the revenue raised by the company in Broach,† and even in Surat, which the Mahrattas had never possessed. Hostages (Mr. Farmer and Lieutenant Stewart) were left with Sindia for the performance of the treaty : nevertheless, the first act of the committee by whom the whole affair had been so terribly mismanaged, on descending the Ghaut in safety, was to countermand the order dispatched in agreement with the recent convention forbidding the advance of the troops from Bengal.‡

The presidency were indignant beyond measure at this discreditable conclusion of their attempt to show Calcutta what Bombay could do. Hastings was, on his part, no less irritated by a series of rashly-planned and ill-executed measures, which nothing but "success, that grand apology for statesmen's blunders,"§ could excuse. His own long-cherished hopes of taking advantage of the dissensions of the Mahratta state proved equally fruitless. A mistaken idea of the connexion of Moodajee Bhonslay, the ruler of Berar, with the house of Sevajee, led Hastings to stimulate Moodajee to assert his supposed claim to the raj, or sovereignty, upon the death of Ram Rajah in 1777, and the appointment, under the name of Shao Maharaj, of a distant relative, adopted as his son, and heir to his gilded captivity by the deceased prince. The effort proved fruitless, for Moodajee retained a lively recollection of kindness received from the grandfather of the infant peishwa, and despite the promptings of ambition, was reluctant to interfere with the power of that family. These kindly feelings, one of the Hindoo guardians of the child (either Nana Furnavees or Sukaram Bappoo) had taken pains to cherish, by placing his infant charge in the arms of young Raghoo, the son of Moodajee, and styling him the protector of the peishwa. Hastings himself remarks that acts of this description establish in the minds of the Mahrattas "obligations of the most solemn kind," and afford "evidence of a generous principle, so little known in our political system."|| The powerful minister, Nana Furnavees, was, however, actuated by less generous principles, his chief object being to use the little peishwa as an instrument for his own aggrandisement and that of his family, to whom he designed to transmit his paramount authority over the puppet minister of a puppet rajah. These designs were not likely to escape the notice of his colleagues in office, and dissensions arose, of which Sindia took full advantage

* Sindia loudly extolled the conduct of the rear-guard, which he compared "to a red wall, no sooner beat down than it was built up again."—(Duff.)

† A petty Mogul nabob held Broach, in subordination to the Mahrattas until 1772, when it was captured by a British force under General Wedderburne, who was killed in the assault.

‡ The hostages were, nevertheless, generously released by Sindia, who did not even demand the parole of Lieutenant Stewart not to fight against him, but, on the contrary, said—"Resume your place in the army ; your sword is your subsistence."—(Wilks.)

§ Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 379.

|| *Life of Hastings*, ii., 361.

for the establishment and increase of his own power, by interfering as much as possible in the garb of a mediator.* Under the pressure of external hostilities, internal disputes invariably gave way to co-operation for mutual defence; and such was the immediate effect produced by the repudiation by the governor-general of the Convention of Wurgaum, which he declared invalid, inasmuch as the English committee had far exceeded the powers vested in them. This was actually the case; and Mr. Farmer had informed Sindia that they had no power to enter on any treaty without the sanction of the supreme government. The Mahratta chief treated this excuse as a mere pretence to avoid giving an inconvenient pledge, and scornfully asked, if their authority was so limited, by whose order they had ventured to break the treaty concluded by Colonel Upton? The question was unanswerable; the danger imminent; and Mr. Carnac, consoling himself with the idea that if, after what had passed, the Mahrattas were duped, the fault was their own, dispatched a plenipotentiary to the camp of Sindia for the avowed purpose of concluding a treaty, which he confirmed by every outward mark of good faith, under a *mental reservation* of the invalidity of the whole transaction.

On their return to Bombay, Mr. Carnac, Colonel Egerton, and Colonel Cockburn (a brave and steady soldier, but totally unfit for so arduous a command), were dismissed the service, and the recall of Colonel Leslie was only prevented by his death of fever. The offence of the latter officer was the slowness of his march from Bengal, and his mistaken policy in allowing some Rajpoot allies of the Mahrattas to engage him in petty hostilities, and hinder the accomplishment of his main object—namely, speedy arrival at the seat of war. General Goddard was chosen by Hastings for the command, and his progress was altogether as speedy and fortunate as that of his predecessor had been slow and unsatisfactory. After receiving great kindness, bestowed under circumstances of much doubt and difficulty by the Afghan ruler of Bhopal,† Goddard marched boldly on, manifested his good sense by cordial co-operation with the Bombay government, carried out their plan of attacking Guzerat (notwithstanding the almost independent authority with which he was invested), and having, by extraordinary expedition, avoided the snares laid to interrupt his progress, crossed the Taptee on the 1st of January, 1780, and before the end of the month, carried by storm Ahmedabad, the great but decayed capital of the province. The famous fortress of Gwalior‡ was captured on the night of the 3rd of August, by a force of 2,400 men, sent direct from Bengal by Hastings; and the year terminated with the conquest of Bassein by Goddard. But these successes were counterbalanced by disasters in other quarters, which rendered the English anxious to conclude a speedy peace with the Mahrattas on almost any terms. The aspect of affairs was indeed alarming; for, at this period, Hyder Ali and the Nizam had merged, for the moment, their mutual animosities,

* Sukaram Bappoo, the chief rival of Nana Furnavees, at length became his victim, and was secretly removed from one fortress to another, till he perished miserably under bodily suffering created rather by the effects of unwholesome food and harsh treatment, than the slight infirmities of a green old age. Among his various prisons was that of Pertabgurh, on the western side of which lay an abyss formed by 4,000 feet of rugged rock. From the eastern side the spot was plainly visible where his Brahmin ancestor, 120 years before, won over by Sevajee, swore the treacherous, midnight oath to deliver up his master, Afzool Khan, to planned assassination.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 396.)

† This little principality, situated on the north-eastern bank of the Nerbudda, was formed by the usurpations of Dost Mohammed, an Afghan in the service of Aurungzebe. During the troubles that succeeded the death of the emperor, he assumed the title of nawab (*anglicé* nabob), and rallied round him bands of adherents whom he had invited from Bengal. His successors contrived to extend their sway, and, what was more difficult, to gain the good-will of the intractable Gonds, or people of Gondwarra, the inhabitants of the southern portion of the Bhopal territory, chiefly through the instrumentality of an able Hindoo minister, Bejee Ram, and a lady of remarkable ability, who for more than half a century greatly influenced, if she did not control, the councils of the principality, under the name of Mahjee Sahiba, the "lady-mother," an appellation descriptive of her benevolent character only, for she was childless. Hindoos and Mohammedans agree in cherishing the memory of this beloved princess, and vie with one another in citing anecdotes illustrative of her judgment and integrity. She attained the age of eighty.—(Major Hough's *Bhopal Principality.*)

‡ Gwalior, the famous state-prison of Akber and Aurungzebe, had, upon the dismemberment of the Delhi empire, fallen into the hands of a Jat chief, known as the rana of Gohud. It was taken by Sindia in 1779, and captured, in turn, by the British troops under Major Popham, the scarped rock on which the citadel stood being ascended at daybreak by means of wooden ladders. Hastings had formed a very exaggerated idea of the power of the rana of Gohud, to whom he restored the fortress; but on discovering his mistake, he changed his policy, and sanctioned its recovery by Sindia, in 1784—conduct which formed an article in his impeachment.

and confederated with their sworn foes, the Poona ministers, for the express purpose of expelling the English and the nabob Mohammed Ali from the Carnatic. The causes which led to this alarming coalition of Hindoo and Mussulman powers, are closely interwoven with the history of the—

MADRAS PRESIDENCY FROM 1769 TO 1780. —The principles which guided the counsels of this government were so avowedly bad, that their ruinous consequences seem to have been the natural fruit of the tree they planted. In 1772, the presidency made war upon the poligars or chiefs of certain adjacent districts called the Marawars, not that they had any quarrel with them, but simply because the tyrannical nabob had "made them his enemies, and therefore," the Madras councillors add, "it is necessary they should be reduced. It is necessary, or it is good policy they should. We do not say it is altogether just, for justice and good policy are not often related."* Hostilities were commenced on the above not "altogether just" grounds, and they were carried on, to adopt the same smooth-tongued phraseology, in a not altogether merciful manner. The poligar of the greater Marawar (a boy of twelve years of age), was taken at the capture of his capital of Ramnadaporam, in April, 1772, after brave but unskilful resistance on the part of its native defendants (the tribe called Coleries by Orme.) The poligar of the lesser Marawar was slain after a treaty of peace had been actually concluded, owing to a misunderstanding between the English commander and the son of the nabob, Omdut-al-Omrah. The peasantry, as usual, remained passive during the siege of the various forts: they expected to be little affected by the change of one despot for another; but the grinding exactions of the new conqueror, which are said to have surpassed even those of Hyder Ali in the amount of misery inflicted, soon convinced them of their error; and on being turned out of their lands, many took up arms in sheer despair—the inverted plough being the general symbol of revolt. The English officer, Colonel Bonjour, who had been ordered to superintend the settlement of the country in the manner desired by Mohammed Ali, remonstrated forcibly against an object which, being in itself oppressive to the last degree, would require for its accomplishment "extremities of a most shocking nature."† For instance, the impossibility of seizing the armed and watchful foe, must, he said, be met by such reprisals as the complete destruction of the villages to which they belonged, the massacre of every man in them, and the imprisonment (probably to end in slavery) of the women and children; with other "severe examples of that kind."‡ Colonel Bonjour received an answer very similar to that given by Hastings to Colonel Champion in the case of the Rohillas, to the effect, that these things were the natural consequences of war, and that the worthy Mohammed Ali must not be affronted by impertinent interference. In fact, the majority of the Madras council, at this period, were the nabob's very humble and obedient servants, although some trouble was taken to conceal the fact from their "honourable masters" in Leadenhall-street. Subserviency of so manifestly degrading a character, could scarcely be the result of any but the most unworthy motives; and the simple truth appears to have been, that the leading English councillors entered upon the extension of the power of the Mohammedan nabob of Arcot, as a particularly safe and promising speculation, since if their efforts succeeded, great part of the profit would be their own; and in the event of failure, the expenses must be borne by the company. So early as 1769, three members of council held a large assignment of territorial revenue, which the Court of Directors subsequently discovered; and many official and private persons received from the nabob, bonds for the repayment of money lent and *not lent*, the true consideration given or promised being of a description which neither party cared to specify.

* Parl. Papers, quoted by Mill, iv., 100.

† Mill's *India*, iv., 103.

‡ Col. Wilks describes the sway of Hyder as one succession of experiments as to how far extortion could be practised on the farmer without diminishing cultivation. When his subjects claimed justice at his hands, he punished the offenders by a heavy fine, but pocketed the money himself, declaring that this appropriation was, by restraining oppression, nearly as good for the people, and a great deal better for the sovereign. Nevertheless, Wilks states that the misrule of Mohammed Ali "left at an humble distance all the oppression that had ever been practised under the iron government of Hyder."—(*Mysoor*, ii., 103.) Swartz corroborates this statement by his remarks on the regularity and dispatch with which the government of Mysoor was conducted. "Hyder's economical rule is to repair all damages without losing an instant, whereby all is kept in good condition, and with little expense. The Europeans in the Carnatic leave everything to go to ruin."—(*Idem*, p. 572.)

When Englishmen of a certain rank "could make open and undisguised offers of their services to become directors of the E.I.Cy.,"* and even stoop to occupy seats in the British parliament purchased with his funds, avowedly for the promotion of his interests, little cause for surprise remains that Anglo-Indian functionaries, placed for the time beyond the reach of that public opinion which with so many men stands in the stead of conscience, should, by degrees, lose all sense of shame, and scarcely take ordinary pains to conceal their venality. Even had they been more on their guard, the conduct of Mohammed Ali could scarcely have failed to provoke recriminations calculated to expose the whole nefarious system. His love of money, though it fell far short of his thirst for power, was still excessive: he never willingly parted with gold, but accumulated large hoards, giving bonds to his real and pretended creditors, until they themselves became alarmed at the enormous amount of private debts with which the revenues of Arcot were saddled. Meanwhile, the legitimate expenditure of government was narrowed within the smallest possible limits; the troops, as usual, were in arrears of pay, and the promises made to the E. I. Cy. remained unfulfilled. The booty obtained by the seizure of the Marawars had only served to whet the appetite of Mohammed Ali and the party of whom he was at once the tempter and the dupe. There was a neighbouring state better worth attacking—that of Tanjore, a Mahratta principality against which the nabob of Arcot had no shadow of claim, except that of having, by dint of superior strength, exacted from thence an occasional subsidy. Its late ruler, Pertap Sing, had, it is said, more than once purchased the mediation of the leading English officials by borrowing from them large sums of money at exorbitant interest: but his son and successor, Tuljajee, forsaking this shrewd policy, applied to the Dutch at Negapatam, and the Danes at Tranquebar, for the means wherewith to pay a heavy sum which he had been compelled to guarantee to the Arcot authorities as the price of peace, so late as 1771. Some small portion of this agreement remained unfulfilled, and it served to afford a sufficient pretext for the invasion of Tanjore. In fact, such a formality could only be necessary for the sake of preserving appearances with the company and the British public. George III. had, it was well known, been prepared, by wilful perversions of the truth, to take a generous and manly, but wholly mistaken and prejudiced view of all matters regarding Mohammed Ali, whom he had been induced to regard as an independent sovereign of high principle and ability, whose plans the English were, in gratitude and duty, bound to further to the uttermost. Existing disputes between the governments of Poona, Guzerat, and Berar, prevented the chiefs of the Mahratta confederation interfering to protect the rajah; therefore, taking advantage of the opportunity, hostile proceedings were commenced, and ground broken before Tanjore on the 20th of August; on the 6th of September a breach was effected; and on the following day, during the intense heat of noon, while the garrison were for the most part at rest, in expectation of an evening attack, the English troops were, with the least possible noise, marshalled for the assault. The stratagem was entirely successful; the fort was captured almost without loss, and the rajah and his family fell into the hands of Mohammed Ali, by whom his dominions were formally occupied. The indignation of the company was naturally roused by a procedure which lacked even the threadbare excuse of zeal for their service. Orders were issued (though somewhat tardily, owing to the disturbed state of affairs at home) for the restoration of the rajah of Tanjore; and Lord Pigot,† his proved friend, was sent out as governor, in 1775, for their enforcement. This act of justice was not carried through in a purely disinterested manner, for stipulations were made for the maintenance of an English garrison within the citadel, and the payment of tribute to the nabob. The latter clause failed to reconcile Mohammed Ali to the surrender of Tanjore: he even formed a plan for its forcible detention,‡ which was forestalled by the prompt

* *Vide* Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 213; and Burke's admirable speech on the Carnatic debts, in which he affirmed that the nabob of Arcot had returned eight members to one British parliament.

† Lord Pigot went out as a writer to Madras in 1736; was promoted to the government in 1754 went home, in 1763, with an immense fortune; and successively obtained the rank of a baronet and of an Irish peer. A treaty with the rajah of Tanjore, in 1762, was one of his favourite measures, and he felt naturally annoyed by its shameless violation.

‡ *Vide* Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 225. Mohammed Ali had secretly ordered a large amount of military stores from the Danish authorities at Tranquebar, but they arrived too late for the purpose designed. The Danes had no great reason to rejoice

and decisive measures of Lord Pigot, who proceeded in person, in the spring of 1776, to reinstate Tuljajee in his former dignity. The council took advantage of his absence to consider the delicate question of the pecuniary claims of individuals, especially those of Mr. Paul Benfield. The case of this individual may serve to illustrate the character of the nabob's debts, the majority of which were similar in kind, though less in degree, in proportion to the opportunities, audacity, and cunning of the parties concerned. Mr. Benfield was a junior servant of the company, with a salary of a few hundred pounds a-year, which, as all old Indians know, could leave little margin for extravagance; nevertheless, this clever adventurer, having in his own scheming brain a talent for money-making scarcely inferior to that vested in the fairy purse of Fortunatus, contrived not only to support a splendid establishment and equipages, unrivalled at Madras even in those days of luxury and ostentation, but also to obtain certain assignments on the revenues of Tanjore, and on the growing crops of that principality, to the enormous extent of £234,000, in return for £162,000 ostensibly lent to the nabob of Arcot, and £72,000 to individuals in Tanjore. Such was the leader of the party arrayed on the side of Mohammed Ali, who had actually signed bonds to the amount of nearly a million and a-half sterling, backed by assignments on the revenues of Tanjore; and the very nature of these claims caused them to be urged with peculiar acrimony and violence. In Calcutta, the character of the majority by whom Hastings was at this very time so fiercely opposed, was wholly different to that with which Pigot had to struggle. Clavering, Monson, and Francis might be reproached with party spirit, but in all pecuniary matters their reputation was unblemished, and their public proceedings were, consequently, free from the baneful and narrowing influence of self-interest. At Madras the case was wholly different; the majority consisted of men of deeply corrupt character, who, in return for accusations of venality in abetting the aggressions of the nabob, reciprocated the charge against all the upholders of the rajah, from the governor downwards.* The previous career of Lord Pigot did not facilitate the performance of the invidious task he had undertaken. Like Clive, he had formerly accumulated an immense fortune by questionable means, and had returned to root up abuses which, at an earlier stage, might have been nipped in the bud. Even his present visit to Tanjore, and the part played by him in the struggle for the appointment of a resident at that government, was far from being free from all suspicion of private ends and interests, either as regarded himself or his immediate retainers. But, however alike in their views and motives, the positions of Clive and Pigot were very different. The latter, instead of possessing supreme authority, was subordinate to a governor-general by no means inclined to afford cordial support to any reformatory measures, save of his own introduction; and Lord Pigot, trusting too much in his own strength, by a haughty and violent line of conduct,† soon brought matters to a crisis he was unprepared to meet. The imprisonment of Sir Robert Fletcher, with the attempted suspension of two of the leading members of council, was retaliated by his own arrest, performed in a very unsoldier-like style by the temporary commander-in-chief of the army, Colonel Stuart, with the aid of a coachman in the pay of Mr. Paul Benfield.‡ Having thus unceremoniously disposed of their chief, the majority proceeded to enact a series of legal, or rather illegal forms, and assumed the whole power of government.§ They did not long enjoy their triumph; for the home authorities, astonished and alarmed by such

in the transaction, for Hyder made them pay a fine of £14,000 sterling for furnishing his inveterate foe with warlike weapons; and Mohammed Ali, despite his desire to keep the affair quiet, liquidated but a small portion of the stipulated price. The whole matter came to light in 1801, when the E. I. Cy. took possession of the Carnatic, and on the production of the secret correspondence with the nabob, paid the Danish Cy. a balance of £42,304.—(Wilks, ii., 10.)

* The scale on which bribery was carried on, may be conjectured from the fact, that Admiral Pigot declared in the House of Commons, in 1778, that his brother, the late governor, had been offered a bribe, amounting to £600,000 sterling, only to defer for a time the reinstatement of the rajah of Tanjore.

† Swartz, commenting on the proceedings of which he was an eye-witness, remarks:—"Probably his intentions were laudable, but he began not with God."

‡ Col. Stuart was on terms of close intimacy with Lord Pigot; had breakfasted and dined with him on the day of the arrest, and was ostensibly on the way to sup with him, when the carriage of the governor, in which they were both seated, was, by the appointment of the colonel himself, surrounded and stopped by the troops.—(Mill, iv., 134.) The governor was dragged out, made a prisoner, and thrust into Benfield's chaise.—(*Vide* Abstract of Trial of Stratton, Brooke, Floyer, and Mackay. Murray; London, 1780.)

§ Hastings "persuaded his colleagues to acquiesce in the new arrangements."—(*Life*, ii., 106.)

strange excesses, recalled both the deposed governor and his opponents, that the whole matter might be brought to light. Before these orders reached India, Lord Pigot had sunk under the combined effects of mental suffering and imprisonment for nine months in an ungenial climate. His death terrified all parties into a compromise. The chief civil servants concerned in the affair returned to England; the four members of council paid the to them very trifling fine of £1,000 each, and the subordinates crept back into the service. Colonel Stuart was tried by a court-martial, and, unhappily for the company, acquitted.

The new governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, reached Madras in 1778, and applied himself, with much energy, to the improvement of his private fortune. The council cheerfully followed so pleasant an example; and unwonted tranquillity prevailed within the presidency, the predominant feature being wilful blindness to the storm gathering without. Yet even Mohammed Ali beheld with alarm that the utterly inconsistent, hesitating, yet grasping policy long persisted in, was about to issue in the conjoined hostilities of Hyder Ali, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, to each of whom distinct occasions for quarrel had been given; and to these dangers the fear of French invasion, owing to the outbreak of European war, was added. Hyder Ali, their most formidable foe, had been made such by their own misdoings. He had earnestly desired to keep the Mahrattas at bay by means of an alliance with the English, whose enmity he dreaded, fearing, above all things, the unseen resources of the E. I. Cy. The Madras government temporised with him for years, and he bore all manner of neglects and slights, waiting, in sullen silence, an opportunity of revenge. After the death of Madhoo Rao, he regained his previous conquests, and largely increased them. The little principality of Coorg,* and Gooty, the eagle's nest of Morari Rao, fell successively: the first, before a sudden invasion, most barbarously carried through; the other under peculiar circumstances of treachery.† The Mahratta chieftain soon perished under the influence of the insalubrious climate of a hill-fort, called Cabal Droog, aggravated by food of so unwholesome a character as to be almost poisonous. His family, being subjected only to the first of these evils, survived him fifteen years, and then perished in a general massacre of prisoners, ordered by Tippoo, in 1791.

At the close of the year 1770, Hyder contemplated with delight the fertile banks of the Kistna, newly become the northern boundary of the empire he had erected; but still unsatisfied with its extent (as he would probably have been had it comprised all India), he proceeded in person to besiege the fortress of Chittledroog,‡ which, amid the chances and changes of previous years, had fallen into the hands of a brave Hindoo

* Hyder entered Coorg in 1773. The rajah (Divaia) fled, and was afterwards captured; but the people hastily assembled on a woody hill, which was immediately surrounded by the enemy. Seating himself with much state, Hyder proclaimed a reward of five rupees for each head that should be brought to him. After receiving about 700, two were deposited on the heap of such singular beauty, that, looking earnestly at them, he ordered the decapitation to cease. The remaining Coorgs were not, however, disposed to submit tamely to the usurper notwithstanding the tribute paid to the finely-formed heads of their murdered countrymen; and when he proceeded to raise the assessment on produce from the ancient tenth to a sixth, they rose as one man, but were again reduced to submission by a sweeping massacre of nearly every individual of note.—(Wilks.)

† Gooty is almost impregnable under ordinary circumstances; but the number of refugees from the town, and the quantities of cattle driven into the citadel, had exhausted the reservoirs of water; and Morari Rao, after above three months' siege, was reluctantly compelled to treat for peace, which Hyder guaranteed on condition of receiving eight lacs of rupees in coin, or that amount in jewels, immediately, and a hostage for the subsequent payment of four more. The hostage, a brave but inexperienced youth, won by the praise bestowed on his chief and himself by the conqueror, imprudently boasted that nothing short of being reduced to three days' water would have induced Morari Rao to capitulate. Hyder forthwith resumed the blockade, which he maintained until the garrison, in an agony of thirst, consented to an unconditional surrender, and then such as escaped with life and liberty were robbed of every other possession; even the women being despoiled of their accustomed ornaments, for the exclusive benefit of the perfidious invader.

‡ The second siege of Chittledroog lasted three months, and was attended with immense loss of life. The garrison believed the place invested with supernatural strength as the site of a famous temple dedicated to the goddess Cali, so long as her rites were duly performed. Unlike Hindoo deities in general, Cali was supposed to delight in blood, and consequently her worshippers, despite the rashness of such a proceeding, regularly sallied forth, after performing their devotions, on every successive Monday morning during three months; and notwithstanding the warning to the besiegers, given by the loud blast of a horn as the signal for the outburst, and the foreknowledge of all except the exact point of attack, the Beders never once returned without carrying off the specific number of heads to be offered to their tutelary deity, upon whose shrine about 2,000 of these bloody trophies were found ranged in small pyramids after the fall of the place.—(Colonel Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, ii., 182.)

poligar or chief. The native garrison defended the place with the fearless zeal of fanaticism, but were betrayed by a corps of Mohammedan mercenaries, whom Hyder found means to corrupt through the medium of their spiritual instructor, a hermit of reputed sanctity, who resided unmolested on the plain below, near the hostile encampment. The natives of the surrounding territory (chiefly of the Beder tribe) had manifested unconquerable attachment to the fallen chief. In vain Hyder had seized all the visible property, and consumed all the provisions on which his practised pilferers could lay hands; neither these measures, nor the infliction of the most cruel punishments on every person engaged in the conveyance of supplies to the besieged, could deter men, women, and even children from sacrificing their lives, in continued succession, in the attempt to support the garrison. Hyder at length determined to sweep off the whole remainder of the population, whose fidelity to their besieged countrymen had alone prevented their following the general example of flight to the woods, or other provinces. About 20,000 were carried away to populate the island of Seringapatam; and from the boys of a certain age, Hyder formed a regular military establishment of captive converts, in imitation of the Turkish janissaries (new soldiers.) These regiments, under the name of the "Chelah"* battalions, were extensively employed by Tippoo Sultan. The reduction of the small Patan state of Kurpa and several minor places, next engaged the attention of the Mysoorean. One of these expeditions nearly cost him his life, by rousing the vengeance of a party of Afghan captives, who having overpowered their guards in the dead of night, rushed to his tent, and the foremost having succeeded in effecting an entrance, aimed a deadly blow at the rich coverlid which wrapped what he took to be the body of the sleeping despot. But Hyder himself had escaped to the protection of the nearest corps. On first hearing the uproar he guessed its cause; for it was a portion of his earthly punishment that, sleeping or waking, the dagger of the assassin was never absent from his thoughts. Despite the burden of advancing years, his mental and physical energies were wholly unimpaired. Springing from his couch, he performed the favourite feat of the nursery hero, Jack the Giant-killer, by stealthily laying his long pillow in the place of his own body. Then cutting a passage through the side of the tent, he effected a safe and unsuspected retreat. The wretched Afghans were slain or disarmed; those taken alive were reserved for various cruel deaths, such as having their hands and feet struck off, or being dragged round the camp tied to the feet of elephants, until, and even long after, life had left their mangled bodies.

Such was the barbarous character of the foe whom the English had so long braved with impunity, that, from the sheer force of habit, they continued to treat him with contemptuous superiority, even after the unpromising state of their own affairs, in various quarters, rendered it obviously advisable to adopt a conciliatory policy. The renewal of European war, would, it was probable, prove the signal for an attempt, on the part of the French, to regain their lost possessions in India, by the co-operation of some of the more powerful native states. It was notorious that St. Lubin and other adventurers, had essayed to ingratiate themselves as representatives of their nation, with the Mahrattas and also with Hyder. But both these powers were bent on avoiding any intimate connexion with European states, whose tendency to become supreme they justly dreaded, though they were ever desirous to purchase, at a high rate, the services of foreigners to discipline their troops. Hyder especially dreaded the effect of French influence, and would certainly have had no dealings with that government, save as a counterpoise to the English and Mohammed Ali, whom he cordially detested. Affairs were in a very precarious condition, when intelligence of the renewal of war in Europe reached Bengal (July, 1778); and, though somewhat premature in character, Hastings thought the information sufficiently authentic to warrant the immediate seizure of the whole of the French settlements before reinforcements should arrive from England, or time be given for the adoption of any concerted plan of defence. Chandernagore, with the factories at Masulipatam and Karical, surrendered without resistance. Pondicherry

* Chelah was a softened name for slave; first employed by Akber, who disliked the harsh term, but not the odious thing denoted. Slavery has, however, habitually assumed a milder form in the East than the West Indies, under Hindoo and Mohammedan, than under Christian masters; and the bondsmen of the palace, even beneath the sway of Hyder, had so much the air of "children of the house," that the good missionary, Swartz, praises the care evinced for orphans, in total ignorance that Hyder's protection had been purchased by the severance of every natural tie of family, country, and creed.

was captured after a combined attack by sea and land. The French squadron, under M. Tronjolly, was worsted by the English admiral Sir Edward Vernon, and quitted the coast by night; but the garrison, under M. Bellecombe, held out bravely, and availed themselves of every advantage derivable from the strong defences, which had been restored since their destruction in the course of the last war. A breach having been effected, and a combined assault planned by the troops under Sir Hector Munro, in conjunction with the marines and seamen, further resistance became hopeless; the place capitulated, and its fortifications were razed to the ground. The fortress and port of Mahé alone remained to the French. The territory in which they were situated (on the Malabar coast), beside being included in the recent conquests of Hyder, was the depôt for the military stores which he obtained from the Mauritius; he was therefore extremely anxious for its retention by its French possessors, and dispatched a vakeel (ambassador or envoy) to Madras, threatening the invasion of Arcot in the event of any hostile attempt on Mahé. The fortress was nevertheless besieged and taken in March, 1779, although the colours of Mysoor were hoisted on the walls with those of the French, and its troops assisted in the defence. The presidency were not without misgivings regarding the hazard incurred by these multiplied provocations, and Sir Thomas Rumbold made an effort to discover the intentions of Hyder, by dispatching to his court the missionary Swartz, the only ambassador he would consent to receive. "Send me the Christian," said Hyder; "he will not deceive me."* The reward of the envoy was to be some bricks and mortar, to build a church, from the stores at Tanjore.† These had been already promised for service rendered to government in his capacity of a linguist, but withheld from time to time. Hyder, who had ever been distinguished by discrimination of character, fully appreciated the singlemindedness and unaffected piety of his visitor, with whom he held frequent intercourse,‡ and suffered him to convey religious instruction to the European soldiers in his service, and to hold unrestricted communication, not only with them, but also with the native troops, through the medium of the Persian, Tamul, Mahratta, and Hindoostanee languages. Swartz refused to accept any gift from Hyder, even for his church, and on taking leave, stated with earnestness, that a desire for the prevention of war was the sole motive that had induced him to undertake a political mission, which, under the circumstances, he considered as in nowise derogatory to the office of a minister of God, who is a God of peace. "Very well, very well," said Hyder; "if the English offer me the hand of peace and concord, I shall not withdraw mine."

Swartz returned to Madras and related the verbal assurance, which qualified the written communication of which he was the bearer, wherein the various grievances sustained by the Mysoorean state, as well as by Hyder personally, from the time of the breach of faith regarding Trichinopoly in 1754, down to the recent offence of attempting to march an army, without even asking his sanction, through his recently acquired territory of Cudapah to that of Bassalut Jung at Adoni, were enumerated; with the ominous conclusion—"I have not yet taken revenge; it is no matter."

* Swartz had exerted his great personal influence very successfully for the peaceful and equitable settlement of Tanjore. Hyder had probably heard much in his favour; and his own opinion, formed from subsequent observation, was forcibly shown by the order issued in the Carnatic war, "to permit the venerable Father Swartz to pass unmolested and show him respect and kindness, for he is a holy man, and means no harm to my government."

† Private resources Swartz had none; little help could be expected from the Europeans of Madras, who, he says sorrowfully, could contribute 10,000 pagodas for a playhouse, "but to build a pray-house people had no money." The immorality of nominal Christians, he considered the most serious obstacle to the conversion of the heathen; especially in the case of the rajah of Tanjore.—(Wilks, ii., 569.)

‡ Perhaps two more opposite characters never engaged in familiar converse than when the vindictive, ambitious, and merciless Hyder sat and talked with the gentle, self-denying, peace-loving missionary, in one of the stately halls of the palace of Seringapatam, overlooking gardens adorned with fountains, cypress groves, trees grafted so as to bear two kinds of fruit, and every refinement that luxury could suggest. Hyder appears to have made no attempt to disguise his barbarous system of administration; for Swartz speaks with horror of the dreadful tortures inflicted on the collectors of revenue if they failed, under any circumstances, to collect the stated revenue. "Although Hyder sometimes rewards his servants, yet the principal motive is fear. Two hundred people, with whips, stand always ready to use them. Not a day passes on which numbers are not flogged. Hyder applies the same cat to all transgressors alike,—gentlemen, horsekeepers, tax-gatherers, and his own sons;" but they are not dismissed, but continued in office; for Hyder, adds Swartz, "seems to think that almost all people who seek to enrich themselves are void of all principles of honour."

The authorities, immersed in the deadly stupor of indolence and venality, conducted themselves as if wholly indifferent to the threat thus significantly conveyed. Swartz found that he had been a mere tool, and that Hyder had appreciated more justly than himself the selfish duplicity of Sir Thomas Rumbold and his colleagues. Still persevering in the insulting affectation of a desire to preserve amity, they actually sent to the magnificent court of Mysoor—to a sovereign enriched with the spoil of principalities and provinces—a private person of no note as ambassador (Mr. Gray), bearing with him an ill-made English saddle (hogskin to a Mussulman!) and a rifle which loaded at the breech. The presents were declined as unworthy the giver or intended receiver; neither would Hyder grant a private audience to the envoy; but on learning, through one of his nobles, the desire of the presidency to form an alliance with him, he sent word that he had at one period earnestly and repeatedly solicited it without effect, but was now strong enough to stand alone.

The most alarming part of this defiant message is said to have been withheld by Sir Thomas Rumbold,* whose policy was at the time directed to carrying off an immense fortune safe to England. Taking leave of the council, he congratulated them on the prospect of peace at a moment when every nerve ought to have been strained to prepare for defence against invasion, and took his departure in time to avoid the receipt of the recall then on its way to India.† Among the political errors urged against him was the offence given to Nizam Ali, by compelling his brother and subject, Bassalut Jung, to make over the Guntoor Circar to the company in 1779, instead of suffering him to enjoy it for life, as agreed upon by the treaty of 1768; and then using this extorted concession as a means of gratifying the cupidity of Mohammed Ali, to whom this fine district was to be let in farm. Both the London directors and the Bengal authorities strove to assuage the anger of the Nizam at conduct which he was both able and willing to resent; but the Madras officials persisted in justifying their conduct in this respect, and also in endeavouring to repudiate the arrears of peshcush, or tribute, due for the other Circars, as warranted by their pecuniary necessities, and far less faulty in principle, than the breach of faith committed in withholding the tribute pledged to the emperor as a first charge upon the revenues of Bengal.

Hyder Ali had spies everywhere. He was perfectly aware of the ill-feeling existing between the controlling and subordinate governments, and made no secret of the hostile intentions and utter contempt he entertained towards the latter. The extraordinary apathy of the majority of the council, together with the violent measures used to stifle the representations of the few who advocated the adoption of immediate measures for the defence of the Carnatic, gave weight to his assertions that the time had arrived for all Indian powers to unite in expelling the one great European state which threatened to engulph every other. Now, in its moment of weakness, when the reins of authority were vested in incapable and selfish hands, a short and decisive struggle might, by the conjoined strength of Mohammedans and Hindoos, brought to bear against the common foe, be attended with such complete success as "to leave not a white face in the Carnatic." The confederacy advocated by Hyder was actually formed, and a plan laid down which, if all parties had carried out their pledge as he did his, might have gone far to realise the desired object. Mohammed Ali, for once a true prophet, foretold the coming storm; but in vain. The presidency persisted in declaring that the dark clouds which they could not deny overshadowed the political horizon, would pass away or be dissipated by the precautions of the Bengal council;—days, weeks, months elapsed, at a time when even hours of continued peace were of incalculable importance, without any attempts for reinforcing weak garrisons in important positions, or for making arrangements for the provisioning of troops, notwithstanding the obvious necessity of the latter measure in all cases of threatened invasion, especially by a foe whose desolating and destructive mode of warfare was proverbial. Yet the very man who had once before dictated terms at the gates of Madras, was treated as a mere braggart, even after he had actually crossed the frontier, and was approaching, with his two sons, at the head of above 80,000 men, supported by a large train of artillery and a considerable body of

* *Vide* Captain James Munro's *Coromandel Coast*, p. 130. Dr. Moodie's MSS., in library of E. I. Cy.

† A criminal prosecution was commenced against him in 1782, in the House of Commons, but adjourned from time to time, and eventually dropped.

Europeans (chiefly French), constituting, without doubt, the best-disciplined army ever marshalled by a native Indian power. At length the burning of Conjeveram, the largest village in the Carnatic (sixty miles from Fort St. George, and thirty-five from Arcot), and the testimony of numerous terrified and bleeding fugitives, closely followed by the sight of the much-dreaded predatory horse of the foe, prowling about amid the garden-houses round Mount St. Thomas, changed doubts, sneers, and cavils into unspeakable dismay, which the tidings of every successive hour tended to increase. Hyder pursued his favourite policy of creating a desert about the places he desired to conquer. Round Fort St. George he drew a line of merciless desolation, extending from thirty to thirty-five miles inland, burning every town and village to the ground, and inflicting indiscriminate mutilation on every individual who ventured to linger near the ashes. The wretched peasantry, victims of the quarrels of usurping powers, whose actions they could neither understand nor influence, were sacrificed by thousands by fire or the sword, while multitudes, doomed to more protracted suffering, were driven off in a whirlwind of cavalry into exile or slavery, frequently to both united;—the father torn from his virgin daughter; the husband from the wife; the mother borne away in the torrent, unable so much as to snatch her shrieking infant from the trampling hoofs of the snorting horses. Yes! Hyder was indeed at hand: dense clouds of smoke, mingled with flame, were the sure harbingers of his approach. The country-people fled, wild with terror, to Madras; and no less than 300,000 were suffered to take up their abode in the black town in the space of three days.

The assembling of the troops was evidently of the first importance. There was no lack of men or ammunition; but a grievous deficiency of discipline, and general discontent, engendered by the severe suffering inflicted by the non-payment of arrears.* A strong and united effort, by the local authorities, to relieve their wants and inspire confidence, was, however, all that was needed to restore their wonted efficiency; but so far from any decisive measures being taken, delays and disputes arose; for the commander-in-chief, Sir Hector Munro, could not be spared to take the head of the army, because his vote alone insured the supremacy in council of his own opinions and those of the president, Mr. Whitehill. Lord Macleod,† who had recently arrived from England with a highland regiment 1,000 strong, was desired to assume the command, but he positively refused to accept the responsibility of carrying out the hazardous plan devised by Munro, of uniting the main body with that absent in the Guntoor Circar, under Colonel Baillie, at the distant site of Conjeveram, and strongly urged the adoption of the more reasonable course suggested by the minority, of marshalling the forces with the least possible delay on St. Thomas' Mount. Munro, wedded to his project, determined to take the field in person, and actually proposed and carried that he should appoint a nominee to occupy his seat in council so long as it continued vacant. The opposition members indignantly reprobated this arrangement; and one of them (Mr. Sadleir) so provoked the majority, that they decreed his suspension, which was followed up by a challenge from Sir Hector.

The subsequent conduct of the campaign corresponded with this inauspicious commencement. In the very face of the enemy, when from Cape Comorin to the Kistna all was plunder, confusion, and bloodshed, the civil and military authorities continued to quarrel with each other. Munro persisted in attempting the junction of the troops in the centre of a country occupied by an enemy. He marched to Conjeveram with the main body, which comprised 5,209 men, of whom 2,481 were European infantry and 294 artillery, and there awaited the arrival of Colonel Baillie, whose force consisted of about 150 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys. Hyder was at the time engaged in besieging Arcot; but his invariable policy—from which the English general might have

* The force of the nabob alone, in 1776, was stated by Col. Matthews, before a Parl. Committee, to amount to 35,000 effective men. That of the presidency comprehended about 30,000; but even the English forces were on the brink of mutiny for want of pay. In 1777, a regiment completely equipped for service, and stationed a few miles from Hyder's frontier, seized Captain Campbell and their other officers, and were only brought to release them by the interference of Col. James, the commandant of Trichinopoly, who made himself personally responsible for the utmost extent of arrears he could provide funds to meet. The European officers and native troops under Colonel Fullarton, were, at a subsequent period, twelve months in arrear, and obtained their very food on credit.

† Lord Macleod afterwards quitted India, in consequence of Col. Stuart being placed over him.

learned a useful lesson—of directing his chief energies to the most prominent danger, induced him to send the flower of the army, under Tippoo, to intercept the detachment under Baillie, which was accomplished at a spot about fifteen miles distant from Conjeveram.

After a severe conflict of several hours, Baillie succeeded in repelling his assailants, but with so much loss, that he sent word to the general he could not join him unless reinforced in such a manner as to be capable of resisting the opposition of the enemy. He suggested that Munro himself should advance to the rescue; instead of which, the general thought fit again to divide his small army by sending forward a detachment under Colonel Fletcher, to strengthen that threatened by Tippoo.

The intelligence of Hyder regarding the plans and proceedings of the English, was as speedy and reliable as their information concerning him was tardy and misleading. His plot to surprise and destroy Colonel Fletcher on the march was, happily, neutralised by the discreet change of route ordered by that officer; and it is considered, that had the junction of the detachments been followed up, after a few hours' rest, by speedy movement, the conjoined troops might have made their way safely to Conjeveram. But needless delay gave time for Tippoo to fix cannon at a strong post on the road, and, worse still, for Hyder himself to advance in person and oppose their passage. The little band, both Europeans and sepoys, sustained furious and repeated assaults with extraordinary steadiness, inspired with the hope that Munro would take advantage of the opportunity to relieve them by attacking the foe in the rear. Hyder was not without apprehensions on this score, which were heightened by the representations of the French officers in his service, especially of Lally and Pimorin.* The fate of the day hung in suspense until two of the tumbrils blew up in the English lines, and at once deprived them of ammunition, and disabled their guns; they nevertheless maintained the contest for another hour and a-half. At the end of that time but 400 men remained, many of them wounded; yet they still rallied round their leader, desiring to cut their way through the hostile ranks or perish in the attempt. But Colonel Fletcher lay dead on the field of battle, and Colonel Baillie, willing to save the lives of his brave companions, and despairing of relief from head-quarters, held up his handkerchief as a flag of truce. An intimation of quarter being given, the English laid down their arms; but had no sooner done so than a fierce onslaught was made by the enemy, and the whole of them would have been slain in cold blood, including even the native women and children who had accompanied the detachment, but for the interference of the French mercenaries. Baillie was brought, stiff with wounds, into the presence of his barbarous conqueror, and eventually perished in the prison of Seringapatam. About 200 Europeans were taken, of whom fifty were officers.† They were destined to linger long years in a captivity more terrible than death.

When tidings of this disaster reached Conjeveram, Munro threw his heavy guns and stores which could not be removed, into a tank, and retreated from that place to Chingleput, where he hoped to procure a supply of rice for the army; but being disappointed by the conjoined effect of Hyder's alertness and his own want of precautionary measures, he retreated to Madras. Here general consternation and alarm prevailed, aggravated by the utter want of provisions, military stores, or funds even to pay the troops, European or native; the latter, in the service of Mohammed Ali, deserted in whole regiments simply for that reason. The state of things seemed hopeless, when the vigorous measures of the supreme government at Bengal gave a new turn to affairs. The unfaltering courage and clear perceptions of Hastings were never exerted more advantageously than at this crisis. He had already instituted a negotiation with the Nizam for the restoration of the Guntoor Circar, the chief bone of contention; and he maintained a correspondence with the Mahratta ruler of Berar, Moodajee Bhonslay, which had the effect of rendering that chief unwilling to cooperate actively with his countrymen against the English, though he did not care openly to refuse joining the general confederacy. But these measures were manifestly insufficient to meet the present crisis. Hyder had followed up his success at Conjeveram by the siege and capture of Arcot. Wandewash, Vellore, Chingleput, and other bul-

* Lally was the commander of a small body of European mercenaries who had successively served Nizam Ali and Bassalut Jung, before entering the service of Hyder. Pimorin was a French officer.

† Of eighty-six officers, thirty-six were killed, thirty-four wounded, and sixteen surrendered unhurt.

warks of the Carnatic, were wretchedly provisioned and closely blockaded; while the numerous forts under the direct control of the nabob, Mohammed Ali, were, for the most part, surrendered without a blow, from the various and often concurrent causes of disgust at an incapable and extortionate master, corruption, and despondency. Such was the news brought to Calcutta by a swift-sailing ship, flying before the south-west monsoon. In twenty-four hours the governor-general's course was taken. Supplies of every description—of men, money, and provisions—were gathered in, and dispatched under the charge of the veteran general Sir Eyre Coote, whose very name was a host, and to whom the sole conduct of the war was to be entrusted; for Hastings, rightly deeming the emergency a justification for exerting the utmost stretch of authority, took upon himself to suspend Mr. Whitehill, the venal and incapable governor of Fort St. George.

On reaching Madras, Coote found at his disposal a force numbering altogether 7,000 men, of whom only 1,700 were Europeans. Despite the manifest disparity of numbers, he earnestly desired to bring Hyder to a regular engagement, believing that the danger to be incurred by such a proceeding would fall far short of that resulting from the waste of resources and dispiriting effects of the harassing hostilities carried on by his opponent in a country already desolated. The wary Mysoorean well knew the foe with whom he had now to cope, and neither taunts, threats, nor manœuvring, could induce him to risk a pitched battle. This very circumstance enabled the English to relieve Wandewash,* Permacoil, and other besieged places; but only for a time: the indefatigable foe marched off uninjured to blockade a different fortress, and Coote followed till his troops were well-nigh worn out.† At length a seeming evil procured the long-desired engagement; for Hyder, encouraged by the presence of a French fleet on the coast, intrenched his army in a strong post near Cuddalore, close to the village called by Europeans Porto Novo, and strove to intercept and cut off the supplies of the English, who had recently been repulsed in an attack on the pagoda of Chillambrum. Coote advanced boldly, and having discovered a means of approach for a portion of the troops by a passage through a ridge of sand-hills, formed by Hyder for his own use, the general contrived, by a series of simple yet skilful and admirably executed movements, to marshal his forces in the face of several heavy batteries, and finally succeeded, after a close and severe contest, in forcing the line of the enemy and fairly putting them to flight.

At the commencement of the battle (about nine o'clock on the morning of the 1st July, 1781), Hyder took up his position on a little hill commanding the scene of action, and there he sat until four in the afternoon, cross-legged, on a low stool, watching every movement made by or against the English, and so enraged by the unexpected progress of affairs, as to become stupid with vexation. Fourteen years before, when defeated by Colonel Smith,‡ he had been observed by the English officers, with cool self-possession, issuing orders for a retreat, in the manner of one who could afford to wait and bide his day of triumph. But Hyder was an old man now; a pampered tyrant, accustomed to tread on the necks of his fellow-beings; and he believed the time at length arrived to triumph over the power of the people by whom he had been long braved with impunity. The cup of revenge was at his lips; was it to be flung to the ground almost untasted? Considerations of this nature shut out from view all thought of personal danger, and rendered him deaf to the arguments offered to induce him to quit a position rapidly becoming extremely perilous. The nobles in attendance were silenced by the obscene abuse, always lavishly bestowed by their imperious master when out of temper; their horses and servants had disappeared in the general flight before the advancing foe; but Hyder remained seated until a groom, who through long and faithful service was in some sort a privileged man, came forward, and

* Wandewash was most gallantly defended by Lieut. Flint, who, notwithstanding very deficient resources, and without a single artilleryman, not only held his ground during seventy-eight days of open trenches against the flower of Hyder's army, but raised a little corps of cavalry, and procured provisions for his garrison and supplies for the main army.

† When urged by the British commander to decide the fortune of war by a pitched battle, Hyder is said to have replied—"What! put my chargers, worth more than one hundred rupees each, in competition with your cannon-balls, that only cost a few pice (halfpence.) No, no: you shall hear of me often, but see me never. I will keep you marching until your legs are as big as your bellies, and your bellies the size of your legs; and then you shall fight when I choose, not when you please."

‡ At Trincomalee, in 1767. (*See* p. 318.)

drawing the legs of Hyder from under him, thrust his slippers on his feet, and with blunt fidelity prevailed on him to rise, saying, "we will beat them to-morrow; in the meanwhile mount your horse." Hyder complied, and was out of sight in a few moments, leaving the discomfited group, around his stool of repentance, to save themselves as they best could. Luckily for them, the English had no cavalry wherewith to carry on the pursuit. The victory was, however, fraught with important consequences. It induced the hostile force to fail back upon Arcot. Sir Eyre Coote followed, and encouraged by previous success, ventured to attack Hyder near Polliloor, in a position which, besides great natural advantages, was held by the superstitious Mysoorean in particular estimation as a lucky spot, being that on which he had cut off the detachment under Baillie in the previous year. The British troops became furious at the sight of the unburied remains of their fallen comrades; but insurmountable obstacles retarded their advance. They could not get at the enemy; two tumbrils broke (as on the previous occasion); and to make the confusion greater, Sir Hector Munro, having received a hasty rebuke from Coote, sullenly seated himself beneath the only tree in the plain, and refused to issue a single command. The loss of the English was about 500 killed, including some officers; and the action would probably have terminated in a defeat, had their wily adversary suspected the existence of the dissension and confusion which temporarily prevailed in an army characterised by united action and steady discipline. The campaign ended with the surprise of the Mysooreans at the pass of Sholingur, on the road to Vellore: their loss was estimated at 5,000 men; while that of the English fell short of 100.

Meanwhile, an important change had taken place at Madras in the nomination of Lord Macartney as governor and president of Fort St. George. The appointment of a man of acknowledged talent and strict integrity was, doubtless, a great step towards abolishing the systematic venality which had long disgraced the presidency; and the earnest and straightforward manner in which the new ruler applied himself to his arduous and invidious task, justified the expectations entertained on his behalf. But the difficulties which surrounded him were great beyond expectation. Disastrous news awaited his arrival in June, 1781. First, that the Carnatic, which Sir Thomas Rumbold had represented in a most peaceful and promising condition, was actually occupied by a ruthless foe; secondly, that the means of defence had been vainly sought for by men possessed of the local experience in which he was of necessity wholly deficient; and thirdly, that the increasing scarcity which prevailed through the Carnatic, threatened to terminate in a terrible famine. Macartney was called on to decide how best to meet these difficulties without clashing with the extraordinary powers vested in the brave and indefatigable, but peevish and exacting General Coote, and still more with the supreme authority wielded by the seemingly conciliatory, but really dictatorial and jealous Hastings.

Lord Macartney brought to India intelligence of war with Holland; and despite the objections of Coote, who desired to see the whole force concentrated for the reconquest of Arcot, the Dutch settlements were attacked; Sadras, Pulicat, and Negapatam successively taken; after which the troops of Hyder began to evacuate the forts which they had occupied in Tanjore. But these successes were soon followed by renewed disasters. A French fleet arrived on the Coromandel coast in January, 1782, and after intercepting several vessels bound to Madras with grain, landed 3,000 men at Porto Novo, where Tippoo speedily joined them with a large body of troops. An English and native detachment, about 2,000 strong, stationed in Tanjore, under Colonel Brathwaite, misled by a system of false information carried on by the spies of Hyder, were surprised by a conjoined force under Tippoo and Lally, and after maintaining a desperate resistance for six-and-twenty hours, against an enemy who outnumbered them twenty to one, were at length completely surrounded, and either slain or captured. The conclusion of a peace with the Mahrattas being officially announced at Madras in the month of June, gave an opportunity for opening a similar negotiation with Hyder. The terms on which it had been obtained were not, however, of a nature to induce so wary a politician to make important concessions. The English, he well knew, had purchased peace by the surrender of almost all they had been fighting for—that is, by reverting to the terms of the indignantly repudiated treaty of Poorunder; and even these conditions had been made through the instrumen-

tality of the formidable and intriguing Sindia.* But Hyder desired an interval of tranquillity in which to settle a plan of combined operations with the French admiral Suffrein; he therefore proceeded to treat with Sir Eyre Coote, who remained in suspense until the vakeel from Mysoor was suddenly withdrawn, and the old general discovered that his whole stock of provisions had been consumed, while the troops were kept in a state of inactivity by the artifice of Hyder. The subsequent attempts of the English to force a battle were unavailing; and matters grew from bad to worse, until towards the close of the year, Coote, who had previously sustained a fit of apoplexy, now suffered a fresh seizure, which compelled him to resign the command to general Stuart, and retire to Bengal. Madras was by this time reduced to a terrible condition. The ravages of famine, after spreading over the whole Carnatic,† at length became felt in the presidency, and increased with alarming rapidity, until the number of deaths amounted to, and continued for several weeks, at from 1,200 to 1,500. The French appear to have been ignorant of the state of affairs; for they made no attempt to blockade the coast; and supplies from Bengal and the Northern Circars came in time to aid in preventing the scourge of pestilence from following the ravages of famine. Hyder Ali had ever been accurately informed regarding the condition of every leading English settlement, and would doubtless have not failed to take advantage of the condition of the capital of the presidency, but that his marvellous energies of mind and body, so long vouchsafed, so terribly misused, were fast failing. His health had been for some time declining, and, in November, symptoms appeared of a mortal disease described as peculiar to natives of high rank, and therefore called the raj-poora, or royal boil. He died at Chittore, in December, 1782,‡ leaving Tippoo§ to prosecute hostilities with the English. The defalcation of the Mahrattas had, it is said, led him to regret the confederacy he had formed, and even to regard it as the most impolitic act of his whole career. "I have committed a great error," he exclaimed with bitterness; "I have purchased a draught of scandee‖ (worth about a farthing) at the price of a lac of pagodas. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea."¶ It would have been well for his successor had he profited by this dear-bought experience; but Tippoo, fierce, headstrong, and bigoted, was the last person in the world to gain wisdom on such easy terms. A leading characteristic of Hyder had been perfect toleration to every religious sect. Though quite capable of respecting the genuine piety of such a man as Swartz, he appears to have been himself devoid of any belief whatever; and alternately countenanced and joined in the ceremonial observances of the Mohammedans and Hindoos, and even the grossest forms of idolatry, superstition, and magical incantation performed by the latter, simply from motives of policy.

His cruelties, great and terrible as they were, resulted from the same cause, excepting only those prompted by his unbounded sensuality. Tippoo Sultan, on the contrary, had all the insatiable ferocity of the wild beast whose name he bore, when the fearful relish for human blood has once been acquired; and none of his victims could have suggested a more appropriate badge than the stripe of the royal tiger, which formed part of his insignia.** With him, the fiendish

* The price paid to Sindia was the surrender of the city of Broach and its dependencies. The arrangements referred to (commonly known as the *Treaty of Salbye*) were concluded in May, 1782.

† An eye-witness pathetically describes the manner in which the natives, "whose very excess and luxury, in their most plenteous days, had fallen short of our severest fasts—silent, patient, resigned without sedition or disturbance, almost without complaint," perished in multitudes.—(Moodie's *Transactions*.)

‡ It is said that Hyder, like Hamilcar, swore his son to wage incessant war against the English; but the truth of this assertion is doubtful.

§ The age of Hyder is very differently stated. Wilks (the best general authority regarding Mysoor) states that he was seven years old in 1728, which would make him about sixty at the time of his death; but Mill and other writers unanimously speak of him as attaining a far more advanced age; and the careful and accurate Thornton describes him as little younger than Aurungzebe.

‖ Date wine, a cheap but very intoxicating liquor.

¶ *Mysoor*, ii., 373. Col. Wilks gives this strange confession on the authority of Poornea, the Hindoo minister, to whom it was addressed. Hyder, it must be recollected, had no ally on whom he could rely. The Mahrattas had forsaken him, and from the French he could only receive very partial aid, since he had predetermined, under no circumstances, to admit them in force to Mysoor.—(*Idem*, 374.) At a very critical period (March, 1782), Hyder resented the attempt of a French officer to take possession of Chillambrum, by turning him out of the fort, and the troops, having no bullocks, were actually compelled to drag their artillery back to Porto Novo!

** Tippoo Sultan is thought to have been named after a famous ascetic for whom Hyder Ali had a regard, and who had assumed this strange designation to signify sovereignty obtained over the tiger-like passions of the flesh.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 567.)

delight of inflicting pain and degradation, physical and moral, seems to have been an instinct developed even in early boyhood.

In vain the stern reprimands of his dreaded father were frequently sounded in his ears; in vain the repeated infliction of corporal punishment by the long whips, which Hyder declared to be better security for good government than all the reading and writing in the world;—Tippoo could never be restrained from indulging the vicious tendencies which subsequently found vent in the form of religious persecution. He persisted in inflicting the outward mark of Islam on such Christians as fell in his power,* and insulted the peaceful Hindoo subjects of his father by wantonly defiling their places of worship, and slaying the animals they hold most sacred, especially the sacred bulls, which he recommended to his associates as the best possible beef. Yet Tippoo, stanch Mussulman as he deemed himself, and sworn foe to idolatry, was not the less a slave to the gross superstitions of which the Brahminical creed of modern times is so largely composed; and, like Hyder himself, he rarely failed, in commencing a difficult and dangerous undertaking, to have the *jebbum*—a strange species of magical incantation—performed on his behalf by the Hindoos, simultaneously with the offering up of prayers for success in the mosques.† Add to these characteristics that of an irrepressible tendency for pilfering and lying, and we have, perhaps, about as detestable a person as can well be conceived. In activity in battle, he is said to have surpassed his father, and to have equalled him in personal daring; but in every other more needful capacity of a despotic ruler, he was immeasurably inferior. His uncontested succession was ensured by the manœuvres of two Brahmins, the chief ministers of Hyder,‡ who concealed the death of the sovereign as long as possible, in order to give his heir time to return from his post on the western frontier of Mysoor, whither he had proceeded to repel the incursions of the English under Colonel Humberstone. Lord Macartney, on learning the late event, earnestly pressed the commander-in-chief (General Stuart) to take immediate advantage of the confusion likely to arise from a change of ruler. But here again the spirit of disunion, which prevailed to so remarkable an extent in the Madras presidency, forbade speedy and combined action. The general claimed to be allowed to exercise the same independent authority bestowed by the supreme government on Sir Eyre Coote, and the governor contended, as Hastings had done in Bengal, for the entire subordination of the military to the civil authority. The general, to vindicate his alleged right, took the course natural to an opiniated and narrow-minded man, of acting in direct opposition to the instructions given by the presidency; and during the remainder of this the first war with the new ruler of Mysoor, the very spirit of discord ruled in the senate, the camp, and the field, neutralising every success, and aggravating every disaster. By the urgent solicitations of Hastings, Coote was again induced to return to the Carnatic; although, before his departure from thence, some serious disputes had taken place between him and Lord Macartney, notwithstanding the care evinced by the latter to act in the most conciliatory manner. But the ill-defined authority vested in the Supreme Council of Bengal, in conjunction with the personal misunderstanding which unhappily existed between Hastings and Macartney,§ tended to mingle personal feelings with public questions; and the dissensions between them increased in violence, until the governor-general took the resolve not only of delegating to Sir Eyre Coote the uncontrolled conduct of the war, but also, in the event of determined resistance at Fort St. George, of enforcing that measure by the deposition of the president. The death of Coote, four days after landing at Madras,||

* When a youth, his father punished him severely for having inflicted circumcision on an English soldier, at a time when he was anxious to conciliate the good-will of the Madras presidency.

† The Jebbum, though purely a Hindoo ceremonial, was frequently resorted to by Mohammedans; one, of which the details are on record, is said to have cost Mohammed Ali £5,000, which he did not grudge, since *it killed Lord Pigot*: and another, after several failures, produced the death of Hyder himself.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 255.)

‡ The chief ministers, relatively speaking; for Hyder was himself the acting head of every department.

§ The spotless integrity of Lord Macartney was a standing reproach to Hastings, who in dealing with him completely lost his temper. Thus, in a communication dated 13th of April, 1783, he desires Lord Macartney to explain some misunderstanding which had arisen on an official subject, adding as a reason, "if you consider the estimation of a man [the governor-general of India writing to the head of a subordinate presidency!] so inconsiderable as I am deserving of attention."—(*Life*, ii., 63.)

|| During the voyage, Coote was chased for two days and nights by a French ship of the line; and the agitation caused thereby accelerated his death.

perhaps prevented intestine strife; for Lord Macartney, though courteous and moderate, was by no means inclined to submit tamely to the lot of his predecessor, Lord Pigot. In all other respects the loss of the experienced general was a severe calamity. Despite the irritation and excitability consequent on ill-health, with other failings less excusable—such as extravagance as a commander, and covetousness in his private capacity—he possessed a degree of activity, precision, and experience far beyond any of his compeers; besides which, a frank soldierly manner, aided by the charm of old association, and his own strong attachment to the troops, rendered him beloved by the army in general, and especially by the native soldiers. Many a white-haired sepoy, in after times, loved to dwell on the service they had seen under "Coote Bahadur;" and offered, with glistening eye and faltering voice, a grateful tribute to his memory, while making a military salutation to the portrait of the veteran, suspended in the Madras exchange. The death of Coote was nearly simultaneous with the arrival of M. de Bussy. He had been long expected; but his plans had been twice disconcerted by the capture of the convoy destined to support him, by Admiral Kempenfelt, in December, 1781. A similar disaster occurred in April, 1782; and when, after much delay, he reached the Carnatic in the following June, he found a conjuncture of affairs awaiting him by no means favourable to his views. Hyder was dead, and Tippoo absent on an expedition for the recovery of Bednore, which had surrendered to an English force under General Matthews. This enterprise, which unforeseen circumstances alone rendered successful, had been undertaken for the express purpose of withdrawing the Mysooreans from Arcot. The object was accomplished, but the expected advantages were greatly lessened by the previous ill-advised destruction of the forts of Wandewash and Carangoli, which had been demolished by the for once united decision of Lord Macartney and General Stuart, although almost every military opinion, from that time to the present, has pronounced the measure premature, if not wholly inexpedient. Considerable pecuniary acquisitions were expected to be realised from the capture of Bednore; but these anticipations proved delusive,—whether owing to the large sums carried off by the native governor (himself the intended victim of Tippoo),* or whether from the peculation of English officers, is a disputed question. The place was only retained about three months, at the end of which time it was captured by Tippoo, who having (by his own account) discovered that the English officers, in violation of the terms of capitulation dictated by him, were carrying away treasure and jewels to a large amount, caused them all to be marched off in irons to different prisons, where they endured a rigorous and dreary captivity, terminated, in the case of Matthews and several others, by a cruel death.

Meanwhile Bussy, disappointed in the hope of joining the main body of the Mysoorean army under Tippoo, concentrated his force at Cuddalore, which was subsequently invested by General Stuart. It was of evident importance to use the utmost expedition in order to forestal the large reinforcements expected from France, and which did eventually arrive. Nevertheless, Stuart, although compelled to some degree of obedience to the Madras government, contrived to neutralise their plans by marching at the rate of three miles a-day, and thus occupied forty days, instead of the usual period of twelve, in reaching Cuddalore. The siege,† when commenced, proved long and sanguinary; and in an attack which took place on the 13th of June, 1783, the English lost upwards of 1,000 men. M. de Suffrein arrived shortly after, and landed a body of 2,400 men to strengthen the garrison; but Stuart had recklessly determined to carry out the commands of the presidency as literally as possible; and all the British troops entrusted to his charge, including a detachment under Colonel Fullarton, which had marched to his aid from Tanjore, would probably have been sacrificed to the spleen of one unprincipled man, but for the arrival of orders for the immediate cessation of hostilities, in consequence of the peace newly concluded between France and Eng-

* The governor was a chelah, or slave, named Sheik Ayaz, to whom Hyder had been so strongly attached, that he repeatedly declared he wished he had begotten him instead of Tippoo. The consequence was, Tippoo cordially hated Ayaz, and had arranged to put him to death; but the letter being intercepted, the intended victim hastened to make his escape.

† Bernadotte, afterwards Crown Prince of Sweden, was captured in a midnight sally made by the garrison. He was treated with great kindness by General Wangenheim, commandant of the Hanoverian troops in the English service; and in later life, when their relative positions were strangely altered, the general had ample reason to remember, with satisfaction, the compassion he had evinced towards the wounded sergeant.—(Wilks, ii., 442.)

land. This intelligence, at an equally opportune moment, reached the troops engaged in the defence of Mangalore, which, though a place of very inferior strength, had stood a siege of fifty-six days, the defence being directed by Colonel Campbell, the attack by Tippoo himself, who had proceeded thither with the main body after taking Bednore. The French envoy, Peveron, is accused of having kept back the intelligence he came to bring, in order to enable Tippoo to retain the aid of Cossigny (the French engineer), Lally, and Boudenot. The declaration could, at length, be no longer withheld. Cossigny quitted the Mysoor army, and insisted on his companions withdrawing likewise. Tippoo was beyond measure enraged by what he considered nothing short of treacherous desertion; and his late allies, as the sole means of escaping unhurt by his resentment, were glad to avail themselves of the protection of the English. After some unsuccessful attempts to carry the place by his own unassisted strength, he agreed to an armistice, to extend over the coast of Malabar. One leading condition was the supply of a stated monthly allowance of provisions to Mangalore, sufficient for the use of the garrison without trenching on their previous stock. This stipulation was broken by his furnishing articles deficient in quantity and deleterious in quality: no salt was sent, and many of the sepoys, Colonel Wilks affirms, became actually blind, as well as affected by various other ailments, in consequence of being compelled to eat rice in its simple, undigestible state, without the addition of any of the usual condiments. The Madras government were extremely anxious to conclude a peace; and to this circumstance, as also to the want of union among those in command, may be attributed the supineness of General Macleod and the scruples which prevented his effective interposition for the succour of Mangalore, which, after nearly a nine months' siege, fell before its cruel and perfidious foe. Colonel Campbell died soon after, overwhelmed with fatigue and disappointment. Tippoo had succeeded in his immediate object of proving to the native Indian powers his sufficiency to effect that which had baffled the skill and discipline of his French auxiliaries: in every other respect he had little reason to congratulate himself on the conquest of an inconsiderable place, purchased by a long and costly siege, which, besides having hindered his attention to the affairs of his own dominions, had left the English free to gain considerable advantages in other quarters. The misconduct of General Stuart, in the expedition to Cuddalore, had filled the measure of his offences, and induced the governor and council to order his arrest and forcible embarkation for England.* After this decisive measure matters took a different and far more favourable turn.

The abilities of Mr. Sulivan, the resident at Tanjore, and of colonels Lang and Fullarton, had been successfully exerted in various ways. Caroor and Dindegul, Palgaut and Coimbatore, were captured; and Colonel Fullarton was even preparing to ascend the Ghauts and march on Seringapatam, when he received tidings of a treaty of peace concluded between Tippoo Sultan and the Madras government, on the basis of a mutual restoration of conquests. The so-called peace was, however, but a hollow truce, to which nothing but fear of the Mahrattas and the Nizam had driven the sultan. Throughout the whole of the negotiations he behaved in the most insulting manner to the British commissioners,† who had been inveigled to his court to be held up in the light of suitors for peace; and even when the treaty was concluded, the fulfilment of his pledge of restoring his captives to liberty, gave fresh occasion for resentment, by revealing the treatment to which they had been subjected. Hyder had shown little humanity in his dealings with English prisoners, whom he kept in irons, chained in pairs, because "they were unruly beasts, not to be kept quiet in any other way." But Tippoo Sultan far surpassed his father in barbarity, and the English learned, with horror and indignation, that many officers distinguished by rank, skill, or bravery, had been poisoned or assassinated in their dungeons; that others, especially the younger of these unfortunates, had suffered torture and ignominy of a revolting description; and that even the most fortunate among the captives had sustained close confinement in loathsome dens, their beds the damp ground; with food so miserably insufficient, as to give scope for the untiring fidelity and self-devotion of their native companions in affliction, to show itself by the frequent sacrifice of a portion of the scanty pittance

* One of the sons of Mohammed Ali expressed his view of the matter in broken English, by declaring "General Stuart catch one Lord [Pigot], one Lord [Macartney] catch General Stuart."

† Messrs. Sadleir, Staunton, and Hudleston.

allowed for their maintenance, in return for unremitting labour, to mend the fare of the European soldiers.*

The treaty entered into with Tippoo by the Madras authorities was transmitted to Bengal, and signed by the Supreme Council, on whom the full powers of government had devolved, owing to the absence of Mr. Hastings at Lucknow. On his return to Calcutta, Hastings found much fault with the treaty, especially because it made no mention of the nabob of Arcot. He drew up a new one, and peremptorily commanded the Madras authorities to forward it to Tippoo. Macartney positively refused compliance; Hastings could not compel it; and so the matter ended.

Close of Hastings' Administration.—Before the commencement of the war with Hyder, the financial condition of every one of the three presidencies had become seriously embarrassed. In August, 1780, the Supreme Council had been under the necessity of contracting a new debt, and when to this heavy burden on the Bengal revenues an additional one was added by the costly military operations required for the defence of the Carnatic, the governor-general felt compelled to announce to the directors the probability of a total suspension of the investment, unless the purchase-money were sent from England. Nothing short of the most absolute necessity could, however, induce Hastings to endanger his standing with the Court of Proprietors, by the execution of so unpopular a measure, while any source of supply remained available; yet such as there were had been already severely taxed. The nabob of Oude and the rajah of Benares were tributary princes. Viewed in this light, they were bound in all cases of difficulty to furnish assistance to the superior and protecting state. The degree of co-operation to be afforded was an open question, which Mr. Hastings, who now held undisputed sway in Bengal, thought fit to decide in person, and, with that intent, proceeded to the wealthy, populous, and venerated city of Benares. The rajah, Cheyte Sing, was the son and successor of Bulwunt Sing, whose alliance the English had courted during the war with Shuja Dowlah. The usurping nabobs of Oude had asserted the claim of the sword over the district of which Benares forms the capital, on the plea of its being a district dependent on their government. Bulwunt Sing made common cause with the English; and on the conclusion of peace, an article was expressly inserted to secure him from the vengeance and cupidity of the nabob-vizier. This proved increasingly difficult; until at length, in 1774, it was proposed by Mr. Hastings, as the sole mode of protecting the rajah, to insist on his being declared independent of Oude, and tributary to Bengal. A stated sum was fixed to be paid annually, and the Supreme Council unanimously decreed that no more demands of any kind should be made upon him on behalf of the company. Cheyte Sing forwarded the tribute to Patna with remarkable regularity; nevertheless, in 1778, the necessities of the presidency were considered to justify a demand for a heavy contribution (five lacs of rupees) to be furnished immediately. The rajah pleaded poverty, and asked for time; but troops were sent against him, and he was compelled to furnish the sum originally demanded, with a fine of £2,000 for military expenses. He had, unhappily, incurred the personal enmity of the governor-general, by courting Clavering and Francis during their brief day of power; and the offence was one Hastings was little disposed to let pass unpunished. In 1780, the system of exaction commenced against Cheyte Sing, was continued by a new demand of five lacs, from which he endeavoured to gain relief by arguments and supplications, enforced by a private offering of two lacs, which Mr. Hastings accepted, not as a part of the contribution, but as a distinct item, and then proceeded as before to exact the five lacs, with an additional mulct or fine of £10,000, for the trouble of compelling payment. In 1781, the unfortunate rajah was again importuned for supplies of money and troops; but this time unreasonable demands appear to have been made, simply with the object of provoking conduct which was to serve as a plea for the complete confiscation of his whole possessions. The amount now demanded was not to be less than fifty lacs, with a contingent of 1,000 men. The rajah be-

* Their exemplary conduct is the more deserving of admiration from the severe trials to which their fidelity had been recently exposed, as recorded in the pages of Wilks, Fullarton, and other military authorities. The mismanagement of the finances of the Carnatic had told fearfully on the condition of the army; even veteran sepoys, who had served under Clive, were but imperfectly, if at all provided for. Colonel Fullarton expressly states, that the natives under his command were nearly twelve months in arrear, and that many were driven to such extremities as to be compelled to sell their children into slavery to save themselves from starvation.—(*View of English Interests in India*, 1782 *to* 1784; pp. 98—201.)

haved with remarkable moderation: he doubtless guessed the views entertained by Hastings—either the seizure of his forts with their contents, or the sale of his dominions to the ruler of Oude; and he left no means untried to avert, by submission, evils which it was hopeless to combat by force. On the approach of the governor-general, he went to meet him with every demonstration of respect; and, in token of entire submission, laid his turban on the lap of the reserved and impassive Englishman, the last act of humiliation in a country, where, to be bareheaded, is considered unspeakable degradation. This conduct did not check, perhaps it accelerated the extreme measures adopted by Hastings, who asserted that besides falsely pleading poverty, the rajah was really plotting to become perfectly independent of the presidency; but to this charge his youth and inexperience afford the best contradiction, when viewed in conjunction with the unresisting manner in which he suffered the governor-general to take possession of Benares, though attended by a very slender escort, and even to go the length of arresting and confining him to his own palace. The two companies of sepoys placed on guard there, were not provided with ammunition, so little was any resistance anticipated on the part of this incipient rebel. The people were expected to witness, with indifference, the change of rulers. On the contrary, they were rendered desperate by an aggression which involved the downfall of one of their own race and religion, to be followed by the transfer of the sacred city and its fertile environs into the hands of aliens, who had no sympathies with their creed, and no interest in their welfare. Great crowds assembled round the palace and blocked up all the avenues; and before reinforcements with ammunition could arrive to support the sepoy guard, a furious attack had been made, in which the greater part perished. The rajah, so far from coming forth to head the mob, took advantage of the confusion to make his escape, and was let down the steep bank of the Ganges, by means of turbans tied together, into a boat which conveyed him to the opposite shore. The multitude rushed after him, leaving the palace to be occupied by the English troops. Had they at once proceeded in search of Hastings, no effective resistance could have been offered, since he had no protection beyond that of the thirty gentlemen of his party and fifty armed sepoys. Cheyte Sing had, however, no thought of organised operations against his persecutor, and he sent repeated apologies, and offers of the most complete submission, all of which were treated with contemptuous disregard. The numbers of the insurgents continued to increase; the building in which the English party had taken up their abode was blockaded, and the sole means of conveying intelligence to Bengal was by the subtlety of native messengers, who, taking advantage of the custom of laying aside in travelling their large golden earrings, because tempting to thieves, placed on this occasion not the ordinary quill or roll of blank paper in the orifice, but dispatches from Hastings to the commanders of British troops to come to his rescue. Before these orders could be executed, affairs assumed a still more menacing aspect. A slight skirmish, brought on by a premature attack made by an English officer, at the head of a small body of men, on Ramnagur, a fortified palace beyond the river, terminated in the death of the leader, and many of his followers by the hands of the people of Benares. The survivors retreated; and Hastings, alarmed for his own safety, fled by night to the fortress of Chunar, leaving the wounded sepoys behind. The excitement spread for hundreds of miles; the husbandman quitted the field, the manufacturer his loom, and rallied round Cheyte Sing; the oppressed population of Oude rose against the misgovernment of Asuf Dowlah and his English allies; and even Bahar seemed ripe for revolt. The rajah at length assumed a haughty and defiant tone; but the absence of skill or discipline rendered the tumultuary force thus voluntarily assembled utterly incapable of taking the field against a European army, and the troops, under Major Popham, were everywhere victorious. The fastnesses of the rajah were stormed, his adherents, to the number of 30,000, forsook his standard, and returned to their ordinary avocations, while their late ruler quitted the country for perpetual exile. Benares was annexed to the British dominions. To save appearances, a relation of the banished ruler was appointed rajah, but, like the nabob of Bengal, he became a mere stipendiary, removable at the pleasure of the presidency. This tyrannical procedure completely failed in promoting the avowed object of Hastings—the attainment of a large sum of ready money; for, notwithstanding the indignities used in searching even the

persons as well as the wardrobes of the mother, wife, and other females of the family of Cheyte Sing (in violation of the articles of capitulation), the booty realised was not only unexpectedly small (£250,000 to £300,000), but was wholly appropriated as prize-money by the army.* Thus the immediate effect of the expedition was to enhance the difficulties it was intended to relieve, by the expenses attendant on putting down a revolt wantonly provoked; and so far from meeting the approbation of the company, the conduct pursued towards the rajah was denounced as "improper, unwarrantable, and highly impolitic." Nevertheless, the war into which Cheyte Sing had been driven was held to justify his expulsion from Benares; and the positive declaration of Hastings, that an order for the reinstatement of the rajah would be regarded by him as the signal for his own instant resignation of office, probably prevented any step being taken to make amends for past wrongs.

The next expedient adopted to fill the empty treasury of Calcutta, was more successful in its results, but, if possible, more discreditable in character. Asuf-ad-Dowlah, the successor of Shuja Dowlah, was a young man, not devoid of a certain description of ability† and kindly feeling; but his better qualities were neutralised by an amount of indolence and sensuality, which rendered him a political nobody in the sight of the presidency, and a severe scourge to his subjects by reason of the extortions and cruelty perpetrated in his name by unworthy favourites. Already sundry concessions (such as the Benares tribute) had been extorted from him, which Hastings would never have so much as proposed to his father; and these, together with general misgovernment and extravagance, had reduced the treasury of Oude to a condition which left its master little to fear from the rapacity of his neighbours. Continued drought had heightened his distress, by diminishing the power of the people to meet the heavy taxation demanded from them; and he found himself unable to pay any portion of the arrears of his own mutinous troops, much less to maintain the costly detachment and the long train of officials, civil as well as military, forced upon him by the English.

In an evil hour he sought counsel with the governor-general at Chunar, pleaded poverty, and gave as one, among many reasons for inability to fulfil the heavy conditions into which he had been led to enter, the large proportion of his father's wealth bequeathed to his mother and grandmother. These princesses had been uniformly treated by Shuja Dowlah with the highest consideration and respect: his wife, especially, had won his entire confidence by repeated evidences of energetic and devoted affection. During his lifetime the chief direction of his pecuniary affairs had been entrusted to her management, and, after his death, the two ladies remained in possession of certain extensive jaghires, with other property, to a large extent; not for their exclusive use, but for the maintenance of the rest of his family and those of preceding nabobs, amounting (including female retainers of all kinds) to about 2,000 persons. The profligate prince had early coveted the inheritance of his relatives, and he continued to exact contributions from them, until his mother, wearied and alarmed by his importunities and injurious treatment, consented to surrender an additional sum of thirty lacs, on condition of his signing a formal pledge, guaranteed by the Supreme Council of Bengal, that she should be permitted to enjoy her jaghires and effects exempt from further persecution. This covenant, effected through the mediation of Bristowe, the English resident at Lucknow, was approved of and confirmed by the majority then dominant in Calcutta. Hastings disapproved, but being in the minority, could offer no effective opposition. In 1781, when his authority became again (for a time) supreme, he scrupled not to set aside all former promises by empowering the nabob

* Hastings would seem to have outwitted himself in this matter. The wife of Cheyte Sing was a person of high character, much-beloved and esteemed, and safety and respect for her person, together with those of the other ladies of the family of the ill-fated rajah, were among the express terms of capitulation. Yet Hastings was unmanly enough to question the "expediency of the promised indulgence to the ranee," and to suggest that she would "contrive to defraud the captors of a considerable portion of the booty, by being suffered to retire without examination." The intimation did not pass unheeded. The defenceless ladies were subjected to the insulting search of four females, but with what effect does not appear; and their persons were further insulted by the licentious people and followers of the camp. But the officers and soldiery maintained that Hastings had expressly made over to them the whole profits of this nefarious transaction, and would not so much as lend a portion to government. The share of the commander-in-chief was £36,000.—(Mill, Moodie, &c.)

† *Vide* the charming stanzas translated by Heber.

to take possession of the jaghires of both princesses, as a means of paying his debts to the company; and, as a further assistance, the English troops, whose maintenance pressed heavily on the Oude revenues, were to be withdrawn. Mr. Hastings asserted, in justification of his conduct, that the begums had evinced an inclination to take part with Cheyte Sing; but the accusation is improbable in itself, and unsupported by any reliable evidence: their other alleged fault — of embarrassing the government of the nabob—was contradicted by the statements repeatedly forwarded by the English resident, of the persecutions endured by them at the hands of the local authorities. Asuf-ad-Dowlah (who, ever since the covenant signed in 1775, had been repeatedly violating it in different ways) was at first delighted at having his refractory relatives deprived of the protection to which they had constantly appealed; but on quitting Chunar, and regaining his own dominions, he began to consider the matter in a different light. Unsupported by the plausible reasoning of Hastings, the proposed plan of despoiling his mother and grandmother appeared fraught with ignominy; and Mr. Middleton (who had been recently restored to the position of British resident) described, in the strongest terms, the almost unconquerable repugnance evinced by the nabob towards the violent measures agreed on at Chunar. He was peremptorily informed, that in the event of his continued refusal, the seizure of the jaghires and personal property of the begums would be accomplished by the English without his co-operation. The weak and vacillating prince, fearful of the effect such an assumption of authority by foreigners might produce on the minds of his subjects, reluctantly consented to accompany the expedition sent to attack the princesses in their own territory, in the commencement of the year 1782. The town and castle of Fyzabad (the second place in Oude) were occupied without bloodshed, the avenues of the palace blocked up, and the begums given to understand that no severities would be spared to compel the complete surrender of their property. But here a serious obstacle presented itself. Even Middleton doubted what description of coercion could be effectually adopted, without offering an offence of the most unpardonable description to the whole native population; for the ladies were hedged in by every protection which rank, station, and character could confer, to enhance the force of opinion which, on all such occasions, is in the east so strong and invariable, "that no man, either by himself or his troops, can enter the walls of a zenana, scarcely in the case of acting against an open enemy, much less the ally of a son acting against his own mother."* In this dilemma it was deemed advisable to work upon the fears and sympathies of the begums in the persons of their chief servants, two eunuchs, who had long been entrusted with the entire management of their affairs. There is, perhaps, no page in Anglo-Indian history so deeply humiliating to our national feelings, as that which records the barbarities inflicted on these aged men, during a period of nearly twelve months. Certainly no other instance can be found equally illustrative of the false varnish which Hastings habitually strove to spread over his worst actions, than the fact that, after directing the mode of dealing with the eunuchs—by rigorous confinement in irons, total deprivation of food, and, lastly, by direct torture;† after inciting the indirect persecution of the princesses and the immense circle of dependants left to their charge by the nabob-vizier, by cutting off their supplies of food and necessaries;‡—after quarrelling with and dismiss-

* Middleton's defence. *Vide* House of Commons Papers, March, 1781; and Mill's *India*, vol. iv.

† The account of these disgraceful proceedings is very fragmentary, but amply sufficient to warrant the assertions made in the text. Three principal facts are on record. The first is a letter from Middleton to the English officer on guard, dated January, 1782, desiring that the eunuchs should "be put in irons, kept from all food," &c. The second is a letter from the same officer to the president, pleading the sickly condition of his prisoners as a reason for temporarily removing their chains, and allowing them to take a little exercise in the fresh air. This was refused, and the captives were removed to Lucknow. The third communication, addressed still by one company's servant to another, is a direct order for the admission of torturers to "inflict corporal punishment" on two aged prisoners accused of excessive fidelity to their mistresses; and lest the feelings of a British officer should rise against the atrocities about to be inflicted, an express injunction was added, that the executioners were to have "free access to the prisoners, and to be permitted to do with them whatever they thought proper."—(*Idem.*)

‡ The women of the zenana were at various times on the eve of perishing for want; and on one occasion the pangs of hunger so completely overpowered the ordinary restraints of custom, that they burst in a body from the palace and begged for food in the public bazaar, but were driven back with blows by the sepoys in the service of the E. I. Cy.—(Dr. Moodie's *Transactions*, p. 455.) Major Gilpin, the commandant of the guard, humanely advanced 10,000 rupees for the relief of these unfortunates.

ing his favourite *employé* Middleton, for having been backward in conducting a business from which a gaoler of Newgate prison might turn with disgust,—he, nevertheless, when it became advisable to adopt lenient measures (since no further payments could be extorted by cruelty), had the consummate hypocrisy to remove the guard from the palace of the begums, and release the eunuchs, on the express understanding that their sufferings had proceeded from the nabob and his ministers, but their release from his own compassionate interference. The previous ill-feeling justly entertained by the princesses and their adherents against Asuf-ad-Dowlah, probably lent some countenance to this untruth; and the commanding officer by whom the eunuchs were set at liberty, described, in glowing terms, the lively gratitude expressed by them towards their supposed liberator. "The enlargement of the prisoners, their quivering lips and tears of joy, formed," writes this officer, "a truly affecting scene." He adds a remark, which could scarcely fail to sting the pride, if not the conscience, of one so susceptible of censure in disguise—"If the prayers of these poor men will avail, you will, at the last trump, be translated to the happiest regions in heaven."* In the benefits to be derived from the recent despoliation, Hastings hoped to share largely, for he expected that the E. I. Cy., in gratitude for an accession of £600,000 to their exhausted treasury, would cheerfully assent to his appropriation of the additional sum of £100,000, which he had actually obtained bonds for from Asuf-ad-Dowlah at Chunar. An extortion like this, committed at a time when the excessive poverty and heavy debts of the nabob-vizier, the clamours of his unpaid troops, and the sufferings of the mass of the people, were held forth in extenuation of the oppression of his mother and grandmother, together with other acts of tyrannous aggression, needs no comment. The directors positively refused to permit his detention of the money, and, moreover, commanded that a rigorous investigation should be instituted into the charges of disaffection brought against the begums; and that, in the event of their innocence being proved, restitution should be made. Hastings strongly deprecated this equitable measure. He urged that the evidence offered under such circumstances would be sure to be favourable to persons whose cause should be so manifestly upheld by the company; and supported his views on the subject by many characteristic arguments, such as its being unsuitable to the majesty of justice to challenge complaint. A compromise was effected; the nabob, at his own urgent desire, was permitted to restore the jaghires wrested from his relatives; while the ladies, on their part, thankful for even this scanty justice, "made a *voluntary* concession of a large portion of their respective shares" of the newly-restored rents.†

This transaction is the last of any importance in the administration of Warren Hastings.‡ Various causes appeared to have concurred to render him as anxious to resign as he had once been to retain his post. The absence of his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, and his own failing health, had doubtless their share in rendering him weary of a task, the difficulties of which had been lately increased by a change in the council-board calculated to destroy the despotic power essential to the policy of a ruler, whose measures, however cleverly planned and boldly executed, were rarely of a character to bear impartial, much less hostile criticism. Beside these reasons, his opponents suggested that of recent private extortions from the nabob-vizier; and it cannot be forgotten, that although he pleaded urgent necessity as an inducement for the directors to suffer him to appropriate the bonds obtained at Chunar, yet, about three years later, he was enabled, notwithstanding his habitual extravagance, to bring home a fortune avowedly not far short of £100,000, apart from the costly jewels exhibited by Mrs. Hastings, and the well-furnished private purse which there are grounds for believing her to have possessed.

The prolonged administration of Hastings, his winning manner, and conversance with native languages, together with the imposing effect of the state by which he had, from motives of policy, thought fit to surround himself, made a deep impression on the minds of the Indian population. I have myself met with ballads, similar to those alluded to by Heber and Macaulay, which commemorate the swift steeds and richly-caparisoned elephants of "Sahib Hushting;" they likewise record his victory over Nuncomar who refused to do him homage.

* Parl. Papers, quoted by Mill, iv., 458.

† Letter of Hastings to council, 1784. They gave rich gifts to Mrs. Hastings, in the form of chairs and couches of exquisitely carved ivory, &c.

‡ Except a heavy exaction from Fyzoolla Khan.

The Indian version of the story makes, however, no mention of the accusation of forgery, but resembles rather the scripture story of Haman and Mordecai, with a different ending. The Bengalees possibly never understood the real and lasting injury done them by Hastings, in fastening round their necks the chains of monopoly, despite the opposition of his colleagues, and contrary to the orders of the company. Once fully in operation, the profits of exclusive trade in salt and opium* became so large, that its renunciation could spring only from philanthropy of the purest kind, or policy of the broadest and most liberal character. With his countrymen in India, Warren Hastings was in general popular. It had been his unceasing effort to purchase golden opinions; and one of the leading accusations brought against him by the directors, was the wilful increase of governmental expenses by the creation of supernumerary offices to provide for adherents, or to encourage those already in place by augmented salaries. His own admissions prove, that attachment to his person, and unquestioning obedience to his commands, were the first requisites for subordinates; and the quiet perseverance with which he watched his opportunity of rewarding a service, or revenging a "personal hurt," is not the least remarkable feature in his character.

He quitted India in February, 1785. Notwithstanding the unwarrantable measures adopted by him to raise the revenues and lessen the debts of the company, he failed to accomplish these objects, and, on the contrary, left them burdened with an additional debt of twelve-and-a-half million, and a revenue which (including the provision of an European investment) was not equal to the ordinary expenses of the combined settlements.† Doubtless, great allowance must be made for the heavy drain occasioned by the pressing wants of the Bombay and Madras presidencies, and decided commendation awarded for the energetic steps taken to avert the ruin in which the Mahratta war and the invasion of Hyder threatened to involve these possessions: but it is equally true, that the double-faced and grasping policy of the governor-general tended to neutralise the benefit of his courage and decision, and, as in the case of Lord Pigot, fomented, instead of allaying, the evils of dissension and venality, which were more destructive to the interests of the E. I. Cy. than any external opposition.

Had Hastings resolved to abide by the conviction which led him on one occasion to exclaim, that he "wished it might be made felony to break a treaty," the consequences would have been most beneficial both to India and to England, and would, at the same time, have saved him long years of humiliation and anxiety. He little thought that the Rohilla war, the sale of Allahabad and Oude, and the persecution of the begums, would rise in judgment against him on his return to his native land,—bar his path to titles and offices of state, and compel him to sit down in the comparatively humble position which had formed the object of his boyish ambition, as master of Daylesford, the ancient estate of his family.

But Francis, now a member of parliament, had not been idle in publishing the evil deeds which he had witnessed without power to prevent; and Burke, whose hatred of oppression equalled his sympathy for suffering, brought forward the impeachment as a question which every philanthropist, everyone interested in the honour of England or the welfare of India, was bound to treat as of vital importance. Political motives, of an exceptionable character, on the part of the ministers, favoured the promoters of the trial; and after many tedious preliminaries, Warren Hastings appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and knelt before the tribunal of his country, in presence of one of the most remarkable assemblages ever convened in the great hall of William Rufus. Of the brilliant aristocracies of rank, talent, wealth, and beauty, of which England then boasted, few members were absent. The queen and princesses had come to witness the impeachment of a subject known to

* The 12th article of impeachment against Hastings set forth, "that he granted to Stephen Sulivan, son of Lawrence Sulivan, chairman of the Court of Directors, a contract for four years for the provision of opium; that in order to pay for the opium so provided, he borrowed large sums at an interest of eight per cent., at a time when he declared the drug could not be exported with profit; and yet he sent it to China, which was an act of additional criminality, *as he knew that the importation of opium was prohibited by the Chinese.*" Sulivan sold the contract to a Mr. Benn for £40,000; Benn to a Mr. Young for £60,000; and the latter reaped a large profit.—(Mill.)

† A comparison of the receipts and disbursements of the year ending April, 1786, exhibited a deficit of about £1,300,000. The arrears of the army amounted to two million; and "the troops at Madras and Bombay were in a state of utter destitution, and some of them in open mutiny." The ascertained Bengal debt alone was about four million sterling.

have enjoyed no ordinary share of royal favour, and to listen to the charges urged against him by the thrilling eloquence of Burke, the solid reasoning of Fox, and the exciting declamation of Sheridan. The trial commenced with a strong feeling on the part of the public against the accused; but it dragged on, like most state proceedings, until people ceased to care how it ended. At length, after seven years spent in law proceedings of a most tedious character, the wrongs inflicted in a distant clime, and at a distant period, became almost a matter of indifference: a sort of sympathy, such as is often felt for acknowledged criminals, took the place of lively indignation; and when the inquiry ended in the acquittal of Hastings, he was generally believed to have been sufficiently punished by the insuperable obstacles which his peculiar position had imposed to prevent his selection for any public office, and by the ruinous condition to which his finances had been reduced by the costly expenses, legitimate and illegitimate, of the painful ordeal through which he had passed. The law charges alone exceeded £76,000. Probably still larger sums were expended in vrious kinds of secret service—"in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating tracts;"* beside £12,000 spent in purchasing, and £48,000 in adorning, Daylesford: so that Hastings, when finally dismissed, turned from the bar of the House of Lords an absolute pauper—worse than that—an insolvent debtor. The company came to his relief with an annuity of £4,000 a-year, and a loan of £50,000, nearly half of which was converted into a gift; and they continued to aid him at intervals, in his ever-recurring difficulties, up to the period of his death, in 1818, aged eighty-six.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS.—The government of Lord Macartney terminated in Madras about the same time as that of Mr. Hastings in Bengal; and a high testimony to the ability and unsullied integrity† of the former gentleman, was afforded by the offer of the position of governor-general, which he declined accepting, unless accompanied by a British peerage. This concession was refused, on the ground that, if granted, it would convey to the public an impression that a premium was necessary to induce persons of consideration in England to fill the highest office in India, and the appointment was consequently conferred on Lord Cornwallis. To him was entrusted the charge of carrying into execution some important alterations contemplated by the act of parliament passed in 1784; and by means of an express provision in the act of 1786, the powers of commander-in-chief were united in his person with that of the greatly enlarged authority of governor-general.‡ He arrived in Calcutta in the autumn of 1786, and immediately commenced a series of salutary and much-needed reforms, both as regarded the collection of revenue and the administration of justice. Mr. Macpherson, the senior member of council,§ who had temporarily presided over the affairs of government, had successfully exerted himself to diminish the waste of the public finances connived at by his predecessor; and Lord Cornwallis set about the same task with a steadiness of principle and singleness of motive to which both English officials and Indian subjects had been long unaccustomed. The two great measures which distinguish his internal policy, are the establishment of a fixed land-rent throughout Bengal, in exact accordance with the opinions of Francis; and the formation of a

* Macaulay's *Essay on Hastings*, p. 100.

† Lord Macartney, on taking possession of the office of president of Madras, made a formal statement of his property, and on quitting office presented to the company a precise account of the increase effected during the interval. The E. I. Cy. met him in the same frank and generous spirit by the gift of an annuity of £1,500. It is to be regretted that he lent the sanction of example to the vice of duelling, then frightfully prevalent, by a meeting with a member of council (Mr. Sadleir) with whom a misunderstanding had arisen in the course of official duty. On his return to England he was challenged by General Stuart, and slightly wounded. The seconds interfered, and the contest terminated, though Stuart declared himself unsatisfied.

‡ The establishment of a Board of Control, with other important measures, respectively advocated by Fox or Pitt, will be noticed in a subsequent section.

§ Mr. Wheler was dead. Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Macpherson went to India, in 1766, as purser in a vessel commanded by his uncle, contrived to ingratiate himself with the nabob of Arcot, and returned to England as his agent. After a strange series of adventures, which it is not necessary to follow in detail, he rose to the position of acting governor-general, in which capacity he obtained for the company the valuable settlement of Penang or Prince of Wales' Island, by an arrangement with the King of Queda. His brief administration was likewise marked by a duel with Major Brown (on the Bengal establishment.) The Court of Directors, tired of witnessing the peace of their territories endangered by such proceedings, unanimously affixed the penalty of dismissal from the company's service to any person who should send a challenge on account of matters arising out of the discharge of their official duties.—(Auber's *British India*, ii., 39.)

judicial system to protect property. The necessity of coming to some speedy settlement regarding the collection of territorial revenue, whether under the denomination of a rent or a tax, is the best apology for the necessarily imperfect character of the system framed at this period on the sound principle of giving a proprietary right in the soil; but even a brief statement of the different views taken by the advocates of the zemindarree settlement, and of the opposite arguments of those who consider the right in the soil vested in the ryots or cultivators, would mar the continuity of the narrative.

The foreign policy of the governor-general was characterised by the novel feature of the reduction of the rate of tribute demanded from a dependent prince. Asuf-ad-Dowlah pleaded, that in violation of repeated treaties, a sum averaging eighty-four lacs per annum had been exacted for the company during the nine preceding years; and his arguments appeared so forcible, that Lord Cornwallis consented to reduce this sum to fifty lacs per annum, which he declared sufficient to cover the "real expenses" involved in the defence of Oude. Negligent, profuse, and voluptuous in the extreme, the nabob-vizier was wholly dependent on foreign aid to secure the services of his own troops or the submission of his own subjects; he had therefore no alternative but to make the best terms possible with the English, and might well deem himself fortunate in finding the chief authority vested in a ruler whose actions were dictated by loftier motives than temporary expediency; and influenced by more worthy considerations than the strength or weakness of those with whom he had to deal. The extreme dissatisfaction openly expressed by Englishmen in India, regarding the peace of 1784, and the insulting conduct of Tippoo, led the Mahrattas and the Nizam to believe that the E. I. Cy would gladly take part with them in a struggle against one whose power and arrogance were alarmingly on the increase; but their overtures were met by an explicit declaration, that the supreme government (in accordance with the recent commands of the British parliament) had resolved on taking no part in any confederacy framed for purposes of aggression. Tippoo and the Mahrattas therefore went to war on their own resources, and continued hostile operations for about a year, until the former was glad to make peace, on not very favourable terms, in order to turn his undivided attention to a portion of the territories usurped by his father, and enact a new series of barbarities on the miserable inhabitants of the coast of Malabar. The first measure by which this barbarian signalised his accession to despotic sway, was the deportation of upwards of 30,000 native Christians from Canara. The memory of the deeds of Cardinal Menezes, and other stanch supporters of the "Holy Inquisition," had not passed away; and Tippoo affirmed, that it was the narrative of the intolerance exercised by the "Portuguese Nazarenes" which caused "the rage of Islam to boil in his breast,"* and induced him to vent his wrath upon the present innocent generation, by sweeping off the whole of both sexes and every age into slavery, and compelling them to observe and receive the external rites of the Moslem creed. Of these unfortunates, not one-third are believed to have survived the first year of exile and degradation. The brave mountaineers of Coorg drew upon themselves the same fate by the constant struggles for liberty, to which they were incited by the odious tyranny of the usurper. Tippoo at length dealt with them in the manner in which a ferocious and half-crazed despot of early times did with another section of the Indian population.† The dominant class in Coorg had assembled together on a hilly, wooded tract, apart from the lower order of the peasantry (a distinct and apparently aboriginal race.) Tippoo surrounded the main body, as if enclosing game for a grand circular hunt; beat up the woods as if dislodging wild beasts; and finally closed in upon about 70,000 persons, who were driven off, like a herd of cattle, to Seringapatam, and "honoured with the distinction of Islam,"‡ on the very day selected by their persecutor to assume sovereign, or rather imperial sway, by taking the proud title of Padsha, and causing his own name to be prayed for in public in place of that of the Mogul Shah Alum, as was still customary in the mosques all over India.

The Guntoor Circar, to which the English had become entitled upon the death of Bassalut Jung, in 1782, by virtue of the

* Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, ii., 530.

† Mohammed Toghlak. *See* page 75.

‡ Tippoo, in his celebrated production, the *Sultaun-u-Towareekh*, or King of Histories, expresses great detestation for the immorality of the Coorgs, who, he truly affirmed, systematically pursued a most extraordinary system of polygandria, by giving to several brothers one and the same woman to wife.

treaty of 1768, was obtained from Nizam Ali in 1788. The cession was expedited by a recent quarrel between him and Tippoo Sultan, which rendered the renewal of the treaty of 1768 peculiarly desirable to the former, inasmuch as it contained a proviso that, in the event of his requiring assistance, a British contingent of infantry and artillery should march to support him against any power not in alliance with the E. I. Cy.; the exceptions being the Mahrattas, the nabobs of Arcot and Oude, and the rajahs of Tanjore and Travancore. The Nizam would fain have interpreted the revived agreement as warranting a united attack on Mysoor; but his schemes were positively rejected by Lord Cornwallis, on account of the recent engagement entered into with that state, which was still professedly at peace with the English. Yet it was evident to every power in India, that the sultan only waited a favourable opportunity to renew hostilities. The insulting caricatures of many of the company's servants, held up to mockery and coarse jesting on the walls of the houses of Seringapatam, might have been an idle effusion of popular feeling; but the wretched captives still pining in loathsome dungeons, in violation of the promised general release of prisoners, and the enrolment of a number of English children as domestic slaves to the faithless tyrant, afforded, in conjunction with various rancorous expressions, unmistakeable indications of his deadly hatred towards the whole nation.* The inroad of the Mysooreans on the territory of the rajah of Travancore, brought matters to an issue. The rajah, when menaced by invasion from his formidable neighbour, appealed to the E. I. Cy. for their promised protection, and an express communication was made to Tippoo, that an attack on the lines of defence formed on the Travancore frontier, would be regarded as a declaration of war with the English. The lines referred to, constructed in 1775, consisted of a broad and deep ditch, a strong bamboo hedge, a slight parapet, and a good rampart, with bastions on rising grounds, almost flanking one another. They extended a distance of thirty miles (from the island of Vaipeen to the Anamalaiah range), but were more imposing than effectual, as it was hardly possible to defend so great an extent. Tippoo approached this barrier in December, 1789, and proceeded to erect batteries. An unsuspected passage round the right flank of the lines, enabled him to introduce a body of troops within the wall, and he led them onward, hoping to force open the nearest gate, and admit the rest of the army. The attempt proved, not merely unsuccessful, but fatal to the majority of the assailants. They were compelled to retreat in confusion, and, in the general scramble across the ditch, Tippoo himself was so severely bruised, as to limp occasionally during the remainder of his life. His palanquin fell into the hands of the enemy, the bearers having been trodden to death by their comrades; and his seals, rings, and personal ornaments remained to attest his presence, and contradict his reiterated denial of having borne any part in a humiliating catastrophe, which had materially deranged his plans. More than this, alarm at the probable consequence of a repulse, induced Tippoo to write, in terms of fulsome flattery, to the English authorities, assuring them that the late aggression was the unauthorised act of his troops. Lord Cornwallis treated these assertions with merited contempt, and hastened to secure the co-operation of the Nizam and the Mahratta ministers of Poona, to which he would gladly have added that of Sindia, had not the price demanded been the aid of British troops for aggressive warfare in Rajpootana, which was unhesitatingly refused. He proceeded to make vigorous preparations for a campaign, by assembling troops, collecting supplies, and meeting financial difficulties in an open and manly spirit. Further outlay for a European investment he completely stopped, as a ruinous drain on resources already insufficient to meet the heavy expenditure which must inevitably be incurred in the ensuing contest, the avowed object of which was to diminish materially the power of the sultan; for, as Lord Cornwallis truly declared, in a despatch to General Medows, if this despot were "suffered to retain his present importance, and to insult and bully all his neighbours, until the French should again be in a condition to support him, it would almost certainly leave the seeds of a future dangerous war." Meanwhile, Tippoo confirmed these convictions, and justified the intended procedure by a renewed attempt upon Travancore, and succeeded in razing the defences and spreading desolation over the country. The invasion of Mysoor compelled him to return for its

* Col. Fullarton, writing in 1784, accuses Tippoo of having caused 200 English to be forcibly circumcised and enrolled in his service.—(*View*, 207.)





Engraved

CHARLES, MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

OB 1805.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF COPLEY, IN

THE GUILDHALL, LONDON.

defence; and the system of intelligence established by his father, together with his own activity, enabled him to take advantage of the separation of the English army into three divisions, to attack them in detail, break through their chain of communication, and transfer hostilities to the Carnatic. These reverses were partially compensated by the success of a fourth detachment from Bombay in obtaining possession of the whole of Malabar. The second campaign was opened in February, 1791, by Cornwallis in person. Placing himself at the head of the army, he entered Mysoor by the pass of Mooglee, and in the commencement of March, laid siege to the fortress of Bangalore. Though the troops had been little harassed by hostile operations, they were much enfeebled by the fatigues and privations of a tedious march; the cattle were worn to skeletons, and their supplies, both of food and ammunition, nearly exhausted. The arrival of a Mahratta reinforcement had been long and vainly expected; and affairs were in a most critical state, when the successful assault, first of the town, and subsequently of the citadel of Bangalore (carried by a bayonet charge), relieved the mind of the commander-in-chief from the gloomy prospect involved in the too probable event of defeat. Nevertheless, difficulties and dangers of no ordinary character remained to be combated. At the close of March the army moved from Bangalore northward, for the purpose of forming a junction with the auxiliary corps of cavalry expected from the Nizam. When, after being repeatedly misled by false information regarding the vicinity of the Hyderabad troops, the desired union was at length successfully effected, it proved a fresh source of trouble and disappointment; for the 10,000 light troops so anxiously awaited, instead of rendering good service in the field, were so ill-disciplined and untrustworthy, as to be incapable of conducting even a foraging expedition, and therefore did but augment the distress and anxiety they were sent to lessen.*

Though surrounded on every side by circumstances of the most depressing character, Cornwallis, with undaunted courage, made such preparations as the possession of Bangalore placed in his power for the siege of Seringapatam. An earnest desire to bring to a speedy close hostilities, the prolongation of which involved a grievous sacrifice of life and treasure, added to the alarming information constantly arriving in India regarding the progress of the French revolution, induced him to advance at once upon the capital of Mysoor, despite the defective character of his resources. The troops marched, in May, to Arikera, about nine miles distant from Seringapatam, through a country which, in anticipation of their approach, had been reduced to the condition of a desert. Tippoo Sultan took up a strong position in their front, from whence he was driven by Lord Cornwallis—forced to action, defeated, and compelled to retreat and take refuge under the works of his capital, for the safety of which he now became seriously alarmed. Recognising too late the folly of wantonly provoking the vengeance of a powerful foe, he gave orders that the caricatures of the English should be carefully obliterated from all public places; at the same time taking the savage precaution of slaughtering, without distinction, such prisoners as he had privately detained, lest they should live to afford incontrovertible evidence of his breach of faith and diabolical cruelty.†

Lord Cornwallis was, however, quite unable to pursue his recent success. The deplorable condition of the army, in which smallpox was now raging, with diseases immediately resulting from insufficient food and excessive fatigue under incessant rains, compelled him to issue a reluctant order for retreat. It seemed madness to remain under such circumstances in such a position, still more to hazard further advance, on the chance of the long-delayed succour expected from the Mahrattas; and after destroying the battering train and other heavy equipments, which the loss of cattle‡ prevented them from carrying away, the English, in deep disappointment and depression, com-

* Their commander is said to have been influenced by intrigues carried on between the mother of Tippoo and the favourite wife of the Nizam. The former lady successfully deprecated the wrath excited by the gross insults lately offered by her son, in return to solicitations addressed by some female members of the family of Nizam Ali when in peril at Adoni.

† Twenty English youths, the survivors of the unhappy band whom Tippoo, with malicious wantonness, had caused to be trained and dressed like a troop of Hindoostanee dancing-girls, were first sacrificed to his awakened fears; but there were many other victims, including native state prisoners. A few Englishmen contrived to effect their escape, and one of them wrote an account of the treatment received.—(See *Captivity of James Scurry*; London, 1824.)

‡ Nearly 40,000 bullocks perished in this disastrous campaign.—(Mill's *India*, v., 396.)

menced their homeward march. Orders were dispatched to General Abercromby (governor of Bombay), who was advancing from the westward, to return to Malabar; and Lord Cornwallis, having completed these mortifying arrangements, was about six miles *en route* to Bangalore, when a party of horse unexpectedly rode in upon the baggage flank. They were taken for enemies, but proved to be forerunners of the despaired-of Mahratta force, under Hurri Punt and Purseram Bhow. In answer to the eager interrogatories poured in upon them on all sides, they replied that numerous messengers had been regularly sent, at different times, with accounts of their approach; every one of whom had been cut off by the unsleeping vigilance of the light troops of the enemy. Their tardy arrival was in some measure accounted for by the time spent by them in co-operation with a detachment from Bombay under Captain Little, in the siege of Darwar, one of the great barriers of Tippoo's northern frontier. The place held out against the unskilful and dilatory operations of the assailants for twenty-nine weeks, when the arrival of news of the capture of Bangalore induced its surrender, which was followed by the easy conquest of all the possessions of the sultan north of the Toombuddra.

The Mahrattas now declared themselves unable to keep the field, unless the English could give them pecuniary support; and Lord Cornwallis, unable to dispense with their aid, was compelled to advance them a loan of twelve lacs of rupees, to obtain which he took the bold measure of ordering the Madras authorities to coin the bullion sent out for the China trade into rupees, and forward it without delay. The ample supplies of draught cattle and provisions, together with the innumerable miscellaneous contents of the bazaar of a Mahratta army,* afforded a most welcome relief to men half-famished and wretchedly equipped. Still the advanced season, and the return of General Abercromby, compelled the continuance of the retreat to Bangalore; which was followed up by the occupation of Oossoor, Rayacottah, and other forts, whereby communication between the presidency and the Carnatic, through the Policade Pass, was laid open. By this route a convoy reached the camp from Madras, comprising 100 elephants laden with treasure, marching two abreast; 6,000 bullocks with rice; 100 carts with arrack; and several hundred coolies with other supplies.

The war was viewed by the British parliament as the inevitable consequence of the cruelty and aggression of Tippoo. The energetic measures of Lord Cornwallis were warmly applauded, and reinforcements of troops, with specie to the amount of £500,000, sent to assist his operations. Comprehensive arrangements were made for provisioning the troops, by taking advantage of the extensive resources and experience of the *Brinjarries*,† or travelling corn-merchants, who form a distinct caste, and enjoy, even among the least civilised native states, an immunity for life and property, based on the great services rendered by these neutral traders to all parties indiscriminately, from a very remote period. Measures were likewise adopted for the introduction of a more efficient system of intelligence. The general campaign which opened under these auspicious circumstances, was attended with complete success. The intermediate operations were marked by the capture of the hill-forts of Nundydroog, Savendroog, and Ootradroog. All three were situated on lofty granite rocks, and deemed well-nigh inaccessible—especially Savendroog (*the rock of death*); and so implicit was the confidence placed by Tippoo in the strength of its natural and artificial defences, that he received with joy the tidings of the assault, making sure that the malaria for which the neighbouring jungle had acquired a fearful celebrity, would fight against the English, and slay one-half, leaving the other to fall by the sword. But the very character of the place diminished the watchfulness of its garrison, and tempted them to witness with

* The Mahrattas commenced by asking exorbitant prices for their goods; but when compelled by the diminished purses of the purchasers to reduce their demands or stop the sale, they took the former alternative; but still continued to realise immense profits, since their whole stock-in-trade had been accumulated by plunder. Their bazaar is described by Col. Wilks as comprising every imaginable article, from a web of English broadcloth to a Birmingham penknife; from the shawls of Cashmere to the secondhand garment of a Hindoo; from diamonds of the first water to the silver earring of a poor plundered village maiden; from oxen, sheep, and poultry, to the dried salt-fish of the Concan. The tables of the moneychangers, overspread with the coins of every country of the east, were not wanting in this motley assemblage; and among the various trades carried on with remarkable activity, was that of a tanner, so that the English officers were enabled to obtain, by means of ambulatory tan-pits, what their own Indian capitals could not then produce, except as European imports—excellent sword-belts.—(*Mysoor*, iii., 158-'9.)

† A Persian compound, designating their office.

contemptuous indifference the early approaches of the besiegers, who, after a series of Herculean labours (in which the utmost exertions of human strength and skill, were aided in an extraordinary manner by the force and sagacity of some admirably-trained elephants), at length succeeded in effecting a practicable breach in what formed the lower wall of the rock, although it rose 1,500 feet from a base of above eight miles in circumference. Lord Cornwallis and General Medows stood watching with intense anxiety the progress of the assault, which commenced an hour before noon on the 21st December, 1791. The band of the 52nd regiment played "Britons, strike home;" and the troops mounted with a steady gallantry which completely unnerved the native forces assembled to defend the breach. A hand-to-hand encounter with men who had already overcome such tremendous obstacles, was sufficient to alarm the servants of a more popular master than Tippoo, and they fled in disorder, tumbling over one another in their eager ascent of the steep and narrow path which led to the citadel. The pursuers followed with all speed; but the majority of the fugitives had effected their entrance, when a sergeant of the 71st regiment shot, at a distance, the soldier who was closing the first gate. All the other barriers the English passed together with the enemy, of whom about 100 were slain, while many others perished among the precipitous rocks, in endeavouring to escape. This important enterprise, which the commander-in-chief had contemplated as the most doubtful operation of the war, was effected in twelve days from the first arrival of the troops. The casualties were not numerous, and the actual assault only lasted an hour, and involved the loss of no single life on the side of the besiegers. It was well-timed; for even so much as half-an-hour's delay would have sufficed to bring to the scene of action the Mysoorean detachment, then fast approaching to aid their comrades.

The counter-hostilities of Tippoo were feebly conducted; but the irrepressible tendency of the Mahrattas for freebooting on their own account, led them again to derange the plans of Lord Cornwallis, by neglecting to support General Abercromby, and their misconduct facilitated the conquest of the fort of Coimbatore by the Mysooreans. The flagrant violation of the terms of surrender* (a besetting sin on the part of Tippoo), afforded a reason for rejecting his overtures for peace; and on the 1st of February, 1792, Lord Cornwallis, in conjunction with the Hyderabad and Poona armies, advanced to the attack of Seringapatam, under the walls of which the sultan, with his whole force, lay encamped. Aware of his inability to compete in the field with the formidable confederacy by which he was opposed, Tippoo hoped to be able to hold out against their combined efforts in his island-capital,† by keeping them at bay until the want of supplies, in an already exhausted country—or, in any case, the recurrence of the monsoon—should compel their retreat. The dilatory and unskilful tactics of the native troops would probably have contributed to realise these anticipations; but the English commander-in-chief correctly appreciated the danger of delay, and chose to incur the charge of rashness by attempting to surprise the tiger in his den, rather than waste strength and resources in the dispiriting operations of a tedious and precarious blockade. It was deemed inadvisable to await the arrival of expected reinforcements from Bombay, or even to divulge the plan of attack to the allies, who, on the night of the 6th, were astounded by the news that a handful of infantry, unsupported by cannon or cavalry, were on the march to attack the dense host of Tippoo, in a fortified camp under the walls of his capital; and that Lord Cornwallis, in person, commanded the division destined to penetrate the centre of the hostile force; having gone to fight, as they expressed it,‡ like a private soldier. The sultan had just finished his evening's repast when the alarm was given.§ He mounted, and beheld

* In detaining the garrison close prisoners, notwithstanding a proviso for their liberation. Bad faith was the notorious characteristic of Tippoo, who, says Col. Wilks, could not be made to appreciate the value of truth even as a convenience. Among his letters, translated by Col. Kirkpatrick, is one in which he desires the commander of an attack on a Mahratta fortress to promise anything until he got possession, and then to put every living thing—man, woman, child, dog, and cat—to the sword, except the chief, who was to be reserved for torture.

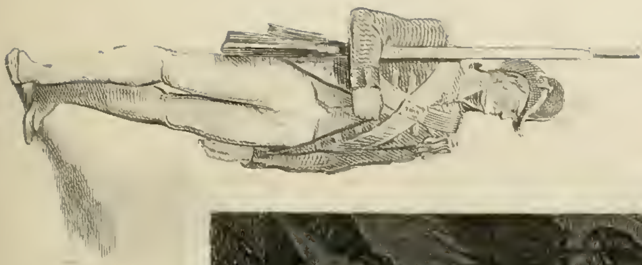
† Seringapatam is situated on an island formed by two branches of the Cauvery, which after separating to a distance of a mile and a-half, again unites about five miles below the point of division. A "bound hedge" of bamboo and other strong shrubs surrounded the capital, and Tippoo's encampment occupied an enclosure between this hedge and the river.

‡ There were two other columns, commanded by General Medows and Colonel Maxwell.

§ The Indians usually attack at midnight or daybreak.

by the light of the moon an extended column passing rapidly through his camp, driving before them a cloud of fugitives, and making directly for the main ford of the stream which lay between them and the capital. This movement threatened to cut off the retreat of Tippoo, who perceiving his danger, hastened across the ford in time to elude the grasp of his pursuers and take up a position on a commanding summit of the fort, from whence he continued to issue orders till the morning. His troops had already deserted by thousands. One band, 10,000 strong (the *Ahmedy Chelahs*, composed of the wretched Coorgs), wholly disappeared and escaped to their native woods, accompanied by their wives and children; and many of the *Assud Oollahees* (a similar description of corps) followed their example. A number of Europeans, forcibly detained in the service of Tippoo Sultan, likewise fled to the protection of the English, including an old Frenchman, named Blévette, who had chiefly constructed the six redoubts which offered the most formidable obstacles to the assailants. Two of these were captured and retained by English detachments, at the cost of much hard fighting. The night of the 7th afforded an interval of rest to both parties, and time to ascertain the extent of their respective losses. That of the British was stated at 535 men, including killed, wounded, and missing; that of the enemy at 23,000, of whom 4,000 had fallen in the actual contest. On the following morning operations were commenced against the strong triangular-shaped, water-washed fort, in which the sultan had taken refuge. His gorgeously furnished garden-palace was turned into an hospital for the wounded English, and the magnificent cypress groves, and other valuable trees, cut down to afford materials for the siege. General Abercromby arrived in safety with the Bombay army, having perfected a line of communication with the Malabar coast; the Brinjarries maintained such abundance in the camp of Cornwallis as had not been known since the commencement of the war; and the soldiers, stimulated by the hope of speedily liberating, with their own hands, the survivors of their murdered countrymen, worked with unflagging energy at the breaching batteries. Tippoo, seriously alarmed, made overtures for peace, and after much delay, occasioned by his treacherous and unstable policy, and his unceasing efforts to gain time, was at length compelled to sign a preliminary treaty, the terms of which involved the cession of half his territories to the allies, and the payment of about three million and a-half sterling. Two of his sons, boys of eight and ten years of age, were delivered up to Lord Cornwallis, as hostages for the confirmation and fulfilment of the agreement; but despite this guarantee, Tippoo showed evident signs of an inclination to renew hostilities, on finding that the English insisted on his relinquishment of Coorg, the rajah of which principality he had hoped to seize and exhibit as a terrible instance of vengeance. Lord Cornwallis, who appears to have acted throughout the war with equal energy and moderation, endeavoured to conciliate him by the surrender of Bangalore—a fortress and district which, in a military point of view, far surpassed Coorg in value; but on the latter point he took decided ground, justly deeming it a clear duty to reward the good service rendered by the rajah, by preserving him from the clutches of his relentless foe. Preparations for a renewed siege at length brought matters to an issue. The previous arrangements were formally confirmed by Tippoo on the 19th of March, and the treaty delivered to Lord Cornwallis and the allies by the royal hostages.

The total territorial revenue of the sultan, according to the admitted schedule, averaged from about two-and-a-half to three million sterling, one-half of which was now made over to the allies, to be divided by them in equal portions, according to the original terms of the confederation. By the addition now made to their possessions, the boundary of the Mahrattas was again extended to the river Toombuddra. The allotment of the Nizam reached from the Kistna beyond the Pennar, and included the forts of Gunjeecotah and Cuddapah, and the province of Kurpa. The British obtained Malabar and Coorg, the province of Dindegul (a valuable accession to their southern territory), together with Baramahl and the Lower Ghauts, which formed an iron boundary for Coromandel. The Anglo-Indian army were ill-pleased with this termination of the war. They had set their hearts on nothing less than the storming of Seringapatam; and when, in consequence of Tippoo's overtures for peace, orders were given to desist from further operations, they became, says an officer who was present, "dejected to a degree not to be described, and could with difficulty be restrained from





continuing their work." Their dissatisfaction was increased by the miserable artifice of Tippoo, who, desirous of assuming before his own troops a defiant attitude, although really a suitor for peace, gave secret orders to fire on the English soldiery, both with cannon and musketry. Under such circumstances, it needed all the weight of the public and private character of Lord Cornwallis, to enforce the admirable precept with which the general orders to the victorious troops concluded,—" that moderation in success is no less expected from brave men than gallantry in action." In acknowledgment of their excellent conduct, a donatiou, equal to twelve months' batta, was awarded them, out of the money exacted from the sultan. The disinterestedness of the commander-in-chief and of General Medows was displayed in their refusal to accept any portion of this sum, or of the prize-money. Their cordial co-operation and perfect confidence in each other's zeal and integrity, had been conspicuous throughout the war, forming a pleasing contrast to the divided counsels and personal quarrels which had, of late years, diminished the efficiency of the military and civil services of the officers of the company. This unanimity enabled Lord Cornwallis to take full advantage of the influence he possessed over the Nizam and the Mahrattas. Their mutual distrust, combined with the respect inspired by the English commander-in-chief, led them to entrust to him the sole control of the late operations. These were no sooner terminated by the treaty of Seringapatam, than occasions of quarrel reappeared among the allies. The Nizam, by far the weakest of the three powers, petitioned to be allowed to retain the services of a British detachment. His request was granted, greatly to the annoyance of the Mahrattas, whose discontent at finding him thus favoured, was aggravated by the refusal of Lord Cornwallis to suffer a similar stipendiary force to be permanently annexed to the army of the peishwa, or rather of his ambitious guardian, Nana Furnavees. In this case the concession must have provoked immediate hostilities with Mahadajee Sindia, since it was to oppose his large and formidable corps of regular artillery (under De Boigne* and other European officers), that the services of an English detachment were especially desired. Such a procedure would have been inconsistent with the pacific policy by which it was both the duty and inclination of Lord Cornwallis to abide; and Sindia was therefore suffered to retain, without interference on the part of the only enemy he feared, the dominant position which the time-serving policy of Hastings had first helped him to assume, as vicegerent of the Mogul empire. His power, before reaching its present height, had received a severe check, from the efforts of other ambitious chiefs to obtain possession of the person, and wield authority in the name, of the hapless Shah Alum,† who, from the time of the death of his brave general, Nujeef Khan, in 1782, had been tossed about, like a child's toy, from one usurper to another—a tool during their prosperity, a scape-goat in adversity. Sindia became paramount in 1785; but having engaged in war with Pertab Sing of Jeypoor, advantage was taken of his absence by Gholam Kadir Khan, the son of Zabita Khan, the Rohilla, to gain possession of Delhi in 1788. This he accomplished through the treachery of the *nazir* or chief eunuch, to whom the management of the imperial establishment was entrusted. The inmates of the palace were treated by the usurper with a degree of malicious barbarity which it is hardly possible to conceive any human being evincing towards his unoffending fellow-creatures, unless actually possessed by an evil spirit. After cruelties of all descriptions had been practised to extort from the members and retainers of the imperial family every article of value which still remained in their possession, Gholam Kadir continued to withhold from them even the necessaries of life, so that several ladies perished of hunger; and others, maddened by suffering, committed suicide. The royal children‡ were compelled to

* De Boigne was a Savoyard by birth, and had been an ensign in the service of the E. I. Cy.

† Among the few who faithfully adhered to the cause of Shah Alum, was the widow of the notorious Sumroo, who had entered the imperial service, or rather that of Nujeef Khan, after quitting Oude, and married the daughter of an impoverished Mogul noble. The "Begum Sumroo" received Christian baptism, at the request of her husband. After his death, in 1778, she was suffered to retain the jaghire granted to him for the support of five battalions of disciplined sepoys and about 200 Europeans, chiefly artillerymen, whose movements she directed from her palanquin, even on the actual field of battle. An imprudent marriage with a German, named Vaissaux, for a time endangered her influence; but after his seizure by the mutinous troops, and death by his own hand, she regained her authority.

‡ The Shahzada, Prince Jewan Bukht, had taken refuge at Benares. Lord Cornwallis granted him a

perform the most humiliating offices; and when Shah Alum indignantly remonstrated against the atrocities he was compelled to witness, the Rohilla sprang upon him with the fury of a wild beast, flung the venerable monarch to the ground, knelt on his breast, and, with his dagger, pierced his eye-balls through and through. The return of Sindia terminated these horrible scenes. Gholam Kadir took to flight, but was captured by the Mahratta chief, who cut off his nose, ears, hands, and feet, and sent him in an iron cage to Shah Alum—a fearful example of retributive barbarity. He perished on the road, and his accomplice, the treacherous nazir, was trodden to death by an elephant. The condition of the imperial family, though ameliorated, remained barely tolerable during the supremacy of Sindia; for the stated allowance for the support of the emperor and his thirty children, though liberal in its nominal amount, was so irregularly paid, that the royal household often wanted the necessaries of life.

The arrogance of Mahadajee increased with his power;* and not only the Nizam and the Poona ministry headed by Nana Furnavees, but even the English, began to contemplate an approaching struggle as inevitable; when their apprehensions were unexpectedly removed by his death, of fever, in February, 1794, aged sixty-seven. He left no male issue, but bequeathed his extensive territorial possessions to his great-nephew and adopted son, Dowlut Rao, then a youth of fifteen.

The administration of Lord Cornwallis ended in the preceding year; its concluding feature being the capture, once again, of Pondicherry and all the French settlements in India, in consequence of the national declaration of war. The charter of the E. I. Cy. was at the same time (1793) renewed for a term of twenty years.† Arrangements were made for the relief of the financial difficulties of Mohammed Ali. The management of the revenues of the Carnatic, which had been temporarily assumed by Lord Cornwallis during the war, was partially restored to the nabob at its conclusion, and the payments to his creditors reduced from the twelve lacs of pagodas (conceded to them most improperly by the Board of Control in 1785), to somewhat more than six lacs. Attempts were likewise made, but with little success, to induce the profligate Asuf-ad-Dowlah to adopt reformatory measures, to stay the ruin which seemed about to overwhelm the fair province, or rather kingdom, of Oude.

ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN SHORE.—This gentleman (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) had been many years in the service of the company, and was selected for the high post of governor-general,‡ expressly on account of the ability and perseverance which he had brought to bear on the intricate and little understood question of Indian revenue. His pacific disposition was likewise viewed as affording a guarantee for the fulfilment of the strict injunctions of the British parliament—to shun every description of aggressive warfare on behalf of the company, whether in the character of a principal or an ally. Upon the death of Mahadajee Sindia, preparations for hostilities against the Nizam were carried on by his young successor, Dowlut Rao Sindia, with the co-operation of the Poona authorities and all the leading Mahratta chieftains.§ The attempts of Sir John Shore at friendly mediation were treated with insulting indifference by the Mahrattas, so soon as they

yearly stipend of four lacs (promised, but not paid, by the vizier of Oude), which, after the death of the prince, was continued to his family by the E. I. Cy.

* What a blow would have been inflicted on the pride and bigotry of Aurungzebe, could it have been foretold that one of his dynasty would be compelled, by a Mahratta, to sign a decree forbidding the slaughter of kine throughout the Mogul dominions. Yet this was enforced by Sindia on Shah Alum.

† In the year ending April, 1793, the receipts of the company in India amounted to £8,225,628; the total expenses to £7,007,050: leaving a surplus of £1,218,578 clear gain. In the outgoings, were included the interest of Indian debts (the principal of which amounted to £7,971,665), and money supplied to Bencoolen and other distant settlements; making a drawback of £702,443. The debts in England, exclusive of the capital stock, were £10,983,518. The capital stock had been increased in 1789, from four to five million, on which sum a dividend of ten-and-a-half per cent. was now paid.

‡ General Medows had been offered the position on the expected resignation of Lord Cornwallis; but he declined it, declaring his intention of staying in India just long enough "to lead the storming party at Seringapatam, or until the war is over;" and no longer. He adds, that he had saved £40,000 out of the liberal appointments of the company, and should feel amply compensated if they pronounced "the labourer worthy of his hire."—(Auber's *India*, ii., 121.)

§ Tookajee Holcar and the rajah of Berar, with the representative of the Puar and other influential families, took the field; while the Guicowars from Guzerat, and others, sent detachments to join the general assembly of Mahrattas, gathered together for the last time under the nominal authority of the peishwa, Madhoo Rao II., who was himself completely controlled by Nana Furnavees.—(Duff, iii., 111.)

perceived his determination of preserving a strict neutrality. The Nizam advanced to Beder, where the enemy hastened to give him battle. After an indecisive action, he retreated by night to Kurdla, a small fort surrounded by hills. He was besieged, closely blockaded, and compelled to purchase peace by the most ignominious concessions, which, if carried out, would have completely crippled his resources, and left him at the mercy of his old foe, Nana Furnavees. But at this crisis the "Mahratta Machiavelli" overreached himself. The severity and excess of his precautionary measures wrought upon the high spirit of the young peishwa (then one-and-twenty years of age) with unexpected violence, and, in a moment of deep depression, caused by the indignity to which he was subjected, he flung himself from a terrace of the palace, and expired in the course of two days, after expressing a strong desire that his cousin, Bajee Rao, should succeed to the authority of which he had been defrauded.* This arrangement would have been generally popular; for Bajee Rao, then about twenty years of age, bore a high character for skill in manly and military exercises, and was besides deeply read in ancient Brahminical lore, and a studious follower of the intricate observances of caste. Beneath this fair surface lay, as Nana Furnavees truly declared, the weakness of his father Ragoba, and the wickedness of his mother Anundee Bye, as yet undeveloped.

The talents of Bajee Rao, even had they been likely to be used for good instead of for evil, would probably have been equally opposed to the views of the minister, who wanted a mere puppet to occupy the musnud on public occasions, and then return to his gilded prison. With this intent he caused the widow of the late Madhoo Rao II. (herself a mere child) to adopt an infant, whom he proclaimed peishwa. Sindia espoused the cause of Bajee Rao, and the dissensions which followed enabled Nizam Ali to procure a release from three-fourths of the cessions and payments stipulated for by the treaty of Kurdla.

The remaining events during the administration of Sir John Shore may be briefly noted. Fyzoolla Khan, the Rohilla ruler of Rampore and its dependent districts, died in 1794.† His eldest son, Mohammed Ali, succeeded to the government, but was seized and murdered by his younger brother, Gholam Mohammed Khan, who was in turn deposed by the conjoined troops of the English and the vizier. A jaghire of ten lacs of revenue was conferred on Ahmed Ali, the youthful son of the murdered ruler; provision was made for the maintenance of Gholam Mohammed, who came to reside at Benares, under the protection of the British government; and the treasures and remaining territory of the late Fyzoolla Khan, were delivered up to the wasteful and profligate Asuf-ad-Dowlah.

Mohammed Ali, of Arcot, died in 1795, aged seventy-eight, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Omdut-al-Omrah. In the same year the English effected the complete reduction of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, Amboyna, Cochin, and the Cape of Good Hope.‡ Asuf-ad-Dowlah died in 1797. A dispute concerning the succession arose between his brother Sadut Ali, and his alleged son Vizier Ali, a youth of seventeen, said to be of spurious descent.§ Sir John Shore eventually decided in favour of the former, with whom he entered into a new treaty, by which the fort of Allahabad was made over to the English, the annual subsidy increased to seventy-six lacs of rupees, twelve lacs guaranteed by the vizier as compensation money for the expenses incurred in the recent interference, and an annual pension of a lac and a-half of rupees settled on Vizier Ali, beside other arrangements regarding the support of the company's troops, deemed necessary for the defence of Oude.

In the beginning of 1798, the governor-general, who had been raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Teignmouth, resigned his position on account of ill-health, and returned to England. Despite his high character as a financier, the pecuniary results of his four years' sway were disastrous, and the scourge of war was but temporarily delayed. Tippoo evidently waited an opportunity to renew hostilities; and the expensive preparations made to invade Mysoor, in

* Bajee Rao had endeavoured to open a secret intercourse with Madhoo Rao, which being discovered by Nana Furnavees, drew severe reproaches and more strict surveillance on both cousins.—(Duff.)

† In this year the Calcutta bench, and orientalists in general, sustained a heavy loss in the death of the upright judge and distinguished scholar, Sir William Jones, aged forty-eight. He was the first president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Warren Hastings the patron, and Charles Wilkins a member.

‡ These conquests were mainly effected through the zeal of Lord Hobart, governor of Madras.

§ On inquiry, it appeared that the alleged children of Asuf-ad-Dowlah were all supposititious.

the event of his taking part with the Dutch, together with the requirements of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, obliged the supreme government, in 1796, to open the treasury for a loan bearing twelve per cent. interest. In the following year, increasing involvements compelled a considerable reduction in the investments—a step never taken, it will be recollected, except under the stern pressure of necessity.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MORNINGTON (MARQUIS WELLESLEY.)—An impending war with Mysoor, intricate political relations based on the temporary interest of other native powers, an exhausted treasury, and an increasing debt,—such were the difficulties that awaited the successor of Lord Teignmouth. After some delay, the choice—happily for England and for India—fell upon a nobleman no less distinguished for decision of purpose than for deliberation and forethought in counsel, gifted with a mind alike capable of grasping the grandest plans, and of entering into the minute details so important to good government. Lord Mornington was but seven-and-thirty when he was selected for the arduous office of exercising almost irresponsible authority over British India; but he had been early called to play an important part in public life, and had, from circumstances, been led to regard Indian affairs with peculiar interest, even before his appointment as one of the six commissioners of the Board of Control, in 1793.* In this position he continued for the ensuing five years, attending sedulously to its duties, and availing himself to the utmost of the opportunities it afforded of becoming intimately acquainted with the condition of the E. I. Cy., the mode of government adopted in the three presidencies, and the position and history of neighbouring powers. The subject was, to the highest degree, attractive to a statesman who considered that "the majesty of Great Britain was her trade, and the throne of the commerce of the world the fittest object of her ambition." The able and indefatigable, but prejudiced historian of India, was probably but imperfectly acquainted with the character and antecedents of Lord Mornington, when he remarked that he came out as a war-governor: still less ground existed for the assertion, that his lordship had "possessed but little time for acquainting himself with the complicated affairs of India, when all his attention was attracted to a particular point."† The remarkable letter, addressed to Lord Melville from the Cape of Good Hope, in 1798,‡ abundantly attests the extraordinary amount of information already accumulated by the writer, as well as the profound and far-sighted views which he had been enabled to form therefrom. The mental qualifications of Lord Mornington were rendered generally attractive by the dignified and courteous bearing, and the sweet, yet powerful utterance

* The Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley) was descended from an ancient family, whose founders went over to Ireland with Strongbow, and held (on the tenure of bearing the royal standard "*quando opus fuerit*") the castle and manor of Dangan, in the county Meath, where the future governor-general of India was born in 1760. The name of his father fills an honoured place in the musical annals of England, as the composer of some of the finest chants and glees in the language: his mother, the Countess of Mornington, was highly gifted both in person and in intellect, and especially remarkable for force of character, which she retained unimpaired even to advanced age, and transmitted to at least three of her sons—the subject of this notice, "the Iron Duke," and Baron Cowley. The death of Lord Mornington, in 1781, arrested the college studies of his young successor, and called him when scarcely of age, to relinquish the classic pursuits by which he might else have become too exclusively engrossed, for the severer duties of public life. Close intimacy with the Cornwallis family, doubtless contributed to direct his attention to Indian affairs; and the influence of the Eton holidays regularly passed with Archbishop Cornwallis at Lambeth Palace, from 1771 to 1779, had probably its effect in producing, or at least strengthening the love of justice and high sense of honour for which the young lord became distinguished, as well as in implanting the deep and clear views of religion which formed the solace of his honoured age. His first care was the voluntary liquidation of his father's debts; the next, a most liberal provision for the education of his brothers and sisters, especially for that of Arthur, whose capacities he early appreciated. A brilliant career in the Irish House of Parliament, was speedily followed and surpassed by his success as an orator in the British House of Commons, where, strangely enough, his first speech was in reprobation of the conduct of Lord North in making Warren Hastings governor-general of India, after his unprincipled conduct regarding the Rohillas. The opinions delivered by him on the questions of war with the French republic, the disputes regarding the regency, the abolition of the Irish parliament, and Catholic emancipation, have their page in history; but none occupy a higher place in the memory of those who cherish the name of the Marquis Wellesley, than his unwavering and indignant denunciation of the slave-trade, which he declared to be an "abominable, infamous, and bloody traffic," the continuance of which it was a disgrace to Great Britain to sanction, even for an hour. (*Vide* Debate on motion of Mr. Dundas for *gradual* abolition, April, 1792.)

† Mill's *India;* edited by Prof. Wilson, vi., 73.

‡ *Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley;* edited by R. Montgomery Martin, i., 1—15. Murray: London, 1836.



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON



which enhanced the effect of his rare eloquence. His small but perfectly symmetrical figure, formed a worthy model for the chisels of Bacon and Chantry; while the easel of Lawrence rendered the delicate but clearly defined outline of the nose and mouth, the soft, gazelle-like* eyes and dark arched brows, in contrast with the silver locks which clustered round his lofty forehead—scarcely less publicly known, in his own time, than the remarkable profile and eagle-eye of his younger brother are at present.

On his arrival in Madras, in April, 1798, Lord Mornington was accompanied by his younger brother Henry, afterwards Lord Cowley, in the capacity of private secretary. The future duke, then Lt.-Col. Wellesley, with his regiment (the 33rd), had been already some months in India. After a brief stay at Madras (of which presidency Lord Clive, the son of the hero of Arcot, was appointed governor), Lord Mornington proceeded to Calcutta, and commenced a series of civil reforms; but his attention was speedily arrested by the intrigues of Tippoo and some French adventurers, who, though in themselves of small importance, might, he well knew, at any moment give place to, or acquire the rank of powerfully supported representatives of their nation. In fact, schemes to that effect were in process of development; though the success of the British by sea and land, the victories of Nelson on the Nile, and that of Acre by Sir Sidney Smith, in conjunction with Lord Mornington's own measures, eventually prevented Buonaparte from putting into execution his cherished plan of wresting from England her growing Indian empire. The republican general and his great adversaries, the brothers Wellesley, had a long series of diplomatic hostilities to wage in distant hemispheres, before the last fierce struggle which convulsed the European continent with the death-throes of the usurped authority of the citizen emperor! Their battle-fields and council-chambers, as yet, lay wide apart; but the letters of Buonaparte to Tippoo Sultan and to Zemaun Shah, the successor of the fierce Doorani conqueror of Paniput, who had threatened to renew the incursions of his grandsire in Hindoostan, served to convey an impression to the native princes that a European power did exist, eagerly waiting its opportunity to fight the English with their own weapons. So strongly impressed was Tippoo with this conviction, that he sent ambassadors to the French governor of the Mauritius (M. Malartic), with proposals for an offensive and defensive alliance against their mutual rival, offering to bear the whole expenses of the French auxiliary force to be sent to his assistance, and to furnish them with every accustomed allowance except wine and spirits, with which he declared himself entirely unprovided. The truth was, that Tippoo, in laudable conformity with the ordinance of his standard of action, the Koran, forbade his subjects to use any description of intoxicating plants or beverages; and, as far as possible, caused the white poppy and the hemp-plant to be destroyed even in private gardens. Those only who, like Colonel Tod and other travelled historians, have had the opportunity of searching out for themselves authentic records illustrative of the condition of the people of India at different epochs, can fully appreciate the political importance of this measure, and its probable effect in tending to stay the moral and physical degradation which the abuse of all intoxicating compounds never fails to produce, especially of that valuable medicine, but when misused, detestable drug, opium.

The offer of the sultan was warmly welcomed by the French governor, and a small detachment† of volunteers sent to Malabar, and received as an earnest of further assistance. Lord Mornington addressed repeated remonstrances to Tippoo respecting this notorious breach of faith; and received, in return, the same empty professions of good-will which had been previously made to Lord Cornwallis. There was but one course to be taken with a man who met all arguments regarding the hostile operations in which he was engaged by positive denial or wilful silence; and the governor-general, despite the exhausted treasury and financial involvements which even a peace-governor had been unable to avoid, now found himself compelled to prepare for the renewal of war. He proceeded to Madras, where, by infusing his own spirit into this heretofore venal and incapable presidency, he procured

* This expression may savour of exaggeration or affectation to persons unacquainted with Lord Wellesley. Those who have watched him while speaking on subjects which touched his feelings, will, on the contrary, consider the comparison a poor compliment to eyes gifted with the power of reflecting every varying phase of thought and feeling, but ever tender and gazelle-like in repose.

† About 150; composed of convicted criminals and the refuse of the rabble of the island.—(*Despatches.*)

the adoption of measures for the complete equipment of the armies on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. The conduct of Nizam Ali, the subahdar of the Deccan, afforded much ground for uneasiness. The refusal of Sir John Shore to suffer the English subsidiary detachment to fight against the Mahrattas, had induced him to raise a large corps, trained and officered by French adventurers, under the immediate superintendence of a M. Raymond, who was justly suspected of being in communication with Tippoo. Lord Mornington felt that the course of events might render this body a nucleus for all powers and persons jealous or envious of British supremacy. He therefore hastened to make overtures for a closer alliance with the Nizam; and on the 1st of September, a new treaty was concluded, by which the subsidiary detachment in his service was increased from two to six battalions, and the E. I. Cy. became pledged for his protection against any unjust demands on the part of the Mahrattas. The Nizam consented to the immediate disbandment of Raymond's corps, and the surrender of their officers as prisoners of war; but as he manifested some hesitation regarding the fulfilment of these stipulations, the French cantonments were unexpectedly surrounded by the whole English force, in conjunction with a body of the Hyderabad cavalry. The men, already disaffected,* upon a promise of continued employment and the payment of arrears, laid down their weapons; the officers were quietly arrested, and, in a few hours, 14,000 men, possessing a train of artillery and a well-supplied arsenal, were completely disarmed and disorganised. The private property and arrears due to the officers were carefully secured to them by the governor-general, and arrangements made for their honourable treatment and speedy transport to their own country.

The primary importance of neutralising the danger of French influence at the court of the Nizam, did not blind Lord Mornington to the advisability of avoiding hostilities with the Mahrattas. The supremacy of Nana Furnavees and his baby peishwa, had given place to that of Sindia and Bajee Rao, with whom Nana had become partially reconciled; and through his influence, a pledge of co-operation, in the event of a war with Mysoor, was given by them, but apparently with the most treacherous intent.

These precautionary measures concluded, Lord Mornington felt himself in a position to bring matters to an issue. The "violent and faithless"† character of the sultan, rendered it necessary to take summary steps for the reduction of his power and arrogance, which had again become alarming. The abandonment of his French connexions was at first all that was desired; but the expense of military preparations having been incurred—the cession of the maritime province of Canara, with other territory and a large sum of money, the establishment of accredited residents on the part of the E. I. Cy. and their allies at his capital, and the expulsion of all Frenchmen from his service and dominions, were now demanded. Tippoo resorted to his old plan of evasion, hoping to procrastinate until the season for attacking Seringapatam should be past; and when hard driven, wrote a tardy consent to receive an English envoy to negotiate terms of more intimate alliance with that nation, while, at the same time, in his capacity of citizen and wearer of the red cap of liberty, he dispatched an embassy to the French Directory, soliciting speedy assistance "to attack and annihilate for ever our common enemies."‡

As on a previous occasion, his duplicity was met by a declaration of war; and on the 5th of March, the British force, under General (afterwards Lord) Harris, and that of the Nizam under his son Meer Alum, entered the Mysoor territory, with the intent of marching directly upon the capital. Lord Mornington truly declared, "that an army more completely appointed, more amply and liberally supplied in every department, or more perfect in its discipline and in the acknowledged experience, ability, and zeal of its officers, never took the field in India."§ The very abundance of the equipments of the invaders formed, in some sort, an im-

* M. Raymond, a man of considerable talent, died a few months before these events, and a struggle for ascendancy had induced disunion among the troops, who, it may be added, were avowed red republicans.

† Words of Lord Cornwallis.

‡ *Wellesley Despatches*, v., 15.

§ The army assembled at Vellore exceeded 20,000 men, including 2,635 cavalry, and 4,381 Europeans; to which was added the 6,500 men serving with the Nizam, and a large body of Hyderabad cavalry. The army of the western coast, assembled at Cananore, under General Stuart, amounted to 6,420 men, of whom, 1,617 were Europeans; while a third corps, under Colonels Read and Brown, from the southern districts of the Carnatic, at once threatened the enemy in flank, and secured abundance of provisions to the main body of the invaders. A British fleet, under Admiral Rainier, lay off the coast.

pediment to their speedy progress; and this circumstance, together with the cumbrous baggage of the Nizam's troops, and the innumerable camp followers, tended to produce so much confusion, that the forces were repeatedly compelled to halt, and destroy a part of the mass of stores with which they were encumbered; until at length, the loss of powder, shot, and other military stores, became sufficiently considerable to excite alarm. Nearly the whole of the draught and carriage bullocks, comprising upwards of 60,000, died in the march to Seringapatam, although it was scarcely retarded a day by the opposition of the enemy. In the meantime, General Stuart, with the force from Bombay, had crossed the western frontier, and been attacked on the 6th of March, by the sultan with a superior force, near Periapatam. After a brisk action, in which the rajah of Coorg effectively seconded the English general by personal bravery and commissariat supplies,* Tippoo, being worsted, drew off his army, and hastened to meet the main body of the enemy under General Harris. This he accomplished near Malavelly, on the Madoor river, but was again defeated with heavy loss. His subsequent attempts to impede or harass the progress of the invaders, were frustrated by their unexpected changes of route; and he learned with dismay, that the battering train, with the last of the army, had actually crossed the Cauvery fifteen miles east of Seringapatam, while he was yet at a distance, keeping guard in an opposite direction,—an indubitable proof how greatly his system of intelligence fell short of that maintained by his father. Deeply disappointed, he summoned his chief officers to his presence. "We have arrived," he said, "at our last stage; what is your determination?" "To die with you," was the unanimous reply; and the assembly separated, after a tearful farewell, having resolved to intercept the expected passage of the English across the stream to the island on which Seringapatam is situated, and make death or victory the issue of a single battle. The equipments of the sultan were in order, and his troops well placed to contest the fords; but the advancing foe did not approach them, but took up a position on the south-western side of the fort, on the 5th of April, exactly one month after crossing the Mysoor frontier, having advanced at the rate of not seven miles a-day on hostile ground, and not five from the commencement of the march. The consequence of this unexpected tardiness, and of great loss of stores, was, that despite the extraordinary supplies assembled by the governor-general, it was ascertained, on the 18th of April, that but eighteen days' provision for the fighting men, at half allowance, remained in store.† The siege was of necessity carried on with the utmost diligence. The sultan made overtures for peace, but rejected the terms of the preliminary treaty now proposed—namely, the surrender of his remaining maritime territories, and of half his entire dominions, with the payment of two crore of sicca rupees, and the total renunciation of French auxiliaries. Every hour's delay rendered the position of the allies more critical; and on the 28th, when the sultan renewed his proposals for a conference, he was informed that no ambassadors would be received unless accompanied by four of his sons and four of his generals (including Seyed Ghofar) as hostages, with a crore of rupees, in token of sincerity.

No answer was returned. Tippoo's hereditary aversion to the English had been raised to the highest pitch by the representatives of the French adventurers about his person. Naturally sanguine, he had buoyed himself up with expectations of the arrival of succours direct from France, from Egypt,

* The rajah of Coorg had collected 6,360,000 lbs. of rice, and 560,000 lbs. of grain, for the use of the troops; and his whole conduct during the present war, warranted praise equal to that awarded him on the previous occasion, of having been "the only ally who had performed all his obligations with fidelity, efficiency, and honour."—(*Mysoor*, iii., 247.) It is no disparagement to the acknowledged merits and peculiarly chivalrous character of the rajah, to add, that he had the deepest wrongs, both as regarded family and national relationship, to avenge upon the usurping dynasty. The reduction of Coorg had been at first effected by Hyder, through treacherous interference, during a contested succession. Of the two families, one was destroyed; the representative of the other (Veer Rajunder) escaped from the hands of Tippoo, and upon the outbreak of the previous war, hastened to join the English. Notwithstanding the ruthless manner in which the population and resources of his country had been treated, he was able, by his intelligence and activity, to aid materially the operations of the Bombay army. Mill, who is little inclined to bestow praise on Indian princes, speaks of him as possessing a remarkable "enlargement of mind, and displaying a generosity and a heroism worthy of a more civilised state of society."—(v., 453.) Col. Wilks narrates many actions which confirm this testimony. So, also, does Major Dirom's *Narrative*.

† There must have been, also, much disgraceful jobbery, the effects of which were happily neutralised by a public tender of 1,200 bullock-loads of rice.

or from the Mauritius; and when at length the progress of the siege drew from him a sincere attempt at negotiation, his haughty spirit could not brook the humiliating conditions named as the price of peace, and he suffered hostilities to proceed, comforting himself with the idea that Seringapatam was almost invincible; that the failure of supplies would probably even now compel the enemy to withdraw; and that, at the worst, "it was better to die like a soldier, than to live a miserable dependent on the infidels, in the list of their pensioned rajahs and nabobs." Despite the manliness of Tippoo's words, his deeds evinced a strange mixture of indecision and childish credulity. For years he had shown himself the bigoted and relentless persecutor of his Hindoo subjects; and so effectual had been his measures, that only two Brahminical temples remained open throughout his dominions. Yet now, those very Brahmins, whom he had compelled to violate the first rules of their creed, by fleshing their weapons on the bodies of sacred animals, were entreated to put up prayers on his behalf, and the *jebbum** was performed at great cost by the orders of a Mussulman sovereign, to whom all kinds of magical incantation were professedly forbidden, and who simultaneonsly put np earnest and reiterated prayers in the mosque, requesting thereto the fervent *amen* of his attendants. Then he betook himself to the astrologers, and from them received statements calculated to deepen the depression by which his mind was rapidly becoming unhinged. The evident progress of affairs might well furnish them with a clue to decypher the predictions of the stars, and a set of diagrams were gravely exhibited as warranting the conclusion, that so long as Mars should remain within a particular circle, the fort would hold out: he would touch the limit on the last day of the lunar month, the 4th of May; then it wonld be advisable to offer the oblations prescribed by law to deprecate an expected calamity. It is possible that the true movers in this singular scene may have been certain faithful servants of Tippoo Sultan, who, as the danger increased, beheld with grief his accustomed energy give place to a sort of despairing fatalism, alternating with bursts of forced gaiety, which were echoed back by the parasites by whom he had become exclusively surrounded. Seyed Ghofar was one of the most zealous and able of the Mysoorean commanders. Although wounded at an early period of the siege, he did not relax his exertions for the defence of the capital, or his efforts to awaken its master to action, despite the despairing exclamation—"He is snrrounded hy boys and flatterers, who will not even let him see with his own eyes. I do not wish to survive the result. I am going about in search of death, and cannot find it." On the 3rd of May, a practicable breach (100 feet wide) was effected. On the morning of the 4th, the sultan offered the oblation before arranged; and after an attempt to ascertain the aspect of his destiny by the reflection of his own face in a jar of oil, returned to his accustomed station on the fortifications. Seyed Ghofar, seeing the trenches unusually crowded, sent word that the attack was about to commence; but the courtiers persuaded their infatuated lord that the enemy would never dare the attempt by daylight; and he replied, that it was doubtless right to be on the alert, although the assault would certainly not be made except under cover of night.

Excited by such mistaken security, the brave officer hastened towards the sultan. "I will go," said he, "and drag him to the breach, and make him see by what a set of wretches he is surrounded: I will compel him to exert himself at this last moment." The arrival of a party of pioneers, to cut off the approach of the foe by the southern rampart, induced him to delay his intention for the purpose of first giving them their instructions; and, while thus engaged, a cannon-ball struck him lifeless to the ground, and saved him from witnessing the realisation of his worst anticipations.

Tippoo was about commencing his noonday repast, when he learned with dismay the fate of his brave servant. The meal was scarcely ended before tidings were brought of the actual assault, and he hastened to the breach along the northern rampart.

The leader of the storming party was Major-general Baird, who had, at his own request, been deputed to head the attack on the fortress, within whose walls he had been immured in irons for three years and a-half.† The hope of releasing captives treacherously detained, and of preventing such faithless outrages for the future, would, apart from less commendable feelings, have been suffi-

* *See* previous p. 357.

† Baird was taken prisoner with the survivors of Col. Baillie's detachment, and not released until 1784.

cient to excite to the utmost a less ardent temperament. Mounting the parapet of the breach, in view of both armies he drew his sword, and, in a voice which thrilled through every heart, called to the columns into which the assaulting force* had been divided, "to follow him and prove themselves worthy the name of British soldiers." A forlorn hope, composed of a sergeant and twelve men, led the van of either column, followed by two subaltern detachments, and were met on the slope of the breach by a small but resolute body of Mysooreans. Nearly the whole of the first combatants perished, but their place was rapidly supplied by the forces led by Baird; and in six minutes after the energetic call to arms, the British colours were planted on the summit of the breach. This important step accomplished, much danger and difficulty remained; for the traverses, especially along the northern rampart, were stronger than had been expected, and the sultan in person animated the exertions of his defenders. After much hard fighting, the British columns overcame all intermediate obstacles, and menaced Tippoo and his supporters both in front and rear. The confusion then became complete: the Mysooreans fled in various directions; some through a gateway in the rampart opening on the palace, some over the fortifications, and others by a water-gate leading to the river. The sultan, after long fighting on foot, being slightly wounded, was seen to mount his horse, but what he had next done, no one knew. It was conjectured that he had taken refuge within the palace; and the chief persons admitted to his confidence during the last few perilous days, alleged that obscure hints had escaped him of an intention to follow the ancient Indian custom, by putting to death the females of his family, destroying certain private papers, and then sallying forth to perish on the swords of his foes. According to instructions previously framed, Major Allan was deputed to proceed to the palace with a flag of truce, and offer protection to Tippoo and every one in it, on the proviso of immediate and unconditional surrender. The major laid aside his sword, in evidence of his peaceable intentions, and prevailed upon the attendants to conduct him and two brother officers to the presence of the two eldest sons of Tippoo, from whom he with difficulty obtained warrant for the occupation of the palace, within which many hundred armed men were assembled; while, without the walls, a large body of troops were drawn up, with General Baird at their head. The fierce excitement of a hard-won field had been increased by the horrible and only too well authenticated information of the massacre of about thirteen Europeans taken during the siege;† yet the torrent of execration and invective was hushed in deep silence when the sons of the hated despot passed through the ranks as prisoners, on their way to the British camp. The royal apartments were searched, due care being taken to avoid inflicting any needless injury on the feelings of the ladies of the harem, by removing them to distinct rooms; but still the important question remained unanswered—what had become of the sultan?

At length it was discovered that private intelligence had reached the killedar, or chief officer in command, that Tippoo was lying under the arch of the gateway opening on the inner fort. General Baird proceeded to the spot, and searched a dense mass of dead and dying, but without success, until a Hindoo, styled Rajah Khan, who lay wounded near the palanquin of the sultan, pointed out the spot where his master had fallen. Tippoo had received two musket-balls in the side, when his horse being wounded sank under him. Rajah Khan, after vainly striving to carry him away, urged the necessity of disclosing his rank as the sole chance for his preservation. This Tippoo peremptorily forbade, and continued to lie prostrate from the loss of blood and fatigue, half-buried under a heap of his brave defenders, until an English soldier coming up to the spot, strove to seize the gold buckle of his sword-belt, upon which he partly raised himself, seized a sabre that lay beside him, and aimed a desperate blow at his assailant, who, in return, shot him through the temple.

Thus perished Tippoo Sultan, in the forty-seventh year of his age. The body, when eventually dragged forth, was found to have been rifled of every ornament except an amulet on the right arm, immediately below the shoulder. The head was un-

* Comprising 2,494 Europeans, and 1,882 natives.

† The fact was subsequently ascertained by exhuming the bodies. The rumour being in itself sufficiently probable, may palliate, but cannot justify, the threats used by General Baird to the princes and others, who had surrendered on the faith of the assurances of Major Allan, to draw from them the whereabouts of Tippoo.—(Thornton's *India*, iii., 59.)

covered, and, despite the ball which had entered a little above the right ear and lodged in the cheek, and three wounds in the body, the stern dignity of the countenance,* its glowing complexion, the expression of the dark full eyes unclosed and surmounted by small arched eyebrows marred by no distortion, were altogether so life-like, that the effect, heightened by the rich colouring of the waistband and shoulder-belt, almost deceived the bystanders; and Colonel Wellesley and Major Allan bent over the body by the uncertain and flickering glare of torch-light, and felt the pulse and heart, before being convinced that they were indeed looking on a corpse.† The remains were deposited beside those of Hyder Ali, in the superb mausoleum of Lâll Baug, with every ceremonial demanded by Mussulman usage. The minute-gun and other military honours, practised by Europeans, were paid by order of the commander-in-chief, a ceremonial which, however well intended, was misplaced. It would have been better taste to have suffered the bereaved family of the sultan, who had died in defence of his capital, to bury their dead, undisturbed by the presence of his triumphant foes. Terrific peals of thunder and lightning,‡ to an extent remarkable even in that tempestuous district, burst over the island of Seringapatam, and formed a fitting close to the funereal rites of the second and last representative of a brief but blood-stained dynasty. The prediction of Hyder was fulfilled: the empire he had won his son had lost, and with it life itself. The romantic circumstances attendant on the death of Tippoo may tend to throw a false halo over his character; but admiration for his personal bravery, or even better-grounded praise for his excellent measure in striving to put down the use of intoxicating preparations, which had become a very curse to India, must not be permitted to disguise the fact that, with few exceptions, his career was one of blood and rapine, beside which that of Hyder appears just and compassionate.

Tippoo manifested remarkable industry in his endeavours to establish the reputation of a reformer; but the regulations framed for the government of his dominions, were enforced by penalties of so revolting a character, as alone to prove the lawgiver unfit to exercise authority over his fellow-men; equally so, whether these were prompted by diabolical wickedness, or the aberrations of a diseased intellect. "History," says Colonel Wilks, "exhibits no prior example of a code perverting all possible purposes of punishment as a public example, combining the terrors of death with cold-blooded irony, filthy ridicule, and obscene mutilation—the pranks of a monkey with the abominations of a monster."§ Such a despotism, based on usurpation and fraud, and exercised with unparalleled ferocity, Britain may well rejoice in having been permitted to abolish.

The total military establishment of Tippoo was estimated at about 100,000, including matchlockmen and peons (revenue officers or police); his field army at 47,470 effective troops. The granaries, arsenals, and magazines of all kinds in Seringapatam, were abundantly stored;|| but a very exaggerated idea had, as is commonly the case, been formed of the amount of his treasure in gold and jewels, the total value of which did not reach a million and a-half sterling, and was entirely appropriated by the conquering army. In acknowledgment of the energy and forethought displayed by the

* The sultan was about five feet ten inches in height, had a short neck and square shoulders; his limbs were slender, feet and hands remarkably small, and nose aquiline. His dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz, a crimson girdle, with a handsome pouch slung over his shoulder by a belt of red and green silk.

† This expression, says Col. Wilks, was noticed only by those who saw Tippoo for the first time; it wore off the more speedily owing to his excessive garrulity and harsh, inharmonious voice.

‡ Two officers and several privates were killed.

§ *History of Mysoor*, iii., 269.

|| On the 4th of May, there were in the fort 13,739 regular troops, and 8,100 outside and in the intrenchments, with 120 Frenchmen, under the command of a *chef de brigade*, M. Chapuis. In the assault, 8,000 Mysooreans were killed, including twenty-four principal officers killed and wounded, beside numbers of inferior rank. The total loss of the British, during the siege, was twenty-two officers killed and forty-five wounded (twenty-five of these in the storming of the citadel); rank and file—*Europeans*, 181 killed, 622 wounded, twenty-two missing: *natives*, 119 killed, 420 wounded, and 100 missing. In the fort were found 929 pieces of ordnance (373 brass guns, sixty mortars, eleven howitzers, 466 iron guns, and twelve mortars), of which 287 were mounted on the fortifications: there were also 424,400 round shot; 520 lbs. of gunpowder, and 99,000 muskets, carbines, &c. Within the fortress were eleven large powder-magazines; seventy-two expense magazines; eleven armories for making and furnishing small arms; three buildings with machines for boring guns; four large arsenals, and seventeen other store-houses, containing accoutrements, swords, &c.; and many granaries abundantly filled with provisions of every description.—(Beatson's *War with Tippoo.*)

governor-general, in directing the whole resources of British India to one point, and thus, humanly speaking, ensuring success in a single campaign, he was raised a step in the peerage,* and informed that, by the concurrent authority of his majesty's ministers and the Court of Directors, a portion of the spoils of Seringapatam, to the value of £100,000, would be directed to be appropriated for his use, the remainder to be divided among the troops. Lord Wellesley was far from rich, but he unhesitatingly refused this tempting offer, as an encroachment on the claims of the army, and, moreover, as being an injurious precedent, likely to afford the future arbiters of peace and war, in India, pecuniary temptations to a belligerent policy. A star and badge of the order of St. Patrick, composed of some of Tippoo's jewels, was all that he accepted at the time. In 1801, an annuity of £5,000 was settled on him by the company.

Unfortunately, this memorable example of disinterestedness did not prevent some very discreditable proceedings with regard to the distribution of the prize-money; and the commander-in-chief (Harris) and six general officers (Floyd, Baird, Popham, Bridges, Stuart, and Hartley), were considered by the home authorities to have appropriated to themselves a very undue proportion; General Harris, in particular, having received one-eighth instead of one-sixteenth part of the whole. The command of Seringapatam was entrusted by Harris to Colonel Wellesley, much to the displeasure of General Baird, who exclaimed—"Before the sweat was dry on my brow, I was superseded by an inferior officer!" The governor-general showed his conviction of the propriety of the measure, by subsequently investing his brother with the superintendence of the civil government of Mysoor. As, despite his strong family affection, Lord Wellesley is universally acknowledged to have been distinguished for a judicious and impartial selection of particular men for particular positions, perfect reliance may be placed on his own assertion, that, despite the jealousy to which the appointment made by Harris would give rise among the senior officers, he confirmed, and would himself have originated it if necessary, simply because, from his "knowledge and experience of the discretion, judgment, temper, and integrity" of Colonel Wellesley, he considered him "the most proper for the service."† The generous warmth with which Lord Wellesley cherished the abilities of his younger brothers, was, it may be thought, part of his private rather than public character; but it was closely allied with the active benevolence which formed the mainspring of his whole career. The cadets of the service found themselves, for the first time, the objects of almost parental scrutiny. Talent, zeal, and industry were found to ensure a better welcome at government-house, under an administration celebrated for a singular union of oriental magnificence, patrician refinement, and scholastic lore, than patronage, high birth, or the yet more congenial aristocracy of talent could obtain, unsupported by meritorious service.

The disposition made by Lord Wellesley of the newly-conquered territory, was warmly approved in England, and excited in India a general feeling of surprise at its equity and moderation. The fortress of Vellore, in the Carnatic, was fitted up for the family of Tippoo,‡ and an allowance made for their support, more liberal than that previously assigned by him; his chief officers were all provided for by jaghires or pensions, dispensed with a well-considered munificence, which furnished a striking contrast to the parsimonious dealings of their late master. The affections of the Hindoo population were conciliated§ by an unlooked-for act of generosity. Cham Raj, the pageant-sovereign placed by Hyder on the throne of Mysoor in 1772, died of smallpox in 1796. He had been regularly exhibited in public at the annual feast called the Dussera; but Tippoo chose to dispense with the ceremony of nominating a successor, and caused the son of Cham Raj, a child of two years old, to be removed with his great-grandmother (a woman of above ninety), his grandmother, and other female relatives, from the

* Rather a doubtful advantage in the sight of the receiver, who was wont to allude to the merging of an English earldom into an Irish marquisate, as having changed his English ale into Irish buttermilk.

† Baird could not be trusted with such authority.

‡ Tippoo left three legitimate and seventeen illegitimate children; twenty-four died before him.

§ The chiefs of districts submitted cheerfully to the conquerors. The only opposition offered was that of Dhoondea Waugh, a Mahratta, who after serving under Tippoo, set up for himself as leader of a predatory band, was taken prisoner, and remained in confinement for years in the fortress of Seringapatam. Amid the general confusion of the assault he managed to escape, and soon collected round him a daring band of freebooters; nor was it until after several months' hostilities, that he was at length defeated and slain in a charge of cavalry led by Col. Wellesley.

ancient Hindoo palace to a miserable hovel, where they were found by the English authorities, in 1799, in a state of deep poverty and humiliation. Their sorrow was turned into joy and gratitude on being informed that the conquerors had resolved, not simply to restore them to liberty, but to place the young prince Kistna Raj Oodaveer on the throne* of his fathers, in their ancient capital of Mysoor, with a revenue exceeding that of the former Hindoo kingdom. The English reserved to themselves, by treaty, the right of interposing with paramount authority, in the event of any financial or political questions arising similar to those which had long distracted the Carnatic; but so far from employing their unquestioned supremacy to vest (as had been the case on former occasions) all power and profit in English functionaries, nearly every office, civil and military, was left to be filled by the natives themselves. Poornea, the experienced and trustworthy Hindoo chief minister under the usurping dynasty, was continued in office with the decided approbation of the female guardians of the young rajah. Colonel Wellesley, in all respects, but especially by judicious abstinence from needless interference, justified his selection for military commandant; while the rectitude and abilities as a linguist, of Colonel (afterwards Sir Barry) Close, facilitated his satisfactory fulfilment of the delicate position of political resident. The result was, that the Marquis Wellesley, at the close of his memorable administration, was enabled to declare, that the actual success of the arrangement of Mysoor had realised his most sanguine expectations.

Of the usurpations of Hyder, besides those restored to the Hindoo dynasty, to the value of thirteen lacs of pagodas† per annum; and after liberal provision for the families of Hyder and Tippoo, and their chief officers, a large overplus remained, the division of which, between the English and the Nizam, formed the basis of a new treaty.‡ The former took possession of the fortress, city, and island of Seringapatam, the districts of Canara, including all the sea-coast of Mysoor, together with Coimbatore and Daramporam, the intervening country between the territories of the E. I. Cy. on the Coromandel coast, and on that of Malabar; of the forts and posts forming the heads of the principal passes above the Ghauts, on the table-land of Mysoor, and the district of Wynaad. To the Nizam were given territories yielding an equal revenue with those appropriated by the English in the districts of Gooty, Goorumcondah, and the tract of country situated along the military line of Chittledroog, Sera, Nundidroog, and Colar, but without the forts, which it was considered would strengthen, to a dangerous extent, the position of a fluctuating and doubtful ally. The course to be adopted with regard to the Mahrattas, was a difficult question. The peishwa had wholly failed in his engagements of co-operation against Tippoo;§ nevertheless, the governor-general deemed it politic to offer him a share in the conquered territory on certain conditions, which he looked upon as necessary preliminaries to the establishment of a solid and satisfactory peace; especially the reception of an English subsidiary force, and an amicable adjustment, according to English arbitration, of the claim of chout

* Literally so, for he was seated on the ancient ivory throne, which Aurungzebe is said to have expressly sanctioned his ancestor in using, and which was found in a lumber-room of the palace after the siege. The throne of Tippoo was taken to pieces, its various parts forming splendid trophies of victory. The ascent to the musnud was by small silver steps on each side, its support a tiger, somewhat above the natural size, in a standing attitude, entirely covered with plates of pure gold, the eyes and teeth being represented by jewels of suitable colours. A gilded pillar supported a canopy fringed with pearls; from the centre was suspended an image of the *Uma*, a bird about the size and shape of a small pigeon, formed of diamonds, rubies, and emeralds inlaid in gold, and valued in India at 1,600 guineas. It was presented to King George III., as a fitting tribute to royalty, being generally regarded in the East as the harbinger of victory and sovereign power to the favoured individual whom it deigned to overshadow. By a singular coincidence, a bird of this "august" species (for such, according to M. d'Herbelot, is the meaning of its Persian name) built its nest in a grove of trees, under the shade of which the governor-general dictated his despatches while resident at Madras, for the purpose of more conveniently superintending the conduct of the war. The natives hailed with delight the prosperous omen, and received the tidings of the capture of Seringapatam as confirmation of the victorious augury conveyed by the presence of the Uma, which the marquis was subsequently empowered to add to his crest, with the motto, "*Super Indos protulit Imperium.*"

† A pagoda was then above eight shillings in value.

‡ The whole of Tippoo's annual revenue was estimated at 30,40,000 pagodas. To the rajah of Mysoor was assigned 13,60,000; to Nizam Ali, 5,30,000; to the E. I. Cy. 5,37,000; for the maintenance of the families of Hyder and Tippoo (in charge of the British government), 2,40,000; and for Kummur-u-Deen, commander of Tippoo's cavalry, and his family (in charge of the Nizam), 7,00,00 pagodas.—(Duff, iii., 177.)

§ Bajee Rao had actually accepted a heavy bribe from Tippoo to break faith with the English.—(Duff.)

long urged against the Nizam. These stipulations were peremptorily rejected; and the reserved districts of Harponelly, Soonda above the Ghauts, and others, equal in value to between one-half and two-thirds of the previously described portions, were thereupon shared agreeably to the articles of the partition treaty by the company and Sadut Ali.

A fresh contract was entered into between the latter parties in October, 1800, by which the Nizam, who was notoriously incapable of defending himself against the Mahrattas, purchased the services of additional troops from the company and the promise of their aid against every aggressor, by the cession of all acquisitions made from the dominions of Tippoo, either by the late treaty or that of Seringapatam in 1792. The proposition originated with the minister of the Nizam; and the governor-general prudently hastened to close an arrangement which placed the maintenance of the previously subsidised, as well as additional troops, on a more satisfactory footing than the irregular payments of a corrupt government. The countries thus ceded yielded a revenue of about 1,758,000 pagodas. By this arrangement, says Mill, "the English acquired a small territory, with the obligation of defending a large one." This is not correct, inasmuch as the company were previously bound, both by considerations of honour and policy, to protect their ally in time of need; and by the new compact they did but secure themselves against pecuniary loss in so doing. Circumstances again altered their relative positions; or, to speak more plainly, the British power, increasing in an eddying circle, manifested in this as in other cases, its inherent tendency to absorb the misgoverned and unstable principalities which sought and found in its strength temporary support, being driven by necessity, or induced by ignorance or recklessness, to adopt a procedure calculated to induce eventually their political extinction. Lord Wellesley, like many other great statesmen, anticipated but very imperfectly the result of his favourite measure. He hoped to find the subsidiary system instrumental in mitigating the turbulence of the native states of India, by controlling the sources of dissension, and encouraging and enabling minor chiefs to cultivate the arts of peace in the independent enjoyment of their respective rights.* But, in truth, the first elements of stability were wanting; and although the personal rectitude and ability of a nabob or a rajah, or their chief ministers, might for a time hold together the incongruous elements of Moslem and Hindoo communities, under an efficient rule, distinct, so far as internal regulations were concerned, from the paramount power, provided that were exercised with rigid moderation; yet the more frequent consequence of becoming subsidiary, was utter indifference on the part of the sovereign to the progress of a principality over which he had lost all absolute control; and, on the part of his subjects, contempt and indifference for his diminished power. The oriental idea of authority is identified with despotism; exercised in every variety of form, from the homeliest phase of patriarchal sway, to the unapproached grandeur of Solomon: still the same in essence—the delegated government of God. In the Christian world, despite the blinding influence of our sins and imperfections, we do recognise, by the light of the Gospel, the inestimable worth of civil liberty. The law of the land, apart from the individual who dispenses it, is the basis on which the nationality and independence of every English and American subject rests securely. But to Asiatics this is still a hard saying, and must remain so, until the same source from which we learned to realise its practical importance, be laid open to them also. If British supremacy prove, indeed, the instrument for the spiritual and moral regeneration of India, thrice blessed will be both giver and receiver. Yet whatever be the result, the immediate duty is clear—to spread the Gospel as widely as possible, and to endeavour by good government, by just laws honestly administered, by lenient taxation equitably assessed, to show our native subjects the value of the tree by its fruits.

To return to the affairs of the subsidiary states. The turbulent and dangerous character of Vizier Ali, the rival candidate for the dominion of Oude, rendered it advisable to remove his residence from Benares to Calcutta. The youth remonstrated strongly, but without effect; and while visiting, by appointment, the British resident Mr. Cherry, he spoke in violent terms of the hardship of the threatened coercion. The resident is represented to have behaved with much moderation; but Vizier Ali, giving vent to rage, started up and made a thrust at him with his sword; an example which, according to eastern custom, was immediately followed by his attendants.

* *Wellesley Despatches*, iv., 151.

Mr. Cherry was killed while attempting to escape through a window, and two of his companions shared his fate. The assassins, apparently in the hope of heading a general insurrection, hurried to the residence of the English magistrate,* who, after sending his wife and family to the terrace on the top of the house, seized a long spear, took up his position on a narrow staircase, and delayed their ascent until a party of horse arrived and put them to flight. Vizier Ali sought refuge in the woody country of Bhootwal, and being joined by several disaffected zemindars, soon mustered a considerable predatory force, wherewith to make incursions on Oude. The parsimonious and timid administration of Sadut Ali had rendered him extremely unpopular; and he urgently entreated that the English troops might be stationed immediately about his person to protect him, if need were, against his own army, whose faithlessness and disaffection likewise formed his excuse for not personally taking the field, in co-operation with his allies, against their joint foe. His assistance was not needed; Vizier Ali soon found himself abandoned by his followers, and was, in December, 1800, delivered over by the rajah of Jeypoor to the British government, and detained prisoner in Fort William.†

At the close of hostilities, the marquis pressed on the nabob the propriety of disbanding a force which, by his own showing, was worse than useless. This proposition, Sadut Ali met by a declaration of his desire to resign a position which he found full of weariness and danger. On the further development of his views, it appeared that the abdication in question was to be in favour of his son; and that in quitting the musnud, he intended to carry away the treasures and jewels inherited from Asuf-ad-Dowlah, leaving his successor to pay the arrears due to the E. I. Cy. and the native troops as best he could. These conditions were promptly rejected, and a long discussion ensued, which terminated in the disbandment of all the native troops (their arrears being first wholly liquidated), and the substitution of an additional European force (numbering, in all, 13,000 men), in return for which, the provinces of the Doab and Rohilcund‡ were conceded in perpetuity. To adjust the provisional administration of the ceded districts, three of the civil servants of the company were formed into a board of commissioners, and the Hon. Henry Wellesley nominated president and lieutenant-governor. For this appointment Lord Wellesley was blamed by the directors, as an evidence of partiality towards his brother, at the expense of the covenanted officials; but the propriety of the selection (as in the case of Colonel Wellesley in Mysoor) was amply justified by the result; and the disinterestedness (as far as regarded pecuniary motives) of both nominee and nominator was apparent, from no emolument being attached to the delicate and onerous office. By the late treaty, the tribute paid to the ruler of Oude by the nabob of Furruckabad (the Patan chief of a district in the province of Agra), was transferred to the E. I. Cy., and an arrangement made—it is said with his perfect acquiescence—by which he renounced political power, and was added to the growing list of titled stipendiaries. Several of the more powerful zemindars of the ceded territories resisted the proposed alterations, and made attempts at independence; especially Bugwunt Sing, who possessed the forts of Sasnee and Bidjeghur; the rajah Chutter Sâl; and the zemindar of Cutchoura: but they were all overpowered in the course of the years 1802—1803, and compelled to seek safety in flight.

The character of Sadut Ali was strikingly evinced, in the course of his negotiations with Lord Wellesley, by an attempt to win from the latter a sanction similar to that given to his half-brother (Azuf-ad-Dowlah), for the plunder of the begum, the grandmother of both these hopeful rulers. The intimation was met with merited disdain; but the old lady, fearing to be exposed to continuous indirect persecution, took the prudent step of ensuring the peaceable enjoyment of her personal property, by offering to constitute the company her heir—a proposition which was gladly accepted.

While these changes were taking place in Oude, others of a similar character were carried out in Tanjore and Arcot. Rajah Tuljajee died in 1787, leaving his adopted son and heir, Serfojee, a boy of ten years old, under the public tutelage of his half-brother, Ameer Sing, and the private guardianship of the missionary Swartz. Ameer Sing succeeded for a time in persuading the English authorities to treat the adoption of

* Mr. Davis, father of the present Sir J. Davis.

† Vizier Ali was afterwards removed to Vellore, where his family were permitted to join him. He died there, a natural death.—(Davis's *Memoir*.)

‡ The gross revenues of the ceded provinces were one crore, thirty-five lacs, 23,474 rupees.

his young ward as illegal, and caused him to be confined and cruelly ill-treated. The vigilance and untiring exertion of Swartz* occasioned a searching investigation, and the evidence brought forward on the matter led both Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore to consider the claims of Serfojee as well founded. The oppression exercised by Ameer Sing over the widows of the deceased rajah, was accompanied by general maladministration. During the first war with Tippoo, the management of Tanjore had been assumed by the English, as the sole means of rendering its resources available against the common foe; and on the conclusion of peace, a prolonged discussion arose concerning the propriety of restoring to power a ruler whose legal and moral claims were of so questionable a character. The supreme government, fearing to incur the imputation of excessive rigour, replaced Ameer Sing in his former position: but the home authorities do not appear to have approved of this decision; for in June, 1799, they expressly instructed Lord Wellesley not to relinquish possession of the territories of Arcot and Tanjore, which, in the event of hostilities with Tippoo, would "of course come under the company's management," without special orders to that effect. The measure thus taken for granted by the directors, had not been adopted by the governor-general, who deemed the brief and decisive character of the war a sufficient argument against a step the immediate effect of which "would have been a considerable failure of actual resources, at a period of the utmost exigency." The disputed succession afforded a better plea for the assumption of the powers of government; Ameer Sing was deposed, and Serfojee proclaimed rajah, in accordance with the terms of a treaty, dated October, 1799, by which he renounced all claim to political authority, in return for nominal rank, and the more substantial advantage of a pension of one lac of star pagodas, with a fifth of the net revenues. The assertion of complete authority over the Carnatic, was expedited by the discovery, consequent on the capture of Seringapatam, of a secret correspondence, in cypher,† carried on between Mohammed Ali and his successor, Omdut-al-Omrah, with Tippoo, in direct violation of the treaty of 1792. The conduct of the nabob during the late war, in withholding promised supplies, had given rise to suspicions of treachery which were now confirmed. His failing health induced Lord Wellesley to delay the contemplated changes; but on his death, in 1801, the dispositions made by him in favour of his illegitimate son, Ali Hoossein, a minor,‡ were set aside in favour of Azim-ad-Dowlah, a nephew of the late prince, who made over to the company all claim to real power, on condition of receiving the title of nabob, and the allotment of a fifth part of the net revenues of the Carnatic for his support. The company further engaged to provide for the family of the preceding nabobs, and to pay their debts. The government of the extensive and populous, though dilapidated city of Surat, was assumed by the company in 1800; the Mogul nabob, or governor, resigning his claims on receipt of a pension of a lac of rupees annually, in addition to a fifth of the net revenues guaranteed to him and his heirs.

The commencement of the nineteenth

* Swartz spared no pains in implanting religious principles, or in cultivating the naturally gifted intellect of Serfojee. The death of the good missionary, in 1798, prevented him from witnessing the elevation of his grateful pupil, who honoured the memory of his benefactor, less by the erection of a stately monument, than by his own life and character. Bishop Heber, in noticing the varied acquirements of Serfojee, states that he quoted Fourcroy, Lavoisier, Linnæus, and Buffon fluently; that he had "formed a more accurate judgment of the merits of Shakspeare than that so felicitously expressed by Lord Byron," and was "much respected by the English officers in the neighbourhood, as a real good judge of a horse, and a cool, bold, and deadly shot at a tiger."—(*Journal*, ii., 459.)

† The key to the cypher was found among the private papers of the sultan. The English were designated by the term *new-comers;* the Nizam, by that of *nothingness;* the Mahrattas, as *despicable.* In commenting on the disclosure of these proofs of faithlessness on the part of the nabobs of the Carnatic, as favouring the views of the directors, Mill exclaims, "Nothing surely ever was more fortunate than such a discovery at such a time." Yet, although plainly intimating the possibility of fabricating evidence to prove a lie, he is compelled, by his own truthfulness, to bear witness to the character of the great man, against whom he appears to be, on the whole, strangely prejudiced. "With regard to Lord Wellesley," he adds, "even his faults bear so little affinity with this species of vice, and his most conspicuous virtues are so directly opposed to it, that we may safely infer it to be as unlikely in his case as in any that can well be supposed, that he would fabricate evidence to attain the objects of his desire."—(vi., 312.)

‡ The governor-general was disposed to confirm the will of the late nabob in favour of Ali Hoossein, despite his illegitimacy; but his refusal (too late withdrawn) to accept the terms offered on behalf of the E.I. Cy., occasioned his being altogether set aside. He was carried off by dysentery in the following year. Ameer Sing, the deposed rajah of Tanjore, died a natural death in the commencement of 1802.

century, thus strongly marked by the extension of British power in India, is no less memorable for the bold and decisive measures of foreign policy, planned and executed by the governor-general. The threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah had been no vague rumour. A letter addressed by the Afghan leader to Lord Wellesley, peremptorily demanding the assistance of the English and their ally, the nabob vizier, in rescuing Shah Alum from the hands of the Mahrattas, and replacing him on the throne of his ancestors, had furnished ample reason for precautionary measures against the renewed incursions, under any pretext, of the dreaded Afghans. To avert this evil, there appeared no surer method than to form a close alliance with Persia; and for this purpose Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm was dispatched as British envoy, in December, 1799, to the court of Teheran, attended by a magnificent embassy. The result was completely successful. Ali Shah engaged to lay waste the country of the Afghans if ever they should invade India, and to permit no French force to form a settlement on any of the shores or islands of Persia; the English, on their part, promised to aid the Shah in the event of invasion, whether from France or Cabool. Internal dissension between Zemaun Shah and his brother Mahmood, rendered the issue of the above negotiation of less importance as regarded the Afghans, whose turbulence found vent in civil war; but the danger of French encroachments still pressed severely on the mind of the governor-general. The injury inflicted by the privateering force of the Mauritius and Bourbon upon the Indian coasting trade, and even upon that with Europe, was of serious magnitude. Between the commencement of hostilities and the close of 1800, British property, to the amount of above two million sterling, had been carried into Port St. Louis. Lord Wellesley resolved to attempt the extinction of this fertile source of disasters, by the conquest and occupation of the French islands; and, with this intent, assembled at Trincomalee* in Ceylon, a force comprising three royal regiments and 1,000 Bengal volunteers. The project fell to the ground through the pertinacity of Admiral Rainier, who declared that he could not lawfully take part in the proposed expedition, without the express sanction of the king. The favourable opportunity was lost; and French privateers continued, during several subsequent years, to harass and plunder the commercial navigation of the eastern seas. The troops assembled by the zeal of Lord Wellesley, found useful and honourable employ. He had repeatedly suggested to the home government the propriety of dispatching an Indian armament for the reinforcement of the British force in Egypt; and on the receipt of orders to that effect in 1801, 1,600 native infantry were added to the body already raised, and forwarded to Mocha as fast as transports could be provided for them.† Sir David Baird had command of the land troops; Rear-admiral Blankett, of a squadron of the company's cruisers, sent on with a small detachment as an advance guard, but Sir Home Popham was dispatched from England to direct the naval part of the expedition. The struggle was well nigh ended before their arrival, by the defeat of the French in Egypt on the 21st of March, with the loss to the victors of their brave leader, Sir Ralph Abercromby. General Baird marched from Suez to Rosetta, at the head of 7,000 men, in the hope of contributing to the capture of Alexandria; but the treaty of surrender was already in progress; and with its ratification, hostilities were brought to a close. The striking demonstration of the power of England, made by bringing together numerous and effective armaments from the east and west, to fight her battles upon the banks of the Nile, was doubtless calculated to "enhance her renown, and confirm her moral as well as political strength." Still, it is well added by Mill, that had the Anglo-Indian army been permitted to accomplish the purpose for which it was first designed by the governor-general, the conquest of the Mauritius and Bourbon would have been a more substantial though less brilliant service.

Upon the restoration of Pondicherry (in accordance with the treaty of Amiens), measures were taken by Buonaparte which amply proved the wisdom of the energetic precautions of the Marquis Wellesley against attempts for the revival of French influence in India. Seven general, and a proportionate number of inferior officers, were sent from

* Trincomalee was taken from the Dutch in 1796.

† Lord Wellesley, with his usual foresight, gave orders for the occupation of Perim, a small island in the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, the possession of which would have effectually shut up the French forces in the Red Sea, even had they passed through Egypt. The Earl of Elgin, then ambassador to the Porte, effectively co-operated with the marquis in various ways.

France with 1,400 regular troops, and £100,000 in specie. The renewal of war in Europe afforded a reason for the reoccupation of Pondicherry in 1803, and enabled the E. I. Cy. to direct undivided attention to the complicated hostilities then carried on with the Mahrattas, the only Indian people possessing in themselves resources to maintain unaided a long contest. The most vulnerable part of the British frontier lay contiguous to the country possessed by Sindia. The death of Nana Furnavees, in 1800, left this enterprising chief no formidable rival at the court of Poona; and Bajee Rao the peishwa, appeared little less entirely under his control than the pageant-emperor of Delhi. In the event, therefore, of a struggle for supremacy, arising out of the numerous causes of quarrel abounding on both sides, the Mahratta confederacy, including the rajah of Berar, the representative of the Holcar family in Malwa, and the Guicowar of Guzerat, with other leaders of minor rank, led by Sindia and the peishwa, and aided by the skill and science of French officers, could collect a force against their European rivals which it would require a costly sacrifice of blood and treasure to repel. The best mode of averting this dangerous possibility appeared to be the formation of a strict alliance with one, at least, if not with the whole of the Mahratta chiefs. The error of Hastings, in sanctioning the aggressions of Sindia in Hindoostan Proper, had furnished experience which strengthened the convictions of Lord Wellesley with regard to the policy of forming connexions with native powers, only on conditions calculated to secure an ascendancy, more or less direct, in their councils. Perfect neutrality amid scenes of foreign and domestic warfare, venality, extortion, and bloodshed, could scarcely have been recommended by considerations of duty or of policy; and such a course, even supposing it to have been practicable, must have involved the infraction of old as well as recent treaties, offensive and defensive, with the Nizam and others. As for Lord Wellesley, his clear and statesmanlike view of the case, formed after careful examination of the actual state of British power in India, was never marred by doubt or hesitation in the moment of action. Fettered by the parliamentary denunciation against the extension, under any circumstances, of the Anglo-Indian empire, yet, convinced that its foundations must be largely increased before a state of secure and tranquil authority could be reasonably expected, he was often driven to adduce secondary causes to justify measures, which might have been sufficiently vindicated on the score of political necessity, since they involved no moral wrong. The wretchedness of the people of the Carnatic and Oude, abundantly excuse the steps taken to place them under the immediate superintendence of the company, in preference to employing, or rather continuing to employ, the military force of England in riveting the chains of a foreign despotism, founded on usurpation of the worst kind, that of sworn servants betraying their master in the hour of weakness. There were no lawful heirs to these states; or, if there were, they should have been searched for in the ancient records of the Hindoos: the Mohammedans were all intruders in the first instance, and the existing leaders of every denomination, with few exceptions, rebellious subjects. Why, each one of the African chiefs, whom English colonists and Dutch boors have so unscrupulously exiled from their native territories, had more of hereditary right and constitutional privilege on his side than all the Indo-Mohammedan dynasties put together. The case of the Hindoos is widely different; but in excuse, or rather in justification, of the conduct of the company, it may be urged that they found the great majority of the native inhabitants of India, under Moslem rulers, a conquered and much-oppressed people; and that, if England do her duty as a Christian state, they will, and—with all her errors and shortcomings, it may be added, they have materially benefited by the change.

The Rajpoot states were the only ones which, although brought in collision with the Mogul empire, were never wholly absorbed in it. The Mahratta confederation had been founded on the ruins of the vast dominion won by the strong arm of Aurungzebe, and lost through persecuting bigotry and the exactions consequent on unceasing war. Sevajee and Bajee Rao (the first usurping peishwa, or prime minister) built up Mahratta power. Madhoo Rao I. arrested its dissolution; but Mahadajee Sindia, prompted by overweening ambition, enlarged his chiefdom until its overgrown dimensions exceeded in extent the whole remainder of the Mahratta empire, and threatened speedily to destroy the degree of independence still existing in Rajpootana. Dowlut Rao possessed equal ambition and energy with his

predecessor, but far less judgment and moderation. The retirement to Europe, in 1796, of the experienced and unprejudiced leader of the European trained bands, De Boigne, and the accession to authority of a French leader named Perron, with strong national feelings, gave a decidedly anti-English bias to the counsels of Dowlut Rao. The peishwa Bajee Rao, knew this, and had, in the time of Sir John Shore, courted the protection of the supreme government, as a means of securing to himself some degree of authority. The danger of provoking war, by giving offence to Sindia, induced the refusal of this request. The accession to office of Lord Wellesley was attended with a reversal of the policy of both parties. Perceiving the great advantage to be derived from the permanent settlement of a subsidiary force at Poona, the governor-general formally offered the services of a body of the company's troops, for the protection of the peishwa and the revival of the energies of his government. The very circumstance of the boon, once urgently sought, being now pressed on his acceptance, would have sufficed to ensure its rejection by so capricious and distrustful a person as Bajee Rao: but other reasons—especially the meditated departure of Sindia, to superintend his own disaffected troops in Hindoostan, and the impending war between Tippoo and the English—were not wanting to confirm his determination. The conquest of Mysoor again changed the aspect of affairs; but Bajee Rao, in accordance with the sagacious counsels of Nana Furnavees,* even after the death of the wary minister, continued to reject the alliance pressed on him by the English, until an unexpected chain of events compelled him to look to them exclusively for help and protection.

Sindia and Holcar.—A new actor had recently come forward on the stage of Mahratta politics, whose progress seemed likely to diminish the authority of Sindia, and enable Bajee Rao to exercise unquestioned supremacy at Poona. Of these anticipated results only the former was realised; the predatory chief in question, Jeswunt Rao Holcar, proving strong enough not only to harass but to defeat the troops of Sindia, and drive Bajee Rao from his capital. The founders of the Sindia and Holcar families were, it will be remembered, men of humble origin; they became distinguished as leaders of Pindarries, a class of the lowest freebooters who had from early times infested the Deccan. Bajee Rao I., though always ready to avail himself of their services for the invasion of Mogul provinces, took care to exclude such dangerous subjects from Maharashtra, by habitually stationing them in Malwa, where the power of the two leaders became paramount. The progress and history of Mahadajee Sindia has been incidentally told in previous pages; but of Mulhar Rao Holcar little mention has been made since the battle of Paniput, in 1760, when he was named as one of the few leaders who escaped the carnage of that day. Having retreated into Central India, he employed himself, during the remaining years of his life, in settling and consolidating his possessions in Malwa and the Deccan. He had established considerable influence in Jeypoor, and obtained from the rajah an annual tribute of three lacs and a-half of rupees. A considerable part of the province of Candeish had been allotted to him for the maintenance of his troops; beside which, several villages were granted, by the peishwa and the Nizam, to the females of his family. The only lineal descendant of Mulhar Rao, a vicious youth of unsound mind, succeeded his grandfather in 1766, but survived him only nine months. His mother Ahalya (pronounced *Alea*) Bye, a singularly gifted woman, declared her intention, as the sole representative of both the deceased rulers, to select a successor. Ragoba† attempted to interfere; but Madhoo Rao, with characteristic chivalry, directed his uncle to desist from further opposition to the projects of a person whose right and ability to manage affairs were alike indisputable. With the entire approbation of the leading military commanders in the army of her deceased relatives, Ahalya Bye took the reins of power in her own hands. The Mohammedan custom of rigid seclusion had happily not been imitated by Mahratta females; Ahalya Bye had therefore no conventional impediment of any kind to check the free exercise of

* Nana Furnavees was imprisoned by Sindia; but being released in 1798, on payment of ten lacs of rupees, he accepted office under Bajee Rao.

† When the power of Ahalya Bye became established, the beautiful but wicked wife of Ragoba sent a female attendant to bring her an account of the personal appearance of a princess so highly celebrated, and so universally beloved. The description of a small slight woman, with irregular features, but "a heavenly light on her countenance," set the fair *intrigante* at rest as to any rivalry in the attractions by which she set most store; and, without noticing the last part of the description, Anundee Bye remarked, "But she is not handsome, you say."

her physical or mental powers. Still there were duties inconsistent with a woman's sphere of action; and to ensure their fulfilment, she formally adopted as her son,* and elected as commander-in-chief, Tookajee Holcar, the leader of the household troops; of the same tribe, but no otherwise related to Mulhar Rao. Like our great Elizabeth, the fitness of her ministers proved the judgment of the selector. The conduct of Tookajee, during a period of above thirty years, justified the confidence reposed in him. Ahalya Bye died, aged sixty, worn out with public cares and fatigues, aggravated by domestic sorrows; but without having had, during that long interval, a single misunderstanding with her brave and honest coadjutor. The history of the life of this extraordinary woman, given by Sir John Malcolm, affords evidence of the habitual exercise of the loftiest virtues; and it is difficult to say, whether manly resolve or feminine gentleness predominated, so marvellously were they blended in her character. The utter absence of vanity, whether as a queen or a woman;† the fearless and strictly conscientious exercise of despotic power, combined with the most unaffected humility and the deepest sympathy for suffering; learning without pedantry, cheerfulness without levity, immaculate rectitude with perfect charity and tolerance;—these and other singular combinations would almost tempt one to regard Ahalya Bye as too faultless for fallen and sinful humanity, but for the few drawbacks entailed by her rigid adherence to almost every portion of the modern Brahminical creed, in which, happily, persecution has still no part, though self-inflicted austerities and superstitious observances have gained a most undue prominence. The declining age of the princess was saddened by the resolution taken by her only surviving child, Muchta Bye, of self-immolation on the grave of her husband. The battle-field had widowed Ahalya Bye at twenty; yet—despite the modern heresy of the Hindoos, that the voluntary sacrifice of life, on the part of the bereaved survivor, ensures immediate reunion between those whom death has divided, and their mutual entrance into the highest heaven, she had not been tempted by this lying doctrine to commit suicide, but had lived to protect her children and establish the independence of the Holcar principality. Now, flinging herself at the feet of Muchta Bye, she besought her child, by every argument a false creed could sanction, to renounce her purpose. The reply of the daughter was affectionate but decided. "You are old, mother," she said, "and a few years will end your pious life. My only child and husband are gone, and when you follow, life I feel will be insupportable; but the opportunity of terminating it with honour will then have passed." Every effort, short of coercion, was vainly practised to prevent the intended "*suttee*;"‡ but the unfaltering resolve of the devoted widow remained unshaken, and her wretched parent accompanied the procession, with forced composure, to the funeral pyre: but when the first vivid burst of flame told of the actual consummation of the sacrifice, self-command was lost in anguish; the agonising shrieks of their beloved ruler mingled with the exulting shouts of the immense multitude; and excited almost to madness, the aged princess gnawed the hands she could not liberate from the two Brahmins, who with difficulty held her back from rushing to die with her child. After three days spent in fasting and speechless grief, Ahalya Bye recovered her equanimity so far as to resume her laborious round of daily occupations, including four hours spent in receiving ambassadors, hearing petitions or complaints, and transacting other business in full durbar or court; and she seemed to find solace in erecting a beautiful monument to the memory of those she lamented, and in increasing the already large proportion of the revenues devoted to religious purposes and public works. Her charity was not bounded by the limits of the principality: it began at home (for she fed her own poor daily), but it extended to far-distant lands. The pilgrim journeying to Juggernaut in Cuttack, in the far north amid the snowy peaks of the Himalaya, or south almost to Cape Comorin, found cause to bless the sympathy for individual suffering, as well as the reverence for holy shrines, manifested by Ahalya Bye with royal munificence; while the strange traveller, without claim of creed or country, was arrested

* Although Tookajee always addressed her by the name of "mother," he was considerably her senior.

† A Brahmin wrote a book in her praise. Ahalya Bye, after patiently hearing it read, remarked, that she was "a weak, sinful woman, not deserving such fine encomiums," directed the book to be thrown into the Nerbudda, which flowed beneath her palace window, and took no farther notice of the author.—(Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 193.)

‡ *Suttee* or *sati*, denotes the completed sacrifice.

on his weary, dusty road, by water-bearers stationed at intervals to supply the wants of the passer-by; and the very oxen near her dwelling at Mhysir, were refreshed by cooling draughts brought by the domestic servants of the compassionate princess.

The beasts of the field, the birds of the air, the fishes of the sea, had all their allotted share of her bounty; and however puerile some of her minor arrangements may sound to European ears, or fanatical the habits of a sovereign who never discarded the plain white weeds of Hindoo widowhood, or touched animal food; yet, probably, these very traits of character conspired to add to the reputation her government retains in Malwa as the best ever known, the personal reverence paid to her memory as more than a saint, as an Avatar, or incarnation of the Deity.

A blessing rested on the efforts of Ahalya Bye, despite the fettering power of heathen darkness. Indore grew, beneath her sway, from a village to a wealthy city; bankers, merchants, farmers, and peasants, all throve beneath her vigilant and fostering care. Malcolm states, that he made inquiries among all ranks and classes in the countries she had governed, and could elicit no information calculated to detract, in the judgment of the most impartial inquirer, from the effect of the eulogiums, or rather blessings, poured forth whenever her name was mentioned, except the large sums bestowed on Brahmins, and the expenditure of state funds in the erection and maintenance of public works on foreign soil. The remarks made by one of her chief ministers, when commenting on what Sir John considered misdirected bounty, afford a suggestive text alike to eastern and western potentates. He asked, "whether Ahalya Bye, by spending double the money on an army that she did in charity and good works, could have preserved her country for above thirty years in a state of profound peace, while she rendered her subjects happy and herself adored? No person doubts the sincerity of her piety; but if she had merely possessed worldly wisdom, she could have devised no means so admirably calculated to effect the object. Among the princes of her own nation, it would have been looked upon as sacrilege to have become her enemy, or, indeed, not to have defended her against any hostile attempt. She was considered by all in the same light. The Nizam of the Deccan and Tippoo Sultan granted her the same respect as the peishwa, and Mohammedans joined with Hindoos in prayers for her long life and prosperity."*

After the death of Ahalya Bye, in 1795, the sole authority centred in Tookajee Holcar, who survived his excellent mistress about two years. He left two legitimate sons, Casee and Mulhar Rao. The elder was of weak intellect and deformed person; the younger, able and active. Ahalya Bye and Tookajee had hoped that the example of their unanimity would be followed by the brothers in the joint exercise of authority, but neither of the princes were capable of the self-denial and lofty rectitude necessary for such a course; and preparations for a war of succession were at once commenced, but abruptly terminated by the treacherous interference of Dowlut Rao Sindia, who having inveigled Mulhar Rao to his camp, caused him to be shot through the head; and retaining possession of Casee Rao, not only compelled him to pay the heavy price stipulated for the murder of his brother, but reduced him to the condition of a mere tool. An avenger arose unexpectedly to scourge the unprincipled ambition of Sindia. Two illegitimate sons of Holcar, Jeswunt Rao and Etojee, survived their father; the latter was seized and imprisoned by Sindia and Bajee Rao. He escaped and joined a body of freebooters; but being recaptured, was trampled to death by an elephant in the city of Poona. Jeswunt Rao sought refuge at Nagpoor with Ragojee Bhonslay of Berar. His confidence was betrayed; and through the intrigues of Sindia and the peishwa, he also was made a captive, but succeeded in eluding his guard, and reaching Candeish about a year and a-half after the death of Mulhar Rao. Resolved to make an effort to rescue the possessions of his family from the hands of Sindia, he took the name of assertor of the rights of Kundee Rao, the infant son of Mulhar Rao, then a prisoner at Poona, and assembled a heterogeneous force of Pindarries, Bheels, Afghans, Mahrattas, and Rajpoots. In 1798, he joined his fortunes with those of Ameer Khan, a Mohammedan adventurer, less daring and reckless, but quite as unprincipled as himself, on whom he subsequently conferred the title of nabob. A terrible series of hostilities ensued between Sindia and Holcar. From the appearance of the latter chief, in 1800, the natives of Central India date the commencement of

* Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 189.

an epoch of eighteen years' duration, which they emphatically designate "the time of trouble." The trained battalions of Sindia were defeated, and his capital, Oojein, and other chief places, captured and rifled by Holcar and Ameer Khan, with a barbarity which was horribly revenged on the wretched inhabitants of Indore by the instrumentality of Sirjee Rao Ghatkay, the father-in-law of Sindia, and the prompter as well as executor of his worst actions. Between four and five thousand persons are said to have perished by the sword, or under tortures inflicted by the ferocious Pindarries, for the express gratification of their diabolical leader; and the wells within the limits of Indore were actually choked up by the bodies of females, who had rushed on death to avoid the lust and cruelty which reigned unchecked for a period of fifteen days, and ended only with the slaughter or flight of almost every citizen, and the demolition of every house. Jeswunt Rao, with Indore, lost his only means of giving regular pay to his soldiers. Without attempting disguise, he told them the actual state of the case, and bade such as chose follow his fortunes in quest of plunder. The invitation was accepted with acclamation, and Jeswunt Rao became avowedly the leader of an army of freebooters, whose worst licentiousness he directed rather than curbed, and whose turbulence he bent to his will by the habitual display of the dauntless courage which formed the distinguishing characteristic of his family, and by the coarse humour and inimitable cajolery peculiar to himself.* His declared object was the restoration of Mahratta supremacy over India by a revival of the predatory system of Sevajee; but of this there was never any reasonable prospect. Jeswunt Rao was not the man to found a state even on the most precarious basis; he was "terrible as a destroyer," but powerless to erect or consolidate dominion.

The marauding force increased daily. Sindia renounced the cause of Casee Rao (who became thenceforth a dependent on his half-brother), and would have willingly purchased peace by the surrender of the infant Kundee Rao; but Holcar knew his strength, and had, besides, gone too far to recede with safety. A desperate contest took place between the two chiefs near Poona, in October, 1802, when the personal exertions of Jeswunt Rao, who had staked his all on the event, with the determination of not surviving defeat, resulted in a complete victory. By turning his own guns on the ungovernable Patans of Ameer Khan, who was quite unable to check their violence,† Holcar saved the city from indiscriminate pillage; not, however, from any motive of justice or compassion, but only that he might be enabled to plunder it systematically and at leisure, for the payment of the arrears of his troops and the replenishment of his private coffers. After committing every description of extortion, and giving, in his own person, an example of hard-drinking, by unrestrained indulgence in his favourite liquors, cherry and raspberry brandy, he left Amrut Rao (Ragoba's adopted son) in charge of the government, and marched off to pursue his marauding avocations in Central India.

The triumph of Holcar completely changed the relative position of Bajee Rao and the English. Surrounded by a select body of troops, the peishwa waited the result of the contest; and when it was decided, fled from Poona, leaving with the British resident a draft treaty for the company, requesting the permanent establishment of a subsidiary force within his dominions, and proffering in return the assignment of a certain amount of territory, and a pledge to hold no intercourse with other states, except in concert with the English. The treaty of Bassein, arranged on this basis, was concluded in 1802. It entailed the subjection of the claims of the peishwa on the Nizam, and on Anund Rao Guicowar, the chief of Baroda in Guzerat, with whom the English had recently become closely allied; their interference having been solicited in

* The following anecdote indicates that, with all his vices, Jeswunt Rao was not what a modern writer designates a *sham*. At an early period of his career, the accidental bursting of a matchlock deprived him of the sight of an eye. When told of the irreparable injury inflicted, he exclaimed, in allusion to the Indian proverb that one-eyed people are always wicked—"I was bad enough before, but now I shall be the very Gooroo (high-priest) of rogues." He had no religious scruples, but would plunder temples and private dwellings with equal indifference. The madness in which his career ended, is regarded as the punishment of sacrilege.

† Ameer Khan had little personal courage. After the battle of Poona he came to Jeswunt Rao, who was tying up his wounds, and boasted of good fortune in escaping unhurt; "for, see!" he said, pointing to the feather mounted in silver, which adorned his horse's head, "my khuljee has been broken by a cannon-ball." "Well, you are a fortunate fellow," retorted the Mahratta, with a burst of incredulous laughter; "for I observe the shot has left the ears of your steed uninjured, though the wounded ornament stood betwixt them." — (*Central India*, i., 229.)

favour of the legitimate heir in a case of disputed succession. These concessions involved a heavy sacrifice of political power; but they were slight compared with those which would have been exacted by Sindia or Holcar; and Bajee Rao could scarcely fail to fall into the hands of one or other of these leaders, if not upheld by extraneous support. Like his father, he had few personal friends, and so little deserving the name of a party at Poona, that the governor-general, on discovering his unpopularity, appears to have doubted what course to pursue with regard to his reinstatement on the musnud. The treaty had been entered upon in the belief that the majority of the jaghiredars, and the great mass of the nation, would co-operate with the English for the restoration of the peishwa. But if his weakness or wickedness had thoroughly alienated their confidence, the case was different; and Lord Wellesley plainly declared, that "justice and wisdom would forbid any attempt to impose upon the Mahrattas a ruler whose restoration to authority was adverse to every class of his subjects."

In the absence of any general manifestation of disaffection, Bajee Rao was escorted by an English force to the capital from whence he had fled with so little ceremony. Amrut Rao retired on learning his approach, and eventually became a state pensioner, resident at Benares. Tranquillity seemed restored. There could be no doubt that Holcar, Sindia, and Ragojee Bhonslay of Berar, would all feel mortified by a treaty which gave the English that very ascendancy in the councils of Poona they, or at least Sindia and Holcar, individually coveted. Still Lord Wellesley considered that their mutual deep-rooted enmity would prevent a coalition for so desperate an object as war with the English. Perhaps the result would have realised these anticipations had Bajee Rao been true to his engagements; instead of which, he behaved with accustomed duplicity, and corresponded with both Sindia and Ragojee Bhonslay, to whom he represented his recent voluntary agreement as wholly compulsory, and endeavoured to incite them to hostilities, trusting to the chapter of accidents for the improvement of his own position. Yet, when the moment for action came, his schemes were lost in timidity and indecision: he would not trust others; he could not trust himself.

Holcar had heretofore expressly disavowed any unfriendly feeling towards the English;* and they would willingly have mediated between him and the peishwa, had the rancorous animosity of the latter suffered them to enter upon the negotiation. Sindia courted the co-operation of Holcar through the instrumentality of Ragojee Bhonslay, and went so far as to surrender the child Kundee Rao, and acknowledge Mulhar Rao as the representative of the Holcar family, surrendering to him their territories in Malwa, and recognising his various claims throughout Hindoostan. Despite these concessions, the robber-chief hung back; and when pressed by the confederates to unite his army with theirs in the Deccan, with a view to making war upon the E. I. Cy., he asked who was to take care of Northern India? and withdrew to pillage the defenceless provinces of friend and foe.

The gathering storm did not escape the observation of the governor-general. Hostile preparations were commenced in every part of British India, and a declaration of his intentions demanded from Sindia; who replied curtly, yet candidly, that he could not give any until after an approaching interview with the Bhonslay; but would then inform the resident "whether it would be peace or war." This pledge was not redeemed; the meeting took place, and was followed by vague and general professions of good-will to the British government, mingled with complaints against the peishwa for an undue assumption of authority in signing the treaty of Bassein. The civil expressions of the chiefs ill accorded with the hostile and menacing attitude occupied by their armies on the frontiers of Oude. Major-general Wellesley, to whom his brother had delegated full powers, political as well as military, either for negotiation or war, brought matters to an issue with characteristic frankness, by proposing as a test of the amicable intentions of the two chiefs, that they should respectively withdraw their forces, pledging himself to do the same on the part of the English. The offer being rejected, the British resident was with-

* The day after the taking of Poona, Col. Close, the British resident, was sent for by Holcar, whom he found in a small tent ankle-deep in mud, with a spear wound in the body and a sabre-cut in the head; which last he had received from an artilleryman while leading a charge on the guns of the enemy. He expressed a strong wish to be on good terms with the English, and, with reluctance, permitted the withdrawal of the resident, after which the worst outrages were committed at Poona.

drawn, and preparations made on both sides for an appeal to arms.

Mahratta War.—The governor-general well knew that the finances of his employers were in no condition to endure the drain of protracted warfare, and he resolved to follow out the policy so brilliantly successful in the Mysoor campaign, of bringing the whole force of British India to bear on the enemy; not, however, by concentration on a single point, but by attacking their territories in every quarter at the same time.

The army, by his exertions, was raised to nearly 50,000 men. The troops in the Deccan and Guzerat numbered 35,600, of whom 16,850 formed the advanced force under General Wellesley; in Hindoostan, 10,500 men were under the command of General (afterwards Lord) Lake; 3,500 were assembled at Allahabad to act on the side of Bundelcund; and 5,216 were destined for the invasion of Cuttack. The armies of Sindia and Ragojee were estimated at about 100,000 men, of whom half were cavalry; and 30,000 regular infantry and cavalry, commanded by Europeans, chiefly French, under M. Perron, the successor of De Boigne. Himmut Bahadur, an influential Mahratta chief of Bundelcund,* sided with the English against the rajah, Shumsheer Bahadur. The campaign opened by the conquest, or rather occupation, of Ahmednuggur, the ancient capital of the Ahmed Shahi dynasty, on the 1st of August, 1803. The army under Major-general Wellesley, by whom it was accomplished, after much marching and counter-marching, fought the famous battle of Assaye, so named from a fortified village (near the junction of the Kailna and Juah rivers, 261 miles north-west of Hydrabad), before which the confederates had encamped 21st August, 1803. They numbered 50,000 men, and were supported by above a hundred pieces of artillery. The British counted but 4,500 men; and their leader beheld with anxiety the strength of the foe, even though, on finding the Mahrattas at length drawn up in battle array, the exulting remark re-echoed through the ranks—"They cannot escape us." While the British lines were forming, the Mahrattas opened a murderous cannonade. The 74th regiment sustained heavy loss, and were charged by a body of the enemy's horse. The 19th light dragoons drew only 360 sabres, but they received the order for a counter-charge with a glad huzza; and being manfully seconded by native cavalry, passed through the broken but undismayed 74th amid the cheers of their wounded comrades, cut in, routed the opposing horse, and dashed on at the infantry and guns. The troops of the line pressed on after them, and drove the enemy into the Juah at the point of the bayonet. The victory was complete, but dearly purchased; for one-third of the conquerors lay dead or wounded at the close of this sanguinary action. Of the Mahrattas, 1,200 were slain; the bodies of the fallen were scattered around in dense masses, and ninety-eight pieces of cannon remained on the field. Ragojee Bhonslay fled at an early period of the action, and Sindia soon followed his example. The cavalry evinced little inclination to out-stay their masters; but the infantry behaved with greater steadiness; the artillerymen stood to the last, and eight of the trained battalions of De Boigne manifested unflinching determination. When resistance became hopeless, the majority surrendered.†

In the meantime, success still more brilliant in its results had attended the army under Lake, who was himself the very model of a popular commander, as brave and collected in the front of the battle as in a council of his own officers. The destruction of Sindia's force under Perron, the capture of Agra and Delhi, with the person of the emperor—these were the leading objects to which he was to direct operations; and they were all so perfectly fulfilled, that the governor-general declared, his most sanguine expectations having been realised, he was unexpectedly called on to furnish fresh instructions. General Lake first came in sight of the enemy's cavalry at Coel, near the fort of Alighur, whither they retired after a slight skirmish. Alighur, the ordinary residence of M. Perron, was, in his absence, bravely defended by the governor, M. Pedrons. It was well garrisoned, and surrounded by a

* The ancient Hindoo dynasty of Bundelcund, of which Chutter Sâl was the last efficient representative, was overwhelmed by the Mahrattas about 1786. Shumsheer Bahadur was an illegitimate descendant of the first peishwa, Bajee Rao. Himmut Bahadur, by a not unfrequent combination, was a *gosaen* (religious devotee) and a soldier of fortune.—(*Duff.*)

† The fidelity of these mercenary troops is rendered more remarkable by the fact, that a politic proclamation, issued by the governor-general at the commencement of the war, had had the effect of inducing the British part of the European officers to quit the service of Sindia, on condition of the continuance of the pay previously received from him.

deep and wide moat, traversed by a narrow causeway, which formed the sole entrance to the fort, and for which, by some strange neglect, a drawbridge had not been substituted. One of the British officers who had come over from the service of Sindia, offered to head an attack on the gateway. The daring enterprise was carried out. Of four gates, the first was blown open by troops exposed to a heavy fire; the second easily forced; the third entered with a mass of fugitives; but the fourth, which opened immediately into the body of the place, resisted even the application of a 12-pounder. In this extremity, a party of grenadiers, led by Major M'Leod, pushed through the wicket and mounted the ramparts. Opposition soon ceased, and the British found themselves masters of the fortress, with the loss of 278 men killed and wounded, including seventeen European officers. Of the garrison, about 2,000 perished; many of whom were drowned in the ditch while attempting to escape.

From Alighur, Lake marched to the north-westward, and on the 11th of September, encamped within six miles of Delhi. The tents were scarcely fixed, when the enemy appeared in front. Perron had just quitted the service of Sindia, in consequence of the well-founded jealousy manifested towards him by that chief and the leading native officers. M. Bourquin, the second in command, took his place; and on learning the advance of the British against Delhi, crossed the Jumna with twelve battalions of regular infantry, and 5,000 cavalry, for the purpose of attacking General Lake, whose force, after providing for the safety of his baggage, amounted to about 4,500 men. Bourquin took up a position on rising ground, with swamps on either side, defended in front by seventy pieces of cannon, half-buried amid long grass. From this secure station he was withdrawn by a feint, which, with less highly disciplined troops, would have been very hazardous. Lake advanced to reconnoitre, and after having a horse shot under him, fell back with the cavalry in regular order upon the infantry, who had been meanwhile ordered to advance. The enemy followed the retreating cavalry, until the latter, opening from the centre, made way for the foot to advance to the front. Perceiving the trap into which he had fallen, Bourquin halted, and commenced a deadly fire of grape, round, and canister; amidst which the British troops moved on without returning a shot until within one hundred yards of the foe; they then fired a volley, and charged with the bayonet. Sindia's infantry, unequal to a hand-in-hand encounter, abandoned their guns, fled, and were pursued as far as the banks of the Jumna, in which river numbers perished. The total loss of the Mahrattas was estimated at 3,000; that of the British at 585, including fifteen European officers.

After being seventeen hours under arms, the troops took up fresh ground towards the river, and next morning encamped opposite the city of Delhi. In three days every show of resistance ceased, the fort was evacuated, Bourquin and five other French officers surrendered as prisoners of war, and the unfortunate Shah Alum thankfully placed himself under the protection of the British commander, September 10th, 1803.* General Lake next marched against Agra, where all was strife and confusion. The garrison had been under the command of British officers, who, on the breaking out of the war, were confined by their own troops. Seven battalions of Sindia's regular infantry were encamped on the glacis, but the besieged feared to admit them, on account of the treasure which they wished to reserve for themselves. The battalions were attacked on the 10th of October, and defeated after a severe conflict; three days afterwards, those who remained came over in a body, and were admitted into the E. I. Cy's service. The siege of the fort was then commenced, and a breach effected, when further proceedings were arrested by the capitulation of the garrison, the imprisoned officers being released, in order to make terms with their countrymen. The surrender was accomplished on condition of safety for life and private property, leaving treasure to the amount of £280,000 to be divided among the troops as prize-money.

It is almost impossible to sketch a campaign carried on simultaneously by different widely-separated armies, without losing the thread of the narrative, or interfering with the chronological succession of events. Choosing the latter as the lesser evil, it may be mentioned that, towards the close of October, General Lake quitted Agra in pursuit of a large force, composed of fifteen

* General Lake found Shah Alum seated under a small tattered canopy, his person emaciated by indigence and infirmity, and his countenance disfigured with the loss of his eyes, and bearing marks of extreme old age, joined to a settled melancholy.

regular battalions, dispatched by Sindia from the Deccan to strengthen his northern army; of which there now remained but two battalions, the wreck of the Delhi troops. The total was, however, formidable; being estimated at about 9,000 foot and 5,000 horse, with a numerous and well-appointed train of artillery. Their design was supposed to be the recovery of Delhi; but as the British advanced, the Mahrattas retreated; and Lake, fearing they would escape his vigilance, and suddenly reappear in some unlooked-for quarter, followed with his cavalry by forced marches, until, on the 1st of November, he found himself, after a night's journey of twenty-five miles, in face of an enemy in apparent confusion, but advantageously posted, and refreshed by rest. After an ineffectual and disastrous attempt at attack, the British general was compelled to withdraw his brigade out of reach of cannon-shot, and await the arrival of the infantry. The details of this portion of the action are somewhat vaguely told. The 76th regiment, which was chosen to head the attack, with some native infantry,* who had closed to the front, first reached the point from which the charge was to be made, and stood alone, waiting until the remainder of the column should be formed by their comrades, whose march "had been retarded by impediments in the advance,"† the nature of which is not stated. So galling was the fire opened by the enemy, that Lake, who conducted in person every operation of the day, and had already had one horse shot under him, resolved to lead the van to the assault, sooner than stand still and witness its destruction. At this moment his second horse fell, pierced by several balls. His son, who officiated as aide-de-camp, sprang to the ground, and had just prevailed on the general to take the vacant seat, when he was struck down by a ball. Lake had a singularly affectionate nature; the fall of his child, severely if not mortally wounded, was well calculated to unnerve, or, in his own phrase, "unman" him; but he knew his duty, and loved the troops, who, he writes with unaffected modesty, "at this time wanted every assistance I could give them."‡ Leaving Major Lake on the field, the general rode on with his gallant band, until, on arriving within reach of the canister-shot of the foe, their ranks were so rapidly thinned as to render regular advance impracticable, and tempt the Mahratta horse to charge. But this "handful of heroes," as they were gratefully termed by Lake, himself "*le brave des braves*," repulsed their assailants, who withdrew to a little distance. The order to the British horse to charge in turn, was brilliantly executed by the 29th dragoons. They dashed through both lines of the opposing infantry, wheeled round upon the cavalry, and, after driving them from the field, turned the rear of the enemy's second line. The British foot failed not to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded. The whole force had by this time arrived on the field of battle, and the issue soon ceased to be doubtful; yet the hardy veterans of De Boigne's regiments, though deprived of almost all their experienced officers, would not surrender. About 2,000 of them were broken, surrounded and made prisoners, but the majority fell with weapons in their hands. "The gunners," writes the victorious general, "stood by their guns until killed by the bayonet: all the sepoys of the enemy behaved exceedingly well; and, if they had been commanded by French officers, the event would have been, I fear, extremely doubtful. I never was in so severe a business in my life, or anything like it; and pray to God I never may be in such a situation again. * * * These fellows fought like devils, or rather heroes."§

The battle of Laswaree was in all respects memorable. It completed the overthrow of the European disciplined brigades, and gave to England undisputed mastery over Delhi and Agra, with all Sindia's districts north of the Chumbul. These advantages were gained at a heavy sacrifice of life. The English loss amounted to 172 killed and 652 wounded: that of the Mahrattas was estimated at 7,000.||

The detached expeditions had likewise successfully accomplished their respective missions. All Sindia's possessions in Guzerat were captured by a division of the Bombay troops under Lieutenant-colonel Woodington. Broach was taken by storm on the 29th of August; and the strong hill-

* The second battalion of the 12th native infantry, and five companies of the 16th.—(Thornton, iii. 338.)

† Despatch of Lake to the governor-general.—(*Wellesley Despatches*, vol. iii., 443.)

‡ *Wellesley Despatches*, iii., 446.

§ *Idem*, p. 446. General Lake, habitually so ready to praise others, barely notices his own gallant deeds or those of his son: but he mentions, the day after the battle, that parental anxiety rendered him "totally unfit for anything." Happily, Major Lake's wound proved less severe than was at first expected.

|| *Memoir of the Campaign;* by Major Thorn.

fort of Powanghur, which overlooked the town of Champaneer, surrendered on the 17th of September.

The seizure of Cuttack was accomplished by detachments of the Madras and Bengal forces under Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt. The Brahmins of Juggernaut placed their famous pagoda under the protection of the British on the 18th of September; and the fall of Barabuttee, the fort of Cuttack, on the 14th of October, completed the reduction of the whole province.

In the subjection of Bundelcund, Lieutenant-colonel Powell was materially aided by Himmut Bahadur, the Hindoo leader previously mentioned, who joined the British detachment in the middle of September, with a force of about 14,000 men. The army of Shumsheer Bahadur made but feeble resistance, and on the 13th of October was driven across the river Betwa. Their chief eventually became a British stipendiary.

The concluding operations of the war were performed by the army under Major-general Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson. A detachment under the latter leader took possession of Boorhanpoor on the 15th of October, and two days after marched to besiege Aseerghur, called by the natives "the key of the Deccan." The fortress surrendered on the 21st, and with it the conquerors became masters of Sindia's Deccani possessions, including several dependent districts in Candeish. After a short time spent in pursuing the rajah of Berar, who retreated to his own dominions, and in receiving some overtures for peace, of an unsatisfactory character, from Sindia, General Wellesley descended the Ghauts on the 25th of November, with the intention of assisting Stevenson in the projected siege of Gawilghur. The junction was effected on the 29th of August, near the plains of Argaum, where the British commander, on reconnoitring, perceived with surprise the main army of the Berar rajah, comprising infantry, cavalry, and artillery, regularly drawn up, about six miles from the spot where he had himself intended to encamp. Sindia's force, consisting of one very heavy corps of cavalry, a body of Pindarries, and other light troops, supported those of Berar. It was late in the day, and the English were wearied with a long march under a burning sun; yet their leader thought it best to take advantage of the opportunity rarely afforded of meeting the Mahrattas in a pitched battle. Forming two lines of infantry and cavalry, Major-general Wellesley advanced to the attack. A body of 500 foot, supposed to have been Persian mercenaries, rushed upon the 74th and 78th regiments with desperation, and were destroyed to a man. Sindia's horse charged the British sepoys, but were repulsed; after which the ranks of the enemy fell into confusion and fled, pursued by the British cavalry, assisted by auxiliary bodies of Mysoor and Mogul horse. The loss of the victors, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 346 men; that of the Mahrattas is nowhere stated, but must have been very considerable.

The siege of Gawilghur, invested on the 5th of December, involved no ordinary amount of labour and fatigue, in consequence of the difficulty of carrying the guns and stores to the point of attack. The outer fort was taken by storm on the 15th; the inner fort was escaladed by the light company of the 94th, headed by Captain Campbell, who opened the gates and admitted the rest of the assailants.*

The confederate chieftains had by this time become extremely solicitous for the termination of war. The rajah of Berar dispatched vakeels or envoys to the British camp the day after the battle of Argaum; but in consequence of the inveterate manœuvring and procrastination of the Mahrattas, even when really desirous of concluding a treaty, affairs were not finally arranged until the 17th of December. By the treaty of Deogaum, then signed, the rajah consented to surrender the province of Cuttack, including the district of Balasore, to the company, and to relinquish to the Nizam certain revenues extorted from him on various pretences. He further pledged himself to submit all differences which might arise between him and the Nizam or the peishwa to British arbitration, and promised to receive into his service no European or American subject of any state at war with the English, nor even any Englishman, without the express sanction of the governor-general.

Sindia had now no alternative but to

* The defence had been gallantly conducted by two Rajpoot leaders, whose bodies were found amid a heap of slain. Their wives and daughters were intended to have all shared their fate; but the terrible order had been imperfectly performed with steel weapons, instead of by the usual method of fire; and though several died, the majority being carefully tended, recovered of their wounds.—(*Wellesley Desp.*)

make peace on such terms as the conquerors thought fit to grant; and on the 30th of December he signed the treaty of Surjee Anjengaum in the British camp, by which he ceded his rights over the country between the Jumna and the Ganges (including the cities of Delhi and Agra), and to the northward of the Rajpoot principalities of Jeypoor and Joudpoor; also the forts of Ahmedabad and Broach, with their dependent districts. On the south he yielded Ahmednuggur to the peishwa, and some extensive districts to the Nizam. In return, the leading places conquered during the war, not above named, were restored to him. Shortly after this arrangement, Sindia entered the general alliance of which the British government formed the dominant portion, and agreed to receive a subsidiary British force, whose expenses were to be furnished from the revenue of the territories already ceded.

The leading objects of the war had been fully carried out, in accordance with the plans of the governor-general. Among the less conspicuous but important services rendered by Lake, were the formation of alliances with the rajahs of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, Boondi, and Macherry; with the Jat rajah of Bhurtpoor, the rana of Gohud, and Ambajee Inglia, the unfaithful successor of Perron in the service of Siudia.* Lord Wellesley was anxious to maintain the independence of the Rajpoot principalities against Mahratta aggressions, both as a matter of justice and policy. Their territories were guaranteed to them against external enemies, with immunity from tribute; but they were not to receive European officers into their service without the sanction of the British government, and were to defray the expense of any auxiliary force required to repel invaders from their dominions.

War with Holcar.—Despite so many brilliant victories, attended with such substantial results, the British armies could not quit the field. During the recent hostilities, Holcar had remained in Malwa, levying enormous contributions upon the adjoining provinces. The success of the British arms seems to have convinced him of his mistake in neglecting to co-operate with chiefs of his own nation against a power whose efforts were steadily directed to the suppression of the predatory warfare by which he had reached, and could alone expect to maintain, his present position. When too late he bestirred himself to negotiate with the Rajpoots, the Bhurtpoor rajah, the Rohillas, the Seiks, and finally with Sindia, whom he recommended to break the humiliating treaty he had recently formed, and renew the war. But Sindia had suffered too severely in the late hostilities to provoke their repetitiou; and being, moreover, exasperated by the time-serving policy of Holcar,† he communicated these overtures to Major Malcolm, then resident in his camp. The inimical feelings entertained by Holcar, had been already manifested by the murder of three British officers in his service, on a false charge that one of them had corresponded with the commander-in-chief. Still it seemed highly improbable that he could seriously intend flinging the gauntlet at a nation whose military achievements had become the theme of every tongue in India; aud the English authorities, anxious to bring matters to a speedy and amicable conclusion, invited him to send commissioners to their camp, to explain his views and desires. The Mahrattas are ever apt to treat conciliatory measures as symptomatic of weakness; and Holcar was probably influenced by some such consideration in framing the conditions for which his vakeels were instructed to stipulate with General Lake as the terms of peace, and which included leave to collect *chout* according to the custom of his ancestors, with the cession of Etawa and various other districts in the Doab and Bundelcund, formerly held by his family. Holcar had not without reason blamed Sindia for too exclusive attention to the rules of European discipline, and the neglect of the guerilla warfare which Sevajee and Bajee Rao had waged successfully against Aurungzebe. This was the weapon with which he now menaced the English, in the event of non-compliance with his demands. "Although unable," he said, "to oppose their artillery in the field, countries of many coss should be overruu, and plundered, and burnt; Lake should not have leisure to breathe for a moment, and calamities would fall on lacs of human beings in continued war by the attacks of his army, which would overwhelm like the waves of the sea."

* Sindia seized the Gohud province, and gave it in chasge to Ambajee Inglia, who went over to the English. They kept Gwalior, and divided the rest of the province between the rana and Inglia.

† Ameer Khan was actually dispatched by Holcar to co-operate with Sindia; but the news of the battle of Assaye reached him on the march, and he returned as he came.—(Ameer Khan's *Memoirs*.)

Such a menace, from one of the most reckless and powerful marauders by whom the timid peasantry of Hindoostan were ever scourged, was tantamount to a declaration of war—a formality which, it may be remarked, forms no part of Mahratta warfare. Yet it was not till further indications appeared of his intention to commence hostilities at the first convenient moment, that the negotiation, which Holcar desired to gain time by protracting, was broken off, and Lord Lake and Major-general Wellesley directed to commence operations against him both in the north and the south. The governor-general entered on this new war with unaffected reluctance. Once commenced, it could not be arrested by an accommodation such as that entered into with Sindia; for a predatory power must, he thought, be completely neutralised, in justice to the peaceable subjects of more civilised governments. It was important to secure the cordial co-operation of the subsidiary and allied states against the common foe; and this was effected by the declaration of Lord Wellesley—that all territory conquered from Holcar should be divided among the British auxiliaries without reserve.

The opening of the campaign was disastrous. Major-general Wellesley could not advance in consequence of a famine which prevailed in the Deccan. Lake, after storming the fort of Rampoora (16th May, 1804), was compelled to withdraw the main army into cantonments for the rainy season, leaving Colonel Monson, with five sepoy battalions and 3,000 irregular horse, to watch the movements of the foe. The proceedings of this commander were most unfortunate. Though "brave as a lion," he wanted decision of purpose and confidence in the native troops. After making an ill-advised entrance into the dominions of the enemy, he became alarmed at the reported approach of Holcar in person; and fearing the probable failure of supplies before the British could join the Guzerat force under Colonel Murray, he retreated forthwith. A retrograde movement on the part of British troops was proverbially more hazardous in native warfare than the boldest advance. Holcar eagerly followed, attacked and defeated the irregular cavalry left in the rear to forward intelligence of his proceedings, and summoned the main body to surrender. This being indignantly refused, furious and reiterated onsets were made by him on the sepoy battalions at the Mokundra pass, which they resisted with steadiness and success, till, at evening, their assailants drew off a few miles. Monson, not considering his position tenable, continued the retreat; the native troops behaved admirably, and, though harassed by the enemy, and exposed to heavy rains, reached Kotah in two marches.

Kotah was a Rajpoot principality, originally formed of lands separated from Boondi. It remained for above a century and a-half of secondary importance, until it fell beneath the sway of Zalim Sing, a Rajpoot of the Jhala tribe, who governed under the name of regent—it would appear, with the full consent of the rightful prince or rana, Omeida Sing. Zalim Sing played a difficult part with extraordinary ability, and by dint of consummate art, perfect self-control, and unfailing energy, so steered the vessel of state, that while every other Rajpoot principality tottered under the effects of the furious attacks or undermining intrigues of the encroaching Mahrattas, Boondi, though ever first to bend to the storm, raised her head as soon as it had passed over, as if strengthened by the trial. Excessive humility and moderation formed the disguise beneath which the regent attained the position of a general arbitrator in the never-ceasing disputes of neighbouring governments, which he fostered under pretence of mediation. His deep duplicity did not preserve him from incurring strong personal hostility; and Tod, after narrating no less than eighteen attempts at his assassination, represents him as sleeping in an iron cage for security. At the time at which we have now arrived, "the Nestor of India" was about sixty-five years of age. His position was one of peculiar difficulty. To keep peace with Holcar he had paid dearly, both in money and character, having stooped to form an intimate alliance with Ameer Khan as a means of averting the scourge of indiscriminate plunder from the fertile fields of Boondi, great part of which were cultivated for his exclusive benefit; yet Colonel Monson, on his arrival with the weary and half-famished troops, demanded from the regent nothing less than their admission into the city, which could not be granted without creating great confusion and insuring the deadly vengeance of the Mahrattas. To the English, Zalim Sing was yet more unwilling to give offence. Their paramount authority was being daily augmented and consolidated; nor could he

doubt that Kotah, like other native principalities, would eventually do well to find in a dependent alliance on the dominant power, an alternative from complete extinction.* Even now, he was ready to make common cause with the retreating and dispirited troops, or to do anything for their succour, to the extent of his ability, outside the walls of Kotah; but the pertinacity of Monson in demanding admittance was unavailing, and the detachment marched on to Rampoora, through an inundated country barely traversable for the troops, and impracticable for cannon and stores, which were consequently destroyed and abandoned. A reinforcement sent with supplies by General Lake, gave temporary relief to the harassed soldiers, but could not remedy the incapacity of their commander; and after many more struggles and reverses,† attended with a complete loss of baggage on the road to Agra, the confusion of one very dark night brought matters to a climax; the troops fairly broke and fled in separate parties to the city, where the majority of the fugitives who escaped the pursuing cavalry, found an asylum on the 31st of July, 1804.

These proceedings increased the rabble force of Holcar tenfold. Adventurers and plunderers of all descriptions (including the wreck of the armies of Sindia and the Bhonslay) flocked to his standard; and after making the regent of Kotah pay a fine of ten lacs for his partial assistance of the English,‡ the Mahratta chief invaded their territories, at the head of an immense army,§ in the character of a conqueror. At his approach the British troops abandoned Muttra with its stores; but the fort was reoccupied by a detachment sent by General Lake, who had marched hastily from Cawnpore, in hopes of bringing the enemy to action. He was, however, completely outwitted by Holcar, who occupied the attention of the British general by manœuvring his cavalry; while his infantry, by a rapid movement, succeeded in investing Delhi. The city, ten miles in circumference, had but a ruined wall, with scarcely more than 800 sepoys, for its defence; nevertheless, these troops, headed by Lieutenant-colonels Ochterlony and Burn, after nine days' operations, compelled a force of 20,000 men to raise the siege.‖ Holcar, with his cavalry, withdrew to the Doab, whither he was followed by Lake, who, after a long pursuit, by marching fifty-three miles in twenty-four hours, eventually came up with the enemy on the 17th of November, under the walls of Furruckabad. The Indian horse never could stand a charge in the field; their leader knew this, and was himself the first to fly, followed by his panic-struck adherents, of whom 3,000 were cut to pieces by the victors, and the rest escaped only by the superior swiftness of their horses. The Mahratta chief made his way to Deeg, a strong fort belonging to Runjeet Sing of Bhurtpoor, a Jat leader, who, after the defeat of the detachment under Monson, had quitted the English, and joined the opposite interest.

The determined proceedings of Lake induced the confederate chiefs to evacuate Deeg and retreat to Bhurtpoor, a city not very formidable in appearance, of six to eight miles in circumference, defended by a high mud wall, and a broad ditch not easily fordable. But the rajah was skilful and desperate. Holcar had little to boast of; for while himself heading a defeated army in the field, his strongholds, in various quarters, had been reduced by the English; and a detachment of troops from Guzerat had occupied Indore, and were preparing to intercept his retreat. Still he was a marauder by profession, whose kingdom was in his saddle; whereas the Jat rajah truly declared he had no home but in his castle—every hope was bound up in its battlements. The defence was most determined; and even when a practicable breach had been effected, attempts to take the place by storm were neutralised by the ready inven-

* When Colonel Tod was employed in forming an alliance between the supreme government and the Kotah principality, he took an opportunity of assuring Zalim Sing that the English desired no more territory. The old politician smiled, as he answered—"I believe you think so; but the time will come when there will be but one sicca (stamp of sovereignty on coin) throughout India. You stepped in at a lucky time; the *p'foot* (a sort of melon, which bursts asunder when fully matured) was ripe, and you had only to take it bit by bit. It was not your power so much as our disunion that made you sovereigns, and will keep you so."—(*Rajast'han*, i., 766.)

† When the younger European officers were heart-sick, and well-nigh sinking with fatigue, the sepoys were frequently heard bidding them be of good cheer; for they would carry them safely to Agra.—(Duff.)

‡ Zalim Sing and Holcar (both one-eyed men) met in boats on the Chumbul, each fearing treachery.

§ According to Malcolm, Holcar's army comprised 92,000 men (66,000 cavalry, 7,000 artillery, 19,000 infantry), with 190 guns.—(*Central India*, i., 238.)

‖ The sepoys were on duty day and night. To keep up their spirits under incessant fatigue, Ochterlony had sweetmeats served out, and promised them half a month's pay when the enemy was repulsed.

tion of the besieged. Stockades and bulwarks rose as if by magic to blockade the breach; the moat was rendered unfordable by dams; and, during the attack, pots filled with combustibles, and burning cotton-bales steeped in oil, were flung upon the heads of the assailants. The British were four times repulsed, with a total loss of 3,203 men in killed and wounded; nor did even their highly-prized military reputation escape unimpaired. On one occasion, the famous 76th, in conjunction with the 75th, refused to follow their officers after the 12th Bengal sepoys had planted the colours on the top of the rampart. The bitter reproaches of their general recalled them to a sense of duty, and, overpowered with shame, they entreated to be led to a last attack, in which they displayed much desperate but unavailing courage. The operations of the siege were for a time intermitted to procure further reinforcements. The rajah, convinced that his destruction, however temporarily retarded, was but a question of time, offered twenty lacs of rupees, with other concessions, as the price of peace, and the proposal was accepted, although at the risk of leaving on the minds of the natives a dangerous example of successful resistance. The advanced state of the season, the fear of the hot winds, together with the menacing attitude of Sindia, then under the influence of his father-in-law, the notorious Shirjee Rao Ghatgay, were sufficient reasons for refraining from engaging the flower of the British army, at a critical period, in a contest with a desperate man, who, if mildly treated, might be neutralised at once. The son of the rajah of Bhurtpoor was therefore taken as a hostage for the fidelity of his father, and the restoration of the fortress of Deeg held forth as its reward. The force of Holcar had been reduced by desertion, more than by actual loss, to less than a fourth of its number at the opening of the campaign. The separate treaty entered into by the rajah of Bhurtpoor left him no hope but in the co-operation of Sindia, who affected to be desirous of mediating with the British government on his behalf. The power of both chiefs was, however, broken, and few obstacles remained towards a general pacification, on terms very advantageous to the English; when their whole policy was abruptly changed by the passing of the office of governor-general from the hands of the Marquis Wellesley into those of Lord Cornwallis, in 1805.

As early as January, 1802, Lord Wellesley had signified to the Court of Directors his desire of quitting India. The motives for the proffered resignation were various. They included several acts, on the part of the directory, which the marquis deemed derogatory to the reputation of himself and his brothers, as well as to that of his stanch coadjutor, Lord Clive, the governor of Madras; but the chief ground of complaint was the disfavour shown to his favourite scheme of founding a college at Calcutta, for the express instruction of young civilians in the description of knowledge absolutely requisite for the fulfilment of their allotted duties. The glaring ignorance of native languages evinced by European rulers, had long been a manifest hindrance to the good government of the people of India, as well as a bar to the kindly intercourse which might otherwise have subsisted. It was this primary defect which the marquis hoped to rectify, and at the same time to infuse into the youths of the service something of the *esprit de corps*, which he remembered with such vivid pleasure to have existed at Eton. The *College of Fort William* was his favourite project. The company did not deny the want of systematic instruction, which was daily more painfully felt; but they could not be brought to consent to the expenditure which Lord Wellesley deemed absolutely needful to fulfil the double object of educating Europeans and affording encouragement to native talent. The Board of Control supported the views of Lord Wellesley; but the project was, after all, but very imperfectly carried out, so far as the Indian population was concerned: for the instruction of civilians destined to serve the E. I. Cy., a college (Haileybury) was founded in England a few years later. Another cause which rendered the governor-general unpopular with his employers, was his deliberate and avowed opinion in favour of the extension of trade with England to India-built shipping, instead of confining it solely to the chartered vessels of the E. I. Cy. Despite the obvious policy, as well as justice, of this measure, as the only means of preventing Indian commerce from finding its way to Europe by more objectionable channels, "the shipping interest," then greatly predominant in the counsels of the company, violently opposed any alteration which should trench on their monopoly, and contrived, in many ways, to render Lord Wel-

lesley sensible of their unfriendly feelings. Nevertheless, his proffered resignation was deprecated by an entreaty to remain at least another year, to settle the newly-acquired territories, and concert with the home authorities the foundation of an efficient system for the liquidation of the Indian debt. The renewal of war with the Mahrattas, despite the brilliant success with which it was attended, could not but involve an increase of immediate expenditure, though compensated by a more than proportionate augmentation of territory. But the investments were impeded; and a failure in the annual supplies was ill borne by the company, however advantageous the promise of ulterior advantages; consequently, a clamour arose against the marquis as a war-governor, which decided his recall at the time when all material obstacles were removed, and his whole energies directed towards the attainment of a solid and durable peace. He had been sent out for the express purpose of eradicating French influence, an object which he had completely accomplished, though, of necessity, at the cost of much war and more diplomacy.*

The Wellesley administration—from 1798 to 1805—formed a new era in the annals of the E. I. Cy. Principles of honour and public spirit were engrafted which bore much fruit in after days; and many a friendless cadet of the civil and military service found in rapid promotion the direct reward of talent and integrity. Nay, more; there are honoured veterans still with us, who, after the lapse of half a century, delight to attribute their success to the generous encouragement or kindly warnings of the good and gifted Marquis Wellesley.†

Perfect toleration was his leading rule; nevertheless, he did not hesitate to interfere for the suppression of such heathen customs as were manifestly incompatible with the spirit of a Christian government; such as the frightful amount of infanticide annually committed at the mouth of the Ganges. Neither was he withheld, by timid or sectarian views, from affording liberal encouragement to the able and zealous men (Buchanan and Carey, for instance) who had devoted themselves to the office of Christian missionaries. To all around him engaged in the cause of religion or good government, he extended cordial sympathy as fellow-workers; and if a shadow of blame can be cast on his ever-discriminating praise, it would be that of having been sometimes too liberally bestowed. But the full measure of love and confidence he gave so freely, was returned into his own bosom. Military and civil officials, of all ranks and classes—from the Earl of Elgin, at Constantinople, and Lord Clive, at Madras, to the humblest clerk—vied in affording the fullest and most correct information for the use of the governor-general; and the merchants and bankers seconded his measures in the most effective manner by furnishing government loans on the lowest possible terms. At the close of the administration of Sir John Shore, it had been difficult to raise money on usurious interest; but the Marquis Wellesley, on the eve of a hazardous war, found men who could appreciate the policy of his measures, and make them practicable, even at considerable pecuniary risk.‡

The general feeling in India was, unhappily, not appreciated or shared in England. The marquis returned, after an arduous and brilliantly successful administration, to find the uncertain tide of popular feeling turned against him. The British public were well acquainted with the aggressive and grasping policy of Hastings, and the manner in which he had made the weakness or wickedness of native princes conduce to the aggrandisement of his employers or his own personal interest. It was a very natural conclusion to be arrived at by persons ignorant of the general disorganisation of India, that a governor who had added hun-

* Into his minor measures, especially the restrictions placed on the liberty of the press, it is not practicable to enter: the motives for some of them were purely political—to check the conveyance of dangerous information, or lying rumours to foreign states; while the edict forbidding the publication of newspapers on Sundays, had the double object of reverence for the sabbath and a desire to show the nations, that not only the missionaries, but the Europeans in general had a religion—a fact which might well have been doubted.

† The rising talent of the civil service was called out in a peculiar manner by Lord Wellesley. The youths of the three presidencies, who had distinguished themselves in their examinations at the college of Fort William, were placed in the secretary's office of the governor-general, and educated under his immediate care for the respective departments, for the duties of which they were best fitted. Of those thus brought forward, three (Metcalfe, Adams, and Butterworth Bayley) became acting governors-general; and the majority attained high positions in India and in England.

‡ Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Forbes, the head of the well-known firm at Bombay, was the chief of those who, by taking up government paper at par, as well as furnishing supplies, restored the confidence of the wealthy natives in the stability of the E. I. Cy.

dreds of miles and thousands of subjects to an empire, which Hastings had been stigmatised as an usurper and oppressor for increasing by units and tens, must have been guilty of the same sins in an aggravated degree. Besides, the augmentation of territory and population had been effected in the teeth of a parliamentary prohibition of the most decided character. The oldest and ablest Indian politicians vainly strove to show the utter impracticability of neutrality, and argued that England, now the dominant power, could not relinquish her high position in measure, but must, of necessity, abandon territorial sovereignty and commercial advantage in almost equal degree. The company were smarting beneath the expenses of a war, which a little patience would have brought to the most satisfactory conclusion, by the prostration of the predatory power, which was equally opposed to all regular governments, foreign or native. But no! an immediate compromise was the order of the day; the withdrawal of the plundering Mahrattas from the company's territories was a relief to be obtained upon any terms, even by a direct violation of the pledge voluntarily given to the Rajpoot states to maintain their independence against their marauding foes. What matter if all Rajast'han were overrun by these eastern Goths. The company's investments would go on meanwhile; and when Sindia and Holcar had quite exhausted all outside the magic circle, it would be time enough to devise some other sop wherewith to engage them. This selfish policy, disguised by the few who understood the real state of the case by much abstract reasoning regarding the admitted justice of non-interference in general, deceived many good men and raised a strong, though short-lived clamour, against the champion of the opposite system. The feeling of certain leaders in the directory, joined with party politics of a very discreditable description in the ministry, found a channel in the person of a *ci-devant* trader named Paull, who, having accumulated a large fortune in India, came to England and entered parliament in the character of impeacher of the Marquis Wellesley, to whom, by his own account, he owed heavy obligations, and entertained, in common with the generality of Anglo-Indians, "the highest respect." The leading accusations were aggressions on native states: extravagance and disregard of home authorities,—at peculation or venality, not even calumny dared hint. The first charge regarding Oude was thrown out by the House of Commons, and the accuser died by his own hand, prompted by vexation or remorse. Lord Folkstone strove to carry on the impeachment by moving a series of condemnatory resolutions, which were negatived by a majority of 182 to 31, and followed by a general vote of approbation. Thus ended, in May, 1808, a persecution which cost the noble marquis £30,000, and excluded him from office during its continuance; for, with rare delicacy, he refused repeated solicitations to re-enter the service of the Crown until the pending question should be satisfactorily settled. He lived to see the general recognition of the wisdom of his policy; and on the publication of his *Despatches* in 1834–'5, the E. I. Cy. made the *amende honorable*, by the unusual procedure of the erection of his statue in the E. I. House,* a grant of £20,000, and the circulation of his *Despatches* for the instruction and guidance of their servants in India. He died beloved and honoured, aged eighty-three; having twice filled the office of viceroy of Ireland —been secretary of state for foreign affairs; beside other distinguished positions. This is not the place to tell of the efficient manner in which the illustrious brothers worked together for the defeat of the national foe, Napoleon: here we have to do with the marquis as an Indian governor; in that character let the pen of the historian of the E. I. Cy. speak his merits. "The Marquis Wellesley was ambitious; but his ambition sought gratification not in mere personal aggrandisement, but in connecting his own fame with that of the land to which he belonged, and of the government which he administered,—in the diffusion of sound and liberal knowledge, and the extension of the means of happiness among millions of men who knew not his person, and some of them scarcely his name. That name is, however, stamped for ever on their history. The British government in India may pass away—its duration, as far as human means are concerned, will depend on the degree in which the policy of the Marquis Wellesley is maintained or abandoned—but whatever its fate, or the length of its existence, the name and memory of the greatest statesman by whom it was ever administered are imperishable."†

* Lord Wellesley remarked, that to witness this compliment (rarely paid until after death), was "like having a peep at one's own funeral."

† Thornton's *India*, iii., 575.

Second Administration of Lord Cornwallis.—The new governor arrived at Fort William in July, 1805, and immediately assumed the reins of office. The interval of thirteen years between his resignation and resumption of authority in India, had told heavily on his strength of mind as well as of body, and the once indefatigable commander-in-chief returned to the scene of his former successes a worn and weary man, fast sinking to the grave under the infliction of chronic dysentery. Yet the English authorities, in accordance with popular opinion, declared him to be the only man fit to curb and limit the too extensive dominion obtained by the late administration in conjunction with the gallant Lake, whose services, though their effects were denounced, had been acknowledged by a peerage.

Lord Cornwallis had given proof of moderation by suffering Tippoo to purchase peace with a third of his revenues, and had rather relaxed than straitened the connexion of the E. I. Cy. with various native states. Despite the unsatisfactory results of his arrangements, and still more so of those formed by Sir John Shore, the Directory and Board of Control agreed in reverting to the non-intervention system, and urged the arduous office of effecting an immediate and total change of policy upon the ex-governor-general with so much vehemence, that he, from self-denying but mistaken views of duty, would not suffer failing health to excuse the non-fulfilment of what, with strange infatuation, was pressed on him as a public duty. It is not easy to understand the process of reasoning by which Lord Cornwallis was led to adopt such extreme opinions regarding the measures to be taken towards Sindia and Holcar. He had warmly approved the arrangements of the Marquis Wellesley regarding the occupation of Seringapatam and the complete suppression of the usurping dynasty; yet, now the arrogant and aggressive Sindia, and the predatory Holcar were to be conciliated, not simply by the surrender of a succession of dearly-purchased conquests, but by the renunciation of alliance with the Rajpoot and other states, who had taken part with the British forces against the marauding Mahrattas in the late crisis.

Sindia had suffered, if not caused, the English residency attached to his camp to be attacked and plundered by a body of Pindarries, and had himself detained Mr. Jenkins; yet no reparation was to be demanded for this outrage: and the governor-general, in his impatient desire to conclude a peace, would even have waived insisting upon the release of the resident; but from this last degrading concession the English were happily saved by the intervention of Lord Lake. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the brave and honest general on learning the nature of the proposed treaty, which he felt to be based on the unworthy principle of conciliating the strong at the expense of the weak. The territories conquered from Holcar had been distinctly promised to be divided among the allies of England; instead of which, they were all to be restored to the defeated chief; and the breach of faith thus committed towards the only power able to resent it, was to be repaired at the expense of the powerless rana of Gohud, who had made over Gwalior to the English on being enrolled among the list of subsidiary princes. He was now to be reduced to the condition of a mere stipendiary, dependent on his hereditary foe for subsistence; for all Gohud, including Gwalior, was to be given to propitiate the favour of Sindia—"an act," writes the governor-general, "entirely gratuitous on our part." Equally so was the renunciation of our connexion with the numerous rajahs, zemindars, jaghiredars, and other chiefs on the further side of the Jumna, for whose protection the British faith had been solemnly pledged. Lord Lake, who had been mainly instrumental in forming the majority of these alliances, and had, in his capacity of commander-in-chief, received material assistance from several of the parties concerned, addressed an earnest remonstrance to the governor-general against the proposed repudiation, declaring that the weaker allied princes never could be induced by any argument or temporary advantage to renounce the promised support of the E. I. Cy., and that the bare proposition would be viewed "as a prelude to their being sacrificed to the object of obtaining a peace with the Mahrattas." This communication bore date the day following that on which Lord Cornwallis expired. For some time before his death, he passed the morning hours in a state of weakness amounting to insensibility; but the evening usually brought him sufficient strength to hear despatches read, and even to dictate replies. Had the energetic appeal and arguments of Lake been sent a few days earlier, they might perhaps have been instrumental in delaying and modifying the

ungenerous and selfish measures which cost England so dearly in character and blood and treasure, by strengthening the predatory power it was alike her duty and her interest to abase. It is hardly possible that the man who steadily befriended the rajah of Coorg, even at the hazard of renewing a perilous war with Tippoo, could seriously intend to abandon the Rajpoot and other princes to the shameless marauders against whom they had recently co-operated with the English, unless prejudice and ignorance, aided by mental debility, had blinded him to the plain facts of the case. But whatever effect the honest exposition of Lake was calculated to produce on the mind of Lord Cornwallis, can be only surmised from his habitual conscientiousness. He had been extremely desirous of personally superintending the progress of the negotiations, and hoped by short and easy stages to reach headquarters; but at Ghazipoor near Benares, an accession of weakness stopped his journey, and after lingering some time in the state previously described, he died there October 5th, 1805, aged sixty-six years.

No provision had been made by the home government to meet this highly probable event.* Sir George Barlow, the senior member of council, on whom the chief authority temporarily devolved, had been associated with Lord Wellesley throughout his whole administration, and cordially seconded his lordship's views regarding subsidiary alliances. During the last illness of Lord Cornwallis, while hourly expecting his own accession to power, Sir George had expressed in writing "his confident hope that an accommodation would be effected with Sindia and with Holcar, on terms not differing essentially from those to which he was aware that Lord Wellesley was prepared to accede." Most certainly his lordship would never have consented to an accommodation which involved a direct breach of faith with numerous weak states. Sir George must have known this; but his conduct was in perfect accordance with the principle which enabled a certain well-known individual "to live and die vicar of Bray." The result was, however, less satisfactory; for though the E. I. directors were inclined to reward implicit obedience to their mandates with the highest position in their gift, the ministers of the crown were not equally compliant; and although they also were desirous of purchasing peace on any terms, the recent appointment was neutralised, and a rule laid down that thenceforth no servant of the company should fill the office of governor-general. Sir George was placed in charge of Madras; but before his removal from Calcutta he had contrived to neutralise, as far as possible, the effects of the measures which he had assisted in enacting; his avowed expectation being that the native states, when left to themselves, would forthwith engage in a series of conflicts which would, for the present at least, keep them fully employed, and prevent the renewal of hostilities with the English. Sindia† and Holcar received the proffered concessions with unmixed astonishment at the timidity or vacillation of their lately dreaded foe. The Rajpoot and other princes indignantly remonstrated against the renunciation of an alliance pressed upon them by the British government in her hour of need. The rajah of Jeypoor, who had especially provoked the vengeance of the Mahrattas, felt deeply aggrieved by the faithlessness with which he was treated, and his bitter reproaches were conveyed to Lord Lake through the mouth of a Rajpoot agent at Delhi. Disgusted at being made the instrument of measures which he denounced, and at the almost‡ total disregard manifested towards his representations, Lord Lake resigned his diplomatic powers in January, 1806, and after about twelve months spent in completing various necessary arrangements regarding the forces, and settling, agreeably to the instructions of the government, the claims of various native chiefs, he quitted India, leaving behind him a name that will be honoured and beloved so long as the Indian army shall subsist.§ He died in England, 21st February, 1808, aged 64.

* Lord Grenville publicly stated, that it had been generally supposed in London that Lord Cornwallis would not bear the voyage; and, in any case, could not long survive his arrival in India.—(Thornton.)

† One of the few concessions demanded from Sindia was the exclusion from office of his father-in-law; but even this was eventually renounced, and Shirzee Rao became again paramount. Happily his audacity at length grew offensive to Sindia, and an altercation took place which enabled the attendants, under pretence of securing the person, to take the life of a miscreant whose memory is still execrated in Poona for the cruel oppression practised there.

‡ Lord Lake was so far successful, that his representations against the immediate danger, as well as faithlessness, of dissolving the alliance with the rajahs of Macherri and Bhurtpoor, induced Sir George to delay the execution of a determination which he nevertheless declared to be unchanged.

§ Major-general Wellesley, after receiving a

Little difference of opinion now exists regarding the accommodation effected with the Mahrattas. The non-intervention policy was soon abandoned; but its results justify the declaration of Grant Duff, that the measures of Sir George Barlow were no less short-sighted and contracted than selfish and indiscriminating. His provisional administration terminated in July, 1807,* its concluding event being an alarming mutiny among the native troops in the Carnatic. The immediate cause was the enforcement of certain frivolous changes of dress, together with other orders trivial in character, but involving a needless interference with the manners and customs of the soldiery, which had been introduced without the knowledge of Lord William Bentinck, the successor of Lord Clive in the government of Madras. "The new regulations required the sepoys to appear on parade with their chins clean shaved, and the hair on the upper lip cut after the same pattern, and never to wear the distinguishing mark of caste, or their earrings when in uniform. A turban of a new pattern was also ordered for the sepoys."†

These ill-advised changes might possibly have been accomplished without occasioning any serious disturbance, had a cordial understanding subsisted between the British and the native officers. But this was not the case; and the consequence of the alienation existing between them was, that the sons of Tippoo Sultan, then resident at Vellore, took advantage of the princely income and unusual degree of liberty allowed them as state prisoners, to assemble a large band of adherents, who made it their business to inspire the soldiery with aversion to their foreign masters, on the ground that the newly-devised turban, and its concomitants, though ostensibly ordered for the sake of convenience and unanimity, were really the tokens and forerunners of a forcible conversion to Christianity. The assertion was an utter absurdity. The Hindoos themselves, whose creed makes no provision for converts, were scarcely more devoid of proselytising zeal than the English had shown themselves, despite the opposite tendency of a religion which directs its professors "to preach the gospel to all nations." The military officers had, as a body (for there were exceptions), no need to defend themselves against any imputation of over-anxiety to manifest the excellencies of their faith in their lives and conversation, or by any encouragement of missionary labours. Of Christianity the natives in the vicinity of Vellore knew nothing, and were consequently ready to believe just anything, except that its divine Founder had enjoined on all his disciples a code so fraught with humility, chastity, and brotherly kindness, that if observed it must infallibly render Christians a blessing to every state, whether as rulers or as subjects.

Rumours of the growing disaffection were abroad, but excited little attention in the ears of those most concerned. Unmistakable symptoms of mutiny appeared, and were forcibly‡ put down, until, on the 10th of July, 1806, the European part of the Vellore garrison were attacked by their native colleagues, and Colonel Fancourt and 112 Europeans had perished or been mortally wounded, before Colonel Gillespie, at the head of a body of dragoons, terminated a contest which involved the destruction of about 350 of the mutineers, and the imprisonment of 500 more. Lord William Bentinck became the sacrifice of measures adopted without his sanction, and was recalled, together with the commander-in-chief, Sir John Cradock. The obnoxious orders were repealed, the allowances of the sons of Tippoo were diminished, their place of imprisonment changed from Vellore to Bengal; and, by slow degrees, the panic wore off. The captive insurgents were gradually set at liberty; the cheerful obedience of the men, and their customary fidelity to those whose salt they ate, returned; and the British officers "ceased to sleep with pistols under their pillows."§

knighthood of the Order of the Bath, quitted India in 1805, ill-pleased with the manner in which the services of his brother and himself were received.

* Mill's *History of British India* terminates with the peace with the Mahrattas. In an able, but prejudiced, and without the comments of Prof. Wilson, misleading summary of the commercial results of the Wellesley administration, the revenues are shown to have been raised from £8,059,880, in 1805'–6, to £15,403,409; but the war expenditure, with the interest on the increased debt, which had been tripled, caused the annual charges to exceed the receipts by above two million. This was a temporary addition, but the revenues of the conquered territories were a permanent gain, viewed as so certain, that Barlow held forth the prospect of a million sterling as the annual surplus, to follow immediately on the restoration of peace.

† Auber's *India*, ii., 432.

‡ The severe coercion employed may be conjectured from the fact that 900 lashes each were inflicted upon two grenadiers for refusing to wear the "hat-shaped" turban.

§ Bentinck's *Memorial.*

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MINTO—1806 to 1813.—The new governor-general (formerly Sir Gilbert Elliot) came to India strongly prepossessed in favour of a neutral policy, but was speedily compelled to modify his views.

Holcar, on his return to Malwa, found occupation in quelling the disturbances arising from the non-payment of arrears to his turbulent followers, who made use of the boy, Kundee Rao, to intimidate his uncle into the liquidation of their claims. The object being accomplished, the child became, as he had himself predicted, the victim of the wrath of Jeswunt Rao; and Casee Rao died suddenly soon after, having been likewise, it was supposed, assassinated to prevent the possibility of the rights of any legitimate descendant of Tukajee being brought into collision with those of Jeswunt Rao. These and other atrocities were the fore-runners of madness, which appeared in temporary paroxysms, with intervals of partial sanity, employed by Jeswunt in making extensive military preparations, especially in casting cannon, a work which he superintended night and day, using stimulants to supply the place of food and rest. It soon became necessary to confine him; and twenty to thirty men with difficulty succeeded in binding the despot fast with ropes, like a wild beast. His fierce struggles gradually subsided into speechless fatuity, and, at the expiration of three years, during the greater part of which he was fed like an infant with milk, the dreaded freebooter died a miserable idiot in his own camp, on the 20th of October, 1811.* Before his insanity, Holcar had taken advantage of the withdrawal of British protection to ravage and pillage the states of Rajast'han, especially Jeypoor or Amber, under the old pretext of exacting arrears of chout. The quarrels of the Rajpoot princes gave full scope for his treacherous interference. The hand of Crishna Kumari, the high-born daughter of the rana of Oodipoor, was an object of dispute between Juggut Sing of Jeypoor, and Maun Sing of Joudpoor. Holcar was bought off by Juggut Sing, but this arrangement did not prevent him from suffering his general, Ameer Khan, to hire his services to the opposite party. The chief commenced his task by ridding the rajah of Joudpoor of a rebellious feudatory, named Sevaee Sing, whom he deluded, by oaths and protestations of friendship, into visiting his camp. The intended victim entered the spacious tent of the Patan with a body of friends and attendants, and was received with every demonstration of respect. Ameer Khan invented a plausible pretext for a short absence, and caused the cords of the tent to be suddenly loosened; then, taking advantage of the confusion, he ordered a sharp fire of musketry and grape to be poured indiscriminately on the whole of the crowded assembly. The massacre was complete; and not only the companions of the betrayed Rajpoot, but those of Ameer Khan himself, with a party of dancing-girls and musicians, were mercilessly sacrificed. The rana of Oodipoor was seriously alarmed by the enmity of so unprincipled an adversary. He vainly appealed to the British government, as possessing the paramount authority in India, to interfere for the protection of their oppressed neighbour: his entreaties, like those of Zalim Sing, were disregarded, and the proud representative of the Surya race (the offspring of the sun) was compelled to fraternise with the infamous Patan adventurer by the exchange of turbans, as well as to subsidise his troops at the cost of a fourth of the revenues of the principality. This was in itself deep abasement, but worse remained behind. Ameer Khan, in conjunction with Ajeet Sing, a Rajpoot noble, whose memory is, for his conduct on this occasion, execrated throughout Rajast'han, succeeded in convincing the unhappy rana, that the death of his child was absolutely necessary to save the principality from destruction at the hands of the rival suitors. With his consent, poison was mixed with the food of the princess; but she ate sparingly, and its murderous purpose was not accomplished. The high-spirited girl, on discovering the design thus temporarily frustrated, bade her father attempt no more concealment, since, if his welfare and the safety of the state required it, she was ready to die by her own act. Accordingly, having bathed and dressed, as if for a nuptial feast, she drank off the poison. The first two draughts proved harmless, for nature revolted, and the noxious beverage was rejected; but the third time a more insidious preparation was administered, and Crishna

* Holcar was of middle height, remarkably strong and active. A small but handsome mausoleum was erected to his memory near Rampoora, and his favourite horse ranged in freedom around it. Tod describes this animal with enthusiasm, as the very model of a Mahratta charger, with small and pointed ears, full protruding eyes, and a mouth that could drink out of a tea-cup.—(*Rajast'han*, ii., 720.)

slept to wake no more in this life. Her mother died of grief; her father survived to endure the galling reproaches of some of his most faithful chiefs; and Oodipoor, so far from benefiting by the unnatural crime, lost from that hour its remaining glories.*

Ameer Khan, elated by success, grew more daring in his plans; and, attended by large bodies of Pindarries, undertook, in 1809, an expedition against the indolent and effeminate rajah of Berar. Lord Minto became alarmed by the probable subversion of the principality, and, departing from the non-intervention policy, sent a strong detachment for the defence of Nagpoor, and notified to the invader that the territories of the rajah were under British protection. A blustering and defiant reply was returned, upon which Colonel Close marched into Malwa, and occupied Seronje, the capital of Ameer Khan, with other of his possessions. The strict commands of the home authorities, together with considerations of finance, prevented the governor-general from following up these vigorous measures by the complete overthrow of "one of the most notorious villains India ever produced;"† and the immediate safety of Berar having been secured, Ameer Khan was suffered to escape with undiminished powers of mischief. Before the close of his administration, Lord Minto had reason to repent this mistaken lenity. Berar was again invaded, and one quarter of the capital burnt by the Patan and Pindarry freebooters, a party of whom proceeded to set at nought British authority, by an irruption into the fertile province of Mirzapoor. The advisability of reverting to the bold and generous policy of the Marquis Wellesley became evident; and Lord Minto, whose term of office had nearly expired, urged upon the directors the necessity of vigorous measures. Indeed, the leading acts of Lord Minto himself were neither of a strictly defensive nor neutral character. Sir George Barlow's withdrawal of protection from the petty chiefs south of the Sutlej, had tempted a neighbouring potentate, with whom the company had heretofore no connexion, to extend his conquests in that direction. The leader in question was the famous Runjeet Sing, rajah of Lahore, a Seik chief of Jat descent. To prevent further aggression, the minor Seik powers menaced by him were declared under British supremacy, and a strong force assembled for their defence. Runjeet Sing, unwilling to provoke a contest, concluded a treaty with the company, by which he consented never to maintain a larger body of troops on the left bank of the Sutlej than was needful to support his authority already established in that quarter. As a further guarantee for his good faith, a detachment, under Sir David Ochterlony,‡ took up a permanent station at Loodiana, on the eastern side of the river.

The multiplied aggressions of France on the vessels of the E. I. Cy., and the fear of attempts to regain a territorial position in India, induced the dispatch of embassies to Persia§ and Cabool, for the sake of forming a more intimate alliance with those kingdoms. The Mauritius, Bourbon, and the Moluccas were captured by the British in 1810; and Java, with its dependencies, was conquered by Lord Minto, in person,|| in 1811. Of these valuable acquisitions, Bourbon, the beautiful island of Java, and the Moluccas, were relinquished at the general pacification in 1815.

Some few remaining incidents of importance, which occurred in the time of Lord Minto, remain to be chronicled. The first of these is the death of the aged emperor Shah Alum, in 1806, aged eighty-

* Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 340. Tod's *Rajast'han*, i., 466. Malcolm states, that the circumstances attending the death of the princess excited loud and bitter wailing throughout the city of Oodipoor. An aged chief, named Sugwan Sing, having heard of the intended sacrifice, mounted his horse and rode with breathless haste to the palace, He found the rana and his counsellors seated in solemn silence; and to his impetuous inquiry, whether Crishna were alive or dead, Ajeet Sing, the instigator of the tragedy, replied by an injunction to respect the affliction of a bereaved parent. Sugwan Sing unbuckled his sword and shield, and laid them at the feet of the rana, saying, "my ancestors have served yours for more than thirty generations, but these arms can never more be used on your behalf;" then turning to Ajeet Sing, he reproached him with having brought ignominy on the Rajpoot name, adding, as he quitted the assembly, "May the curse of a father light upon you—may you die childless." The malediction excited considerable attention, and the successive deaths of all the children of the guilty noble, were viewed as its fulfilment.

† Tod's *Rajast'han*, i., 468.

‡ Sir David Ochterlony and Runjeet Sing, like Holcar and Zalim Sing, were both one-eyed men.

§ Sir John Malcolm was sent to Persia by E. I. Cy.; Sir Harford Jones and Sir G. Ouseley, by the Crown.

|| Lord Minto had been compelled to visit Madras in 1809, in consequence of the strong dissatisfaction which prevailed among the European officers, arising from reduced allowances; but greatly aggravated by the dogged and tyrannical proceedings of the governor, Sir George Barlow. By a judicious blending of firmness and conciliation, Lord Minto succeeded in allaying an alarming tumult.

three. He was succeeded in his titular authority by his eldest son, Akber Shah, who made some feeble attempts at the acquisition of real power, but soon renounced the futile endeavour. The exertions of the Travancore authorities in 1809, to throw off the yoke of the E. I. Cy., involved some destruction of life, but terminated in the principality becoming completely dependent on Fort St. George. The tribute exacted from Cochin was also largely increased.

The last feature was an impending rupture with the Goorkas, a tribe who had come into notice about the middle of the eighteenth century, and had gradually assumed a dominant influence over the whole of the extensive valley of Nepaul. During the second administration of Lord Cornwallis, they had completed the attainment of territory (less by violence than by fraud and corruption) which presented, on the side of the English, a frontier of 700 miles. Disputes had arisen between the Goorkas and certain chiefs, who, through the cessions made by the vizier of Oude, or other arrangements, had become British feudatories. The so-called pacific policy of Lord Wellesley's successors had emboldened aggression in all quarters; and the seizure of Bhootwal (a border district of the ancient viceroyalty of Oude) was followed by renewed invasion; until, in 1813, a new turn was given to affairs by the demand of the English authorities for the immediate surrender of the usurped territories. Before an answer could arrive from the court of Nepaul, the reins of government passed from the hands of Lord Minto, who returned to England, where he died (June, 1814), aged sixty-five. He was an able and energetic man; and the removal of his prejudices paved the way for a similar change of feeling on the part of his countrymen.*

Moira, or Hastings' Administration, 1813 to 1823.—Lord Moira reached Calcutta in October, and, in the following month, received the tardy reply of the Goorkalese sovereign to the demand of Lord Minto for the evacuation of Bhootwal and Sheoraj. It was complimentary in manner, but uncompromising in substance. There were many reasons for avoiding immediate hostilities in this quarter, and attempts were made to settle the question by amicable negotiation; but the persistance of the commissioners from Nepaul in reviving points previously settled, being at length silenced by a positive refusal to enter on such discussions, the British agent was warned to quit the frontier; and the envoys were recalled to Katmandoo, the capital of Nepaul. Lord Moira was too anxious to avert a frontier war, to give place to hasty resentment; and he addressed a remonstrance to the Nepaulese government regarding the insulting manner in which the late negotiation had been broken off. No answer being returned to this communication, a detachment was sent from Goruckpoor to occupy the disputed lands, an object which was effected without opposition. The British troops placed the direction of affairs in the hands of native officials, and withdrew, congratulating themselves on the easy fulfilment of an unpromising task.

The position of the northern mountaineers was but very imperfectly understood by the Calcutta functionaries, who now wielded the sceptre of the Mogul. During the palmy days of the empire, while the reins of government were held by too firm a hand for servants to appropriate to themselves the delegated sway of the sovereign, the plains at the foot of the mountains, between the river Teesta on the east and the Sutlej on the west, had been possessed by numerous petty Hindoo rajahs, who became tributary to the emperor, and received, in return, protection from the aggressions of the lawless hill-chiefs, most of whom maintained their independence, though some were content to own a sort of vassalage to the empire, in return for the possession of a portion of the magnificent forest of *Sál* trees, and of the rich plain called the *Turaee*, lying between them and Hindoostan. The old highland rajahs, whose families had warred with their lowland countrymen from time immemorial, held their own during the continuance and after the decline of Mohammedan power, until one of themselves, an aspiring chief, named Prithi Narayan Sah,† rajah of the small state of Goorka, to the north-west of Nepaul, incited by the early victories of the English in Bengal, armed and disciplined a body of troops after the European fashion, and proceeded to absorb the surrounding states, in a manner described as closely

* In 1813, an attempt to impose a house-tax occasioned great excitement in the holy city of Benares: the people practised a singularly combined, and eventually successful system, of passive resistance.

† According to Col. Kirkpatrick, the Goorka dynasty claim descent from the ranas of Oodipoor. Hamilton states, they belong to the Magar tribe, which has but very partially yielded to Brahminism.

resembling that which had rendered the nation he imitated masters of India. The nabob of Moorshedabad, Meer Cossim Ali, attempted to interfere on behalf of some of the weaker chiefs in 1762-'3, but sustained a signal defeat; and an expedition sent by the Bengal government, in 1767, to succour the rajah of Nepaul, proved equally unsuccessful. Prithi Narayan died in 1771, but his successors carried on the same scheme of conquest, crossed the Gogra river, seized Kumaon, and even strove to gain possession of the rich valley of Cashmere. The lowland rajahs, when transferred by the cession of the vizier of Oude from Mussulman to British rule, were suffered to retain undisturbed possession of their territories on payment of a fixed land-tax. The Goorkalese, on the contrary, as each hill-chieftain was successively vanquished, exterminated the family, and, with the conquered possessions, took up the claims and contests of their former lords, and were thus brought in contact with numerous rajahs and zemindars, actually occupying the position of British subjects. The complaints laid before the supreme government by these persons were generally but lightly regarded; and, unless under very peculiar circumstances, the Goorkalese were treated as good neighbours, whom it was desirable to conciliate. Under a strong government at Calcutta, outrages on the frontier were of comparatively rare occurrence, and, when firmly demanded, reparation was usually made; but the unfortunate measures of Sir George Barlow incited aggressions which were not to be so easily checked as heretofore. The rajah (a prince with a long string of names, differently given by different authorities)* was a minor. The chief authority rested in the hands of a military aristocracy, headed by a powerful family called Thappa, of whom one member, Bheem Sein, exercised the office of prime minister, with the title of general, while his brother, Umur Sing, held command of the army. The expediency of war with the English was much canvassed by the Goorkalese chiefs. The decision arrived at was, that their native fastnesses would always afford an invulnerable position, and by issuing thence on predatory incursions, a state of hostility could be made more advantageous, than peace purchased at the sacrifice of their favourite system of encroachment. The British, on their part, viewed the approaching struggle with little apprehension. The Bengal officers, especially, made sure of victory. From the days of Clive to those of Lake, with scarcely an exception, they had but to take the field and march straight against the enemy, to ensure his precipitate flight. The uncontested occupation of Bhootwal and Sheoraj, seemed the natural effect of their military reputation, and considerable surprise was excited by tidings that the Goorkalese had set them at defiance, by taking advantage of the withdrawal of the troops to surround the three police-stations in Bhootwal, where after killing and wounding twenty-four of the defenders, the superior local officer of the British had been murdered in a very barbarous manner. The governor-general demanded from the court of Katmandoo the disavowal of any share in this outrage, and the punishment of its perpetrators; but received a menacing reply, which precluded further hope of an amicable arrangement, and occasioned the issue of a declaration of war by Lord Moira in November, 1814.

The army destined for the invasion of the enemy's frontier, formed four divisions, of which the first, under Major-general Marley, comprised 8,000 men, and was intended to march against Katmandoo. The other three divisions, under Maj.-generals Wood, Gillespie, and Ochterlony (4,500, 3,500, and 6,000 strong), were directed to attack different portions of the hostile frontier; besides which, Major Latter was furnished with a body of 2,700 men for the defence of the Purneah frontier, to the eastward of the Coosy river.† The campaign opened with the siege of the petty fortress of Kalunga or Nalapanee, situated on an insulated hill, a few miles from Dehra, the chief town in the Doon (or valley.) The garrison consisted of about 600 men, headed by a nephew of Umur Sing. The English expected to carry the place by storm according to custom, and the gallant Rollo Gillespie, with fatal impetuosity, led an assault, in which, while waving his hat to cheer the troops, he was shot through the heart. The siege was discontinued pending the arrival of a battering train from Delhi;

* Styled by Fraser, Jirban Joodeber Bheem Sah; by Prinsep, Maharajah Kurman Jodh Bikram Sah Bahadur Shumsheer Jung. His father was assassinated by his own brother in full durbar, in 1805. The fratricide was slain in the ensuing barbarous affray, in which most of the chief nobles perished, and the royal family was nearly extinguished. The present rajah (then an infant) was secreted in the zenana.

† Major (now General) Latter rendered good service by his negotiations with the rajah of Sikkim (a hill state east of Nepaul), and his small detachment "accomplished more than it was destined to attempt."

but even when a breach had been effected, the soldiers, dispirited by their former repulse, could not be induced to advance. It was not until the assailants had sustained a loss, in killed and wounded, considerably beyond the entire number of the garrison, that measures were taken to shell the fort, and cut off the supply of water obtained without the walls. The besieged were compelled to evacuate the place on the 30th November, 1814. The conquerors found in the mangled bodies of hundreds of men and women, dead or dying of wounds and thirst, fearful evidence of the determination of the foe with whom they had now to deal. This inauspicious commencement seems to have inspired three out of four of the leaders of the British army (including Martindell, the successor of Gillespie) with a degree of timidity and distrust, which can scarcely be disguised beneath the name of prudence; and General Marley was struck off the staff for neglect and incompetency. General Ochterlony displayed a quickness and energy which, combined with discretion, enabled him to cope with difficulties of a new and unexpected order, and, although opposed by Umur Sing in person, to obtain triumphs to counterbalance the disasters which attended the other divisions. He had formed from the first a just estimate of the character of the enemy, whom he met with their own weapons, especially by the erection of stockaded posts, before unknown in Anglo-Indian warfare. The opening movements of the English veteran were cautious and laborious. The making of roads, and diplomatic proceedings with wavering chiefs, occupied much time before his masterly policy could be developed; but its effects were manifested by the reduction of the Ramgurh and other forts, and by the withdrawal of Umur Sing, with his entire force, to the strong position of Maloun. The stone fort thus named, and that of Soorajgurh, formed the extremities of a line of fortified posts, erected on a lofty and difficult ridge projecting into the Sutlej. Of the intervening peaks, all were occupied by stockades except Ryla peak and Deothul. Of these two, Ochterlony, on his approach, succeeded in obtaining possession; the first without difficulty, the second after a sanguinary conflict on the 15th April, 1815. Bhukti Thappa, a famous leader, above seventy years of age, who commanded at Soorajgurh, represented to Umur Sing the necessity of dislodging the British from Deothul; and on the morning of the 16th, an attack was made by the flower of the Goorkalese army on all accessible sides.* Happily, the previous night had been spent in throwing up defences in expectation of a renewed struggle. The enemy came on with such furious intrepidity, that several men were bayoneted or cut to pieces within the works; and their fire was directed so effectively against the artillerymen, that at one time three officers and one bombardier alone remained to serve the guns. A reinforcement, with ammunition from Ryla peak, arrived at a critical moment, and the British, after acting for two hours on the defensive, became in turn assailants; Bhukti was slain, his followers put to flight, and a complete victory obtained, at the cost of 213 killed and wounded. The enemy left about 500 men on the ground before Deothul. The event afforded a great triumph to the native troops, by whom it was almost wholly achieved. It was followed by the evacuation of Soorajgurh, and the concentration of the hostile force in Maloun, against which place a battery was raised by the end of the first week in May.

In the meantime, the governor-general had been actively employed in initiating a series of spirited operations on the side of Rohilcund. While visiting the north-western provinces, he had learned that the inhabitants of Kumaon were held in rigorous subjection by the Goorkalese, who frequently seized and sold their wives and children to enforce the most arbitrary exactions. To supply the place of regular troops, levies were made from the warlike Patans of Rohilcund, under the auspices of two commanders (Gardner and Hearsey), who had come over from Sindia at the time of the Mahratta war. The corps organised by Major Hearsey was dispersed by the enemy, and its leader made prisoner; but Lieutenant Gardner succeeded in making his way into the heart of the province of Kumaon, and took up a position in sight of Almora, the capital, where a force of regular infantry and artillery, under Colonel Nicholls, joined him in

* The Goorkalese displayed throughout the campaign an unexpected amount of chivalry, and exhibited, in many ways, their confidence in the good faith of the British. After the battle of Deothul, they asked for the body of Bhukti Sing, whose loss they loudly bemoaned, declaring that the blade of their sword was broken. Ochterlony complied with the request, and sent the gory corpse, wrapped in rich shawls, in acknowledgment of the bravery of the fallen chief. His two widows sacrificed themselves on the funeral pile next day, in compliance with his injunction.—(H. T. Prinsep's *Trans. in India*, i., 170.)

the middle of April. The Setolee heights, distant from the fort about seventy yards, were gained after a severe contest; and the governor, thus closely menaced, and straitened for want of supplies, signed terms of surrender for the whole province, and for the retirement of the Goorkalese troops to the east of the Kalee river—articles which were duly executed.

Tidings of the fall of Almora facilitated the conquest of Maroun. The dispirited Goorkalese entreated Umur Sing to make terms for himself and his son Runjoor, whom General Martindell had ineffectually besieged in the fort of Jythuk. The old chief refused, declaring, that the rainy season, now close at hand, would compel the British to withdraw; and he used the most severe coercion to retain the allegiance of the troops. But in vain: the majority of both officers and men came over to the British camp as prisoners of war; and Umur Sing, with but 250 remaining adherents, beheld the batteries ready to open upon the walls of Maloun. Convinced of the hopelessness of prolonged resistance, the proud chief resigned his last stronghold, together with all the territory from Kumaon westward to the Sutlej, including, of course, Jythuk. Thus a campaign which, in January, promised nothing but disaster, terminated in May with the conquest of the whole hilly tract from the Gogra to the Sutlej, a country hitherto deemed impenetrable to Europeans. The triumph was, in fact, mainly due to native troops; of whom, with the exception of a few artillerymen, Ochterlony's division was exclusively composed. It is important to add, that this force was extremely well officered, and that its operations were materially facilitated by the ability of the field engineer, Lieutenant Lawtie, who died, aged twenty-four, of fever, brought on by excessive fatigue and exposure endured before Maloun.*

Ochterlony received a baronetcy, and a pension of £1,000 a-year in acknowledgment of his services. The governor-general was rewarded by a step in the peerage, being created Marquis of Hastings. Various important arrangements attended the conclusion, or rather interruption, of hostilities. Many of the Goorkalese entered the British service, and were formed into what were termed the *Nuseeree* battalions; a provincial corps was also raised for civil duties in Kumaon, which now became a British province. The Doon was retained, and ultimately annexed to the Seharanpoor district. The remaining hill country was restored to the several chiefs from whom it had been wrested by Umur Sing, with the exception of a few military posts; and the whole territory was declared under British protection.

The Katmandoo government was not, however, yet sufficiently humbled to accept the terms of peace offered by Lord Hastings. Umur Sing and his sons strenuously advocated the renewal of war, in preference to suffering a British resident and military establishment to be stationed at the capital. Another object of dispute was the fertile but insalubrious Turaee and the adjacent Sâl (*shorea robusta*) forest, of which, according to a Goorkalese saying, "every tree is a mine of gold."† The proposed treaty was therefore rejected, and Sir David Ochterlony again took the field in January, 1816, at the head of nearly 17,000 effective men, including three European regiments. All the known passes through the first range of hills had been carefully fortified by the enemy; but, happily, a route was discovered through a deep and narrow ravine, by which the Cherea heights were gained without resistance, and the position of the Goorkalese completely turned. The British general marched on to the beautiful valley of the Raptee, and was moving up to Mukwanpoor, when a skirmish of posts paved the way to a general action, in which he obtained a signal victory; whereupon the royal red seal was hastily affixed to the rejected treaty of Segoulee, and a duly qualified envoy presented it on his knees at the durbar of General Ochterlony, in presence of all the vakeels in the camp.

By a politic concession, a part of the Turaee was surrendered to the Nepaulese. The portion skirting the Oude dominions was retained, and, together with Khyreegurh, a pergunnah of Rohilcund, was made over to Ghazi-oo-deen, in payment of a second loan of a crore of rupees obtained from him during the war, and furnished out of the hoards of his father, Sadut Ali, the late nabob-vizier, who died in 1814.

During the Goorkalese war, indications

* General Ochterlony deeply lamented his brave coadjutor. The whole army went into mourning, and afterwards erected a monument to the memory of Lieut. Lawtie in the cathedral church of Calcutta.

† The timber is used in ship-building, though far inferior to the teak of Malabar and of the Burman empire. The elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo abound in the forest, and ravage the plain.

of a desire to take advantage of any symptom of weakness in the British government were not wanting on the part of Sindia, or even of the peishwa, who now began to think himself strong enough to stand alone, and was well inclined to kick aside the ladder by which he had risen to fortune. The triumphant conclusion of the late hostilities checked the development of these feelings, and left Lord Hastings at liberty to direct his chief attention to the suppression of the predatory bands of Pindarries and Patans, who had arisen, "like masses of putrefaction, out of the corruption of weak and expiring states."* The chief difference between them was, that the Patans were military mercenaries, associated for the purpose of invading or plundering such states as they could overpower or intimidate; while the Pindarries were cowardly and desperate banditti, whose object was universal rapine. Against both these descriptions of marauders the English authorities were compelled to be continually on the alert. The most effectual defensive measure was considered to be the establishment of subsidiary troops in Berar. The death of Ragojee Bhonslay appeared likely to facilitate this arrangement; for his only son Pursajee, being paralysed and an idiot, the nephew of the late rajah Moodajee, commonly called Appa Sahib, assumed the regency; and the better to establish his ascendancy, sought the recognition of the English at the cost of entering upon the defensive alliance which they particularly desired. Appa Sahib was, at heart, decidedly opposed to the establishment of foreign influence at Nagpoor, and no sooner felt himself firmly seated on the *gadi*, than he sought the means of recovering the purchase-money of his position by entering into negotiations with the court of Poona, then the nucleus of a powerful confederacy forming against the English—a proceeding which he accompanied by the precaution of causing his young and afflicted ward to be strangled in the night of February 1st, 1817.

Before this event, the incursions of the Pindarries had alarmingly increased, and in 1816 they remained twelve days within the British frontier, during which time they were ascertained to have plundered 339 villages, put 182 persons to a cruel death, severely wounded 505, and subjected 3,603 others to different kinds of torture.† The losses sustained by individuals at Guntoor (in the Northern Circars) and elsewhere, were estimated at about £100,000 sterling. The peishwa, Sindia, and the divided authorities on whom the management of the Holcar principality had devolved, affected to desire the suppression of these enormities; but as it was notorious they favoured the perpetrators, it became necessary to take steps against such deceitful governments.

The policy pursued by the peishwa toward his English patrons, had become evidently hostile since the accession to office, in 1815, of one Trimbukjee Dainglia, a menial servant, who had found the path to power by promoting the gratification of his master's ill-regulated desires. The assassination of Gungadhur Shastree,‡ the representative of the Guicowar chief, who had come to Poona to settle a question of finance, under the express protection of the English, justified the resident (Mountstuart Elphinstone) in demanding the removal from office of the instigator of the crime. Bajee Rao, with characteristic indecision, first surrendered his favourite, and then unceasingly solicited his deliverance from the imprisonment which was the only punishment the English authorities desired to inflict. Artifice effected the deliverance of the prisoner. The Mahratta groom of one of the British officers in the garrison of Tanna, in the island of Salsette, while engaged in exercising his master's horse, sang beneath the window of Trimbukjee what appeared to be one of the monotonous ballads of the country, but which really communicated to the captive a plan of escape, of which he took advantage on the evening of the 12th of September, 1816. Having made an excuse for

* Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 431. Sir John, on the authority of the Pindarry leader, Kureem Khan, gives the etymology of the term Pindarry—from *Pinda*, an intoxicating drink which they were constantly imbibing. Kureem Khan was a Rohilla.

† No fewer than twenty-five women drowned themselves to escape violation; many sacrificed also their young children. The ordinary modes of torture inflicted by the Pindarries were—heavy stones placed on the head or chest; red-hot irons applied to the soles of the feet; tying the head of a person into a tobra or bag for feeding horses, filled with hot ashes; throwing oil on the clothes and setting fire to them; besides many others equally horrible. Their favourite weapon was the long Mahratta spear.

‡ Gungadhur was the name of the ambassador; Shastree, a title denoting intimate acquaintance with the Shastras, a portion of the sacred writings of the Hindoos. Bajee Rao was himself supposed to have sanctioned the murder, to revenge an affront given by the Shastree in refusing to allow his wife to visit the palace of the peishwa, then the scene of licentiousness unparalleled during the sway of any of his predecessors.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, iii., 374.)

quitting his rooms, he reached an embrasure, and lowered himself into the ditch by means of a rope, secured to a gun by one of his accomplices. This adventure greatly increased the reputation of Trimbukjee with his own countrymen, and he began to assemble troops on the Mahadeo hills to the north of the Neera. The military preparations of the peishwa, and his secret correspondence, and even interviews, with a subject against whom he affected to desire the co-operation of British troops, left little doubt of his perfidious intentions; and the governor-general considered himself justified in adopting a very summary mode of diminishing the power which he expected to see employed in counteracting his plans for the destruction of the Pindarries. Bajee Rao was treated as an avowed enemy, and required, as the only means of averting war, to surrender Trimbukjee, to renounce the right of supremacy over the Mahratta confederation, and to surrender certain territories in Malwa, Guzerat, and the Deccan, for the purpose of supporting a force of 5,000 cavalry and 3,000 infantry, to be maintained in lieu of the previous British contingent. Other humiliating concessions were exacted from Bajee Rao, by the treaty of Poona ratified in June, 1816, which in fact reduced him from the position of an independent prince to that of a mere vassal. The treaty of Bassein had been censured for the sacrifices it entailed on the peishwa; and "the extension of the subsidiary system in 1805, had led the way to the retirement of the most enlightened statesman who had ruled in India."* By this time the weathercock of public opinion had veered round, and the Court of Directors expressed themselves well satisfied with the course of events, and convinced "of the irrepressible tendency of our Indian power to enlarge its bounds and to augment its preponderance, in spite of the most peremptory injunctions of forbearance from home, and of the most scrupulous obedience to them in the government abroad."†

The sanction of the E. I. Cy. was likewise given to offensive operations to the extent requisite to drive the Pindarries from their haunts on the Nerbudda and from Malwa. The views of the Marquis of Hastings were more comprehensive: he considered that the peace of Central India demanded the total extermination of these predatory bands; and to that end "did not hesitate boldly to assume the principle that, in the operations against the Pindarries, no power could be suffered to remain neutral, but all should be required to join the league for their suppression."‡

At this period (1817) the Pindarries, under their respective leaders, were stated, by the lowest computation, at 15,000 horse, 1,500 foot, with twenty guns. Other writers carried the estimate as high as 30,000; but authorities agreed, that when joined by volunteers and adventurers from other native armies, they often exceeded the latter amount. The Patans, under Ameer Khan, were estimated at 12,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 200 guns. Supposing the contemplated confederation between the four Mahratta leaders (the peishwa, Sindia, Holcar, and the Bhonslay), the Nizam, Ameer Khan,§ and the Pindarries, to have been carried out, a force of above 130,000 horse, 87,000 foot, and nearly 600 guns might have been brought into the field to dispute British supremacy.‖

Measures had been already taken to diminish the danger of hostility on the part of the peishwa, and the subsidiary alliance lately formed with Berar was expected to ensure neutrality in that quarter. The plan of the campaign, therefore, was principally formed with relation to the independent states of Sindia, Holcar, the Rajpoots, the nabob of Bhopal, and the chiefs of Bundelcund. Something after the fashion of the old "circular hunts" was to be attempted, by assembling armies round these countries which should, by simultaneous movements, close in so as to encompass the Pindarries and their abettors at all points, provision being made for the defeat of the project through the strength or cunning of the enemy, as well as for the defence of the

* Auber's *British Power in India*, ii., 528.

† Secret Letter of Directory to Bengal, Jan., 1818.

‡ Prinsep's *Military Transactions*, ii., 21.

§ Among the malcontents assembled under Ameer Khan was Dya Ram, a refractory *talookdar*, or zemindar of the Doab, who, in 1816, had been expelled by British troops from his fort of Hatras.

‖ The peishwa had command over 28,000 horse; 13,800 foot; 37 guns. Sindia—14,250 horse; 16,250 foot; 140 guns. Holcar—20,000 horse; 7,910 foot; 107 guns. Bhonslay—15,766 horse; 17,826 foot; 85 guns. Nizam—25,000 horse; 20,000 foot. The Nizam himself was too weak and indolent, if not incapable, to be suspected of any intention to intrigue against the English; but his sons were turbulent youths, whose vicious practices it had been necessary to assist their father in restraining; and it was difficult to judge what might be the conduct of the numerous armed population of Hyderabad, in the event of reverses attending our arms.

British territory. The forces destined to carry out this extensive scheme comprised above 91,000 regular troops, and 23,000 irregular horse,* divided and subdivided in accordance with the plan of the campaign. On the 20th October, 1817, the marquis, in person, assumed command of the grand army at Secundra (near Kalpee), and after crossing the Jumna by a bridge of boats, proceeded to occupy a position south of Gwalior, where Sindia had established his permanent camp;† while another division of the Bengal troops took up its station at Dholpoor. Undoubted evidence had been obtained that Sindia had not only pledged himself to support the Pindarries, but had even attempted a treacherous correspondence with the Nepaulese. His intercepted communications proved him to be only wanting a favourable opportunity to take the field, and thus give an example which would assuredly have been followed by the open appearance in arms of Ameer Khan and his Patans, who were at present inclined to hold back from their Pindarry friends. Sindia had inherited the ambition without the judgment or decision of his predecessor. He had not anticipated the skilful movement by which he found himself menaced by a formidable force in front and in the rear. To bide the event of a siege in Gwalior, or to repair to his distant dominions and join the Pindarries, with the chance of being intercepted and compelled to risk the event of a general engagement, were both humiliating and dangerous measures, which he thought best to avoid by agreeing to the demands of the English. These involved active concurrence against the Pindarries, and the temporary surrender of the forts of Hindia and Asserghur, as a pledge of fidelity. The treaty exacted from Sindia was followed by the submission of Ameer Khan, who agreed to disband his army, if confirmed in possession of the territory of which he was in the actual tenure under grants from Holcar. As this notorious chief was a mere adventurer, whose demands could only be conceded by legalising the usurpations on which they were founded, it may be doubted whether temporary expediency, rather than justice, was not the actuating motive in the arrangement entered upon with him. Treaties with Zalim Sing of Kotah, and other minor potentates, were made in a spirit similar to those formed by Lake under the auspices of Lord Wellesley; and the nabob of Bhopal, especially, entered cordially into the intended expedition against the despotic freebooters from whose ravages his small territories had sustained almost irremediable damage.‡

The Pindarry chiefs, meanwhile, aware of the extensive preparations made against them, employed themselves during the rains in recruiting their respective *durrahs* or camps. The want of cordiality between the principal leaders—namely, Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed—prevented their forming any combined plan of resistance. With the exception of some *luhburs*, or plundering expeditions dispatched against the unprotected territory of the British or their allies, little attempt at opposition was made; and losing their usual activity, the majority of the Pindarries retreated passively before the advancing foe, fixing their last hope on the secret assurances of support received from Poona.

The governor-general does not appear to have anticipated any struggle on the part of the peishwa to recover his lost authority. Mr. Elphinstone, in his capacity of resident, had seen ample reason to take precautions against this highly probable event; but Bajee Rao, in an interview with the political agent, Sir John Malcolm, had conducted himself so plausibly, that Sir John, completely duped by professions of grateful attachment for early support, mingled with sad complaints of the harsh policy recently adopted, forgot the character of the arch-hypocrite with whom he had to deal, and actually advised the peishwa to continue

* The Deccan force, under Sir Thomas Hislop (including a reserve corps, the Guzerat division, and the troops left at Poona, Hyderabad, and Nagpoor) numbered 57,000 regulars, of whom 5,255 were cavalry. The Bengal force comprised 34,000 regulars, including 5,000 cavalry.—(Col. Blacker.)

† Sindia seized Gwalior upon the death of Ambajee Inglia, in 1808, and established his army in the neighbourhood, where he remained until his own demise in 1827. A city sprang up there which soon rivalled Oojein, if not in the costliness of its structures, at least in the amount of population.

‡ In 1797, two Pindarry leaders, named Heeroo and Burrun, who were also brothers, offered the services of themselves and their 5,000 followers to the state of Bhopal, as auxiliaries in the war then carried on with Berar. Being rejected, they went off and made a similar proposition to Ragojee Bhonslay, who received it favourably, and bade them lay waste Bhopal, then in a most flourishing condition. The order was obeyed with cruel and lasting effect. The chiefs were plundered by their employer the Berar rajah. Heeroo, the father of Wasil Mohammed, died in prison; Burrun at Aseerghur.

enlisting recruits for the laudable purpose of co-operating with his good friends the English. Thus encouraged, Bajee Rao openly levied troops from all quarters, and secretly endeavoured to induce the British sepoys stationed at Poona to desert their colours. The native officers and regulars were, without exception, proof against these solicitations, which in many instances were made known to their commanders. But the irregular battalions, under Major Ford, contained a large proportion of Mahrattas, and these were naturally more subject to temptation. It is asserted that the peishwa desired, before proceeding further, to be rid of the resident by assassination; but that Bappoo Gokla, the chief Mahratta leader, positively refused to suffer the perpetration of so base a crime, the more especially since he had received peculiar kindness from the intended victim. Happily, Mr. Elphinstone was on his guard alike against national and individual hostility, and waited anxiously the first symptom of undisguised hostility, in anticipation of which a regiment had arrived from Bombay. Thinking the cantonment in Poona too exposed, the station was changed to the village of Kirkee, four miles distant; a step which, being attributed to fear, greatly encouraged the Mahrattas, who began to plunder the old cantonments. At length, on the 4th of Nov., 1817, Moro Dikshut, the minister of the peishwa, actuated by personal attachment, warned Major Ford to stand neuter in the coming struggle, and thus save himself and his family from the destruction which was shortly to overwhelm the whole British detachment. Up to this moment the major, though in daily communication with the city, had been so completely hoodwinked by Bajee Rao, as to entertain no suspicion of intended treachery. On the following day, news of the approach of a light battalion from Seroor, determined the irresolute peishwa to defer the attack no longer. Efforts were continued to the last to throw the British off their guard; and an emissary, bearing some frivolous message from the court, had scarcely quitted the residency, before intelligence arrived that the Mahratta army was in movement. Mr. Elphinstone and his suite had just time to mount and retire by the ford of the Moola river, to join their comrades at Kirkee, before the enemy arrived and took possession of the residency, which was speedily pillaged and burned.

The British brigade, leaving their cantonments, advanced to the plain between Kirkee and the city, to meet the Mahratta troops. The peishwa, disconcerted by this daring movement, sent word to Gokla not to fire the first gun. Gokla, seeing the messenger, and suspecting the nature of his errand, waited not his arrival, but commenced the attack by opening a battery of nine guns, detaching a strong corps of rocket camels, and pushing forward his cavalry to the right and left. A spirited charge was made under his direction by Moro Dikshut, with a select body of 6,000 horse, bearing the *Juree Putka* or swallow-tailed golden pennon of the empire. They came down like a torrent on the British front, but were steadily encountered by the 7th battalion. Colonel Burr had "formed and led" this corps; and now, though completely paralysed on one side, he took his post by its colours, calm and collected. One ball went through his hat, another grazed the head of his horse, two attendants were shot by his side; but the infirm officer, unhurt and undismayed, continued to cheer and direct his men. The advance of the assailants was happily impeded by a deep slough (the existence of which was not previously suspected by either party), situated immediately in front of the British line. The cavalry, while scrambling out of the mire, were exposed to the reserved fire of Burr's detachment; Moro Dikshut was killed, the force of the charge broken, confusion spread through the Mahratta ranks, and the advance of the English proved the signal for a general retreat. The battle of Kirkee must ever remain conspicuous among the hard-fought fields of India, for the great disproportion of the combatants. The Mahratta force comprised 18,000 cavalry and 8,000 foot: their loss was 500 men in killed and wounded;* beside which, a considerable number of their valuable and highly-cherished horses were disabled. The whole number of the British troops engaged in this affair, including Major Ford's battalion (part of which deserted), was 2,800 rank and file, of whom 800 were Europeans. Their loss was 186 killed and fifty-seven wounded.

During the engagement, the peishwa remained on the Parbuttee hill, with a guard of 7,000 men. At the first outbreak of hostilities, his orders were vindictive and ferocious in the extreme;† but he became

* Moro Dikshut was mortally wounded by a shot from a gun attached to Captain Ford's battalion.

† Several Europeans were killed in cold-blood;

alarmed by the unexpected turn of events, and gave over all power into the hands of Gokla, who was anxious to continue the contest. "We may have taken our shrouds about our heads," he said, "but we are determined to die with our swords in our hands."* This was not, however, the general feeling of the Mahrattas. They had little cause for attachment to the grasping and incapable Bajee Rao; and he displayed an utter want of confidence in their will or ability to protect him, by taking the approach of a British reinforcement, under General Smith, as the signal for a midnight retreat towards Sattara. Poona, thus a second time deserted by its sovereign, surrendered on the following day; and the necessary arrangements having been made for its retention, General Smith started off in pursuit of the peishwa, who, though a fugitive, was still at the head of a formidable army. He was further strengthened by the open adhesion of Appa Sahib, the rajah of Berar, between whom and the British force, under Colonel Scott, a severe conflict took place on the heights near Nagpoor, on the night of the 26th of November. The rajah being defeated, made terms of peace, for the fulfilment of which he was himself to be the guarantee, as a sort of prisoner in his own palace; but Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Jenkins, learning that Appa Sahib was only waiting an opportunity of escape, seized and sent him strongly escorted towards Benares. The captive, though treated heretofore without much ceremony, was suffered to choose his own escort; the result of which was, that the British officer on guard, having been made to believe that his charge was an invalid, gave a hasty glance at the bed on which Appa Sahib usually slept, and turned away after this slack performance of his nightly duty, without discovering that a pillow had been made to take the place of a person who was already many miles distant.

General Smith followed the peishwa through the Ghauts, but failed in bringing him to action. This much-desired object was, however, unexpectedly accomplished on the 1st of January, 1818, by a detachment proceeding to support Colonel Burr in resisting an expected attack on Poona. Captain Staunton, with one battalion of N. I. 600 strong, 350 irregular horse, and two 6-pounders, manned by twenty-four Europeans, after a long night march, reached the hills above Corygaum, a village overhanging the steep bank of the Beema river, and beheld with surprise the whole force of the peishwa, estimated at 25,000 to 28,000 men, encamped on the opposite bank. Both parties pushed on for the village, and succeeded in occupying different portions; but the British gained possession of a small *choultry*, or place of refreshment, which had originally been a temple. Here the detachment remained, under a burning sun, cut off from the water from noon to nine o'clock, disputing every foot of ground, and repulsing repeated attacks with the bayonet. The peishwa ascended an adjoining eminence, and, with the rajah of Sattara by his side, awaited what seemed a certain victory. Gokla and Trimbukjee (who had now joined his master) directed the attacks; and the Arab mercenaries, whose superior courage was acknowledged by superior pay, at one time became masters of the choultry, but it was soon recaptured. The struggle seemed hopeless, but surrender was not thought of. "See," said Captain Staunton, pointing to the headless trunk of Lieutenant Chisholm, lying beside a gun, "the mercy of the Mahrattas!" The troops, though some were fainting and others nearly frantic with thirst, declared that sooner than fall into the hands of their foes, they would die to a man: and the result seemed probable. Happily, towards nightfall, a supply of water was procured. The firing gradually ceased; and at daybreak, when the brave band prepared to renew the conflict, the enemy was descried moving off on the road to Poona, in consequence of the rumoured advance of General Smith. Captain Staunton, who was unhurt, retreated to Seroor; and the government, in commemoration of this gallant affair, raised the corps engaged† to the much-coveted rank of grenadiers, and added "Corygaum" to the name of "Mangalore," previously borne by the first regiment of Bombay native infantry.

Sattara was besieged by a combined force under generals Smith and Pritzler, on the 9th of February, and capitulated on the following day. A manifesto was issued by Mr. Elphinstone, on behalf of the British government, taking formal possession of the dominions of the peishwa, with the view of

and the families of the native troops who fell into the hands of the Mahrattas were cruelly maltreated

* Duff's *Mahrattas*, iii., 429.

† The battalion (2nd of 1st Bombay N. I.) lost 153 killed and wounded; the artillerymen (26 in all), 18; cavalry, 96; officers, 5 out of 8, including 2 surgeons.

retaining all except a small tract to be reserved for the rajah of Sattara, who, with his family, was still in the hands of Bajee Rao. General Smith again started off in pursuit, and came up with the Mahratta force at Ashtee, to the north-westward of Sholapoor. Bajee Rao, as usual, thought only of making good his retreat, and left Gokla, with a body of eight or ten thousand horse, to fight the English. General Smith,* though in other respects a good officer, is said to have been ignorant of the art of manœuvring cavalry, and he was opposed by a leader of unrivalled skill in that favourite branch of Mahratta warfare. The English chief was cut down, and some confusion ensued; of which before Gokla could take advantage, he was himself slain—falling, as he had promised, sword in hand. There was no one capable of taking his place, and the Mahrattas fled in wild dismay, leaving elephants, camels, and baggage of all descriptions, to the victors.† The rajah of Sattara, with his mother and two brothers, voluntarily threw themselves on British protection; and being placed under the care of Mr. Elphinstone, and assured of the favourable intentions of the British government, the rajah assumed the state of a sovereign. The wound of General Smith did not prove dangerous, and he was soon enabled to resume the pursuit of Bajee Rao, which the excessive heat of the weather rendered an extremely arduous and depressing task. The men fell beneath sun-strokes more surely and speedily than in the recent engagements, and the hospitals became crowded. The fugitive peishwa had long been desirous to make terms of peace; and at length, when his intended passage across the Nerbudda was intercepted by Sir John Malcolm, he made proposals which that officer considered as affording satisfactory ground for an arrangement. The terms finally agreed to were the complete renunciation of every political right or claim by Bajee Rao, in return for an allowance of not less than eight lacs of rupees a-year. Beithoor, a place of sanctity near Cawnpore, was appointed for his future residence. Trimbukjee was soon after captured in his lurking-place by a party of irregular horse under Lieutenant Swanston (one of the victors at Corygaum), and sent prisoner to the fort of Chunar, in Bengal.

To revert to the operations simultaneously carried on against the Pindarries. Soon after the signing of the treaty of alliance with Sindia, on the 5th of Nov., 1817, the army under Lord Hastings was overtaken by a violent pestilence, since known as cholera,‡ which traversed the whole of India, from Nepaul to Cape Comorin. The year was one of scarcity, the grain of inferior quality, and the situation of the British cantonments low and unhealthy. For ten days the whole camp was an hospital; and the deaths in that short period amounted to a tenth of the total number collected. Towards the end of the month the troops removed to a healthy station at Erich, on the Betwa, and the epidemic had evidently expended its virulence. Notwithstanding this calamity, the object of Lord Hastings in advancing to Gwalior, was fully answered by the prevention of any co-operation between Sindia and the Pindarries. The latter, after being expelled from their haunts in Malwa, were compelled to retreat in various directions, and annihilated or dispersed, with the exception of those under Cheetoo, who being pursued by Sir John Malcolm, took refuge in the camp of Holcar, near Mahidpoor. The government of the Holcar principality at this time rested in the hands of Toolsae Bye, the favourite mistress of the late Jeswunt Rao, who had exercised the chief authority during his insanity. After his death, she placed on the musnud his infant son Mulhar Rao, and proceeded to give vent to all the cruel caprices which could suggest themselves to the imagination of a woman of thirty years of age, handsome and of fascinating manners, but of an imperious and merciless temper and most licentious morals. Her last favourite, who assumed *ex officio* the reins of government, was the Dewan, Gunput Rao. He wavered between fear of the English and a desire to take part with the peishwa, then in arms. The commanders of battalions, especially the Patans, were adverse to entering upon any treaty by which their consequence was likely to be lowered; and fearing that the force under Malcolm, to which the division under Sir Thomas Hislop

* Afterwards Sir Lionel Smith, govr. of Jamaica.

† The British loss amounted to only nineteen killed and wounded; that of the enemy, to 200.

‡ *Transactions in India*, 1813 *to* 1823, i., 107—111. Mr. Prinsep was present at head-quarters, and lost seven servants and a *moonshee* in four days. During one week, 764 soldiers and 8,000 camp followers perished. Total deaths of Europeans in camp in Nov.—148. The epidemic, called by the natives the "black death," visited Calcutta in September, 1817, and for a long time destroyed above 200 per diem in that city.—(Prinsep: Wilson, ix., 253.)

had since been added, would overawe their vacillating rulers into submission, they threw Gunput Rao into prison, enticed away the child, Mulhar Rao, from the tent before which he was playing, and carried off Toolsae Bye, by night, to the banks of the Seepra, where, despite her cries, she was decapitated, and the body thrown into the river.*

On the following day (21st of December, 1817), a pitched battle took place, in which the British were completely successful, though at the cost of nearly 800 in killed and wounded. The enemy lost 3,000 men, chiefly in the flight to Mundissoor. The mother of the child Mulhar Rao, though a woman of inferior rank, being now the acknowledged regent of the Mahratta state, made full submission to the English; and in return for the cession of all claims in Rajast'han and south of the Sautpoora range, was confirmed in the actual possession of the remaining territories of the principality, at the court of which a British resident was to be established. Many of the old leaders repudiated this engagement, and set off to join Bajee Rao—an attempt in which some succeeded, but others were intercepted, and cut off or dispersed.† The ministers, under the new order of things, "did not deplore an event which disembarrassed a bankrupt state of a mutinous soldiery, and cancelled a number of old and troublesome claims."

The struggles of the Pindarries were nearly ended; Kureem Khan, and other chiefs, surrendered on the promise of pardon and a livelihood, and received small grants of land. Wasil Mohammed poisoned himself. Cheetoo for some time contrived to elude pursuit, but was surprised in Dec., 1817, with the main body of his followers, and dispersed by a detachment from the garrison at Hindia. The Bheels (aboriginal peasantry) and the Grassias (native landowners), remembering the outrages they had long passively sustained, now spared not a Pindarry who fell into their hands; but Cheetoo, with about 200 followers, still remained at large.‡ Though driven from place to place, the daring freebooter bore up against misfortune with a spirit worthy a better cause; till he suddenly disappeared—none, not even his son and few remaining followers, knew how or where; for they had parted from him to hunt the forest for food. After some days, his horse was discovered grazing near the jungles of Aseerghur (where Appa Sahib had sought refuge), saddled and bridled: at a little distance lay a heap of torn and blood-stained garments, and a human head, the remains of a tiger's feast. It was a fitting death for the last of the Pindarries—the last that is deserving the name; for these bold marauders, deprived of their leaders, without a home or a rendezvous, never again became formidable. After the termination of the war with the peishwa, they gradually merged into the ordinary population, following the example of their leaders. Many of them settled in the Deccan and Malwa, as cultivators; and some, employing their energies to a right use, became distinguished as active, improving farmers. The remaining Patan troops were conciliated or dispersed without further bloodshed.

The flight of Appa Sahib caused much anxiety, which terminated with the fall of the fortress of Aseerghur (April, 1819), whence the ex-rajah escaped disguised as a fakeer, and soon sank into a state of insignificance, from which he never emerged. An infant grandson of Ragojee Bhonslay was chosen to bear that name and fill the vacant *gadi*, or throne of Berar, with the title of rajah, under the nominal regency of his grandmother, the British resident being vested with the actual control of affairs during the minority. The remaining operations of the war were chiefly directed to the expulsion

* The career of Toolsae Bye resembles that of the heroine of a romance. She passed as the niece, but was generally supposed to be the daughter, of Adjeeba, an ambitious priest, who, though a professed mendicant, rose to rank and influence. He spared no pains in the education of Toolsae; and she, Malcolm not very gallantly remarks, was "tutored in more than the common arts of her sex." Jeswunt Rao became enamoured with the fair *intrigante* at first sight. She was married, but that mattered little. In a few days the lady was in the palace of Holcar, her husband in prison, from whence he was released and sent home to the Deccan with some presents. Toolsae Bye had an artful waiting-maid, double her own age, who, after having attained high station and amassed large sums by extortion (thereby exciting the envy of the minister on whom the fleeting affections of her mistress for the moment rested), was flung into prison, cruelly tortured, and driven to end her agonies by taking poison.—(Malcolm.)

† An excellent account of the Mahratta and Pindarry campaigns of 1817-'18-'19, has been given by an officer engaged therein—Lieutenant-colonel Blacker.

‡ Conditions of surrender were discussed on behalf of Cheetoo, but his terms were extravagant: moreover, he feared treachery and transportation; and even when dreaming, used to talk with horror of the sea, the hateful *Cala pani*, or black water. After his tragical end, a few fields were allotted for the subsistence of his son, a youth of weak intellect.

of various Arab garrisons from Candeish, a province which, though professedly under the sway of the Poona government, had been gradually usurped by Arab colonists. Malligaum, the strongest fort in the Candeish valley, was gained after an obstinate siege in June, 1819, at a cost to the successful besiegers of 200 killed and wounded.*

The E. I. Cy. evinced their sense of the conduct of the governor-general during the late "glorious and successful wars," by granting him the sum of £60,000 from the territorial revenues of India, for the purchase of an estate in the United Kingdom. Few remaining events in the administration of Lord Hastings need here be mentioned. Its commencement was marked by the renewal of the company's charter for twenty years; by the opening of trade with India to the nation at large; and by the formation of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India.† The occupation of Singapore, in 1817, was effected through the efforts of Sir Stamford Raffles, to whose zeal and discernment may be attributed the possession of the British portion of the Indian Archipelago. Protracted negotiations were carried on with Holland by Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, which terminated in the Netherlands' treaty of 1824, by which the Dutch settlements on the continent of India, with Malacca, and the undisputed right to Singapore, were ceded to England in exchange for Sumatra, which was needlessly surrendered.

The financial dealings with Oude have been noticed. The pecuniary loans of the nabob aided in enabling him to assume the title of vizier without the sanction of the emperor; and, in 1819, the style of vizier was changed for that of king—an indiscreet admission on the part of the E. I. Cy. The chief blot upon the character of Lord Hastings' administration, was caused by the countenance lent by him to the nefarious transactions of certain persons who, under pretence of mercantile dealings, obtained the sanction of government to the most shameless and usurious practices, carried on at the expense of the weak and incompetent Nizam. It was in fact a new version of the "Carnatic debt," conducted in the name of Messrs. Palmer and Co., one of the confederates or partners being Sir Thomas Rumbold, who stood almost in the position of son-in-law to the governor-general, having married a niece whom his lordship had brought up from infancy, and for whom he avowedly cherished the feelings of a father. Strong domestic attachment and excessive vanity conspired to induce Lord Hastings to defend a course into which he had been misled by the artifice of covetous men; and when his late secretary, Charles Metcalfe, on entering upon the duties of British resident at Hyderabad, set forth in very guarded and moderate language, the necessity of introducing a better order of things, the marquis manifested great annoyance, and subsequently addressed a most intemperate letter to the directory, in return for their very just animadversions on the nature of a firm which, without office or establishment, carried on "dealings to the extent of nearly £700,000, occurring under an imperceptible progress."‡ Payments for real or imaginary loans, at sixteen to eighteen per cent., were made by the Hyderabad government, by cash and by assignments of revenue; notwithstanding which, £600,000 were claimed by Messrs. William Palmer and Co., as the balance of accounts with the Nizam in 1820.

During the course of his prolonged administration, the Marquis of Hastings, involved in numerous and intricate military operations, found little opportunity to study with success questions connected with the civil administration of the empire, and the complicated and anxious question of revenue.§ His lordship resigned his office into the hands of the senior member of

* In the course of the Mahratta war, considerable service was rendered by Sir Thomas Munro, who, with a few hundred men, was deputed to take possession of the country ceded by the treaty of Poona, which was effected with some fighting, but chiefly by conciliation. Sir David Ochterlony likewise played a conspicuous part in the Pindarry war. His death, in 1825, occurred under painful circumstances. He was twice appointed resident at Delhi, and removed each time against his inclination: on the last occasion, vexation of spirit increased the morbid melancholy which hastened the close of his eventful career; and his last words, as he turned to the wall, were—"I die disgraced."—(Kay's *Life of Metcalfe*, ii., 132.)

† The first Bishop of Calcutta (Middleton) came out in 1814. He died in 1822, and was succeeded by Reginald Heber, who was cut off by apoplexy in 1826. Bishop James died in 1828. Turner in 1830.

‡ Auber, ii., 558 to 566. Thornton, iv., 583.

§ Sir Thomas Munro was sent to Madras in 1814, at the head of a commission formed for the purpose of revising the judicial system. He exerted himself very efficiently in the decision of arrears of causes which had been suffered to accumulate to a shameful extent. In 1821, he became governor of Madras, and carried out a settlement with a portion of the individual cultivators, called the ryotwar assessment, by which each small holder was not simply put in

council, Mr. Adam, and quitted India in January, 1823.* Though nearly seventy years of age, pecuniary embarrassments prevented him from spending his remaining days in his own country; and he was appointed governor of Malta, where he died, in consequence of a fall from his horse, in 1826.†

For six months the supreme authority rested in the hands of Mr. John Adam, an honest and able man, but somewhat prejudiced. He had uniformly dissented from the conduct adopted by the late governor-general with regard to the house of Palmer and Co.; and he was ready and willing to carry out the orders of the court for making the large advance to the Nizam necessary to free him from the hands of his rapacious creditors, who were forbidden to have any further dealings with the court of Hyderabad. The circumstances of the case are involved in mystery; but it is certain that the failure of the concern created a great commotion in Calcutta, many persons being secretly interested in these transactions whose names were never made public. The proprietors of East India stock called for documents calculated to throw light on the whole affair; and, after much tedious discussion during the next twenty years, political influence procured a decision more favourable to the claims of the European money-lenders, against various native debtors in Oude, than was consistent with the honour of the British government.

This provisional administration was marked by the deportation of Mr. Silk Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, for a breach of the regulation forbidding editorial comments on public measures. The successful efforts of Mr. Adam for the reduction of expenditure, especially of the interest of the Indian debt, were highly meritorious, as were also his unavailing attempts for the extension of native education.

AMHERST ADMINISTRATION: 1823 TO 1827.—The place of Lord Hastings was at first destined to be filled by Mr. Canning; but the changes in the cabinet, consequent upon the death of the Marquis of Londonderry, opened more congenial employment to the newly-appointed governor-general, and he remained at home in charge of the foreign office. Lord Amherst was selected for the control of Indian affairs, and arrived in Calcutta in August, 1823. The first object pressed on his attention was the open hostility in which a long series of disputes with the Burman empire abruptly terminated. The power of the Burmese was of comparatively recent growth. The people of Ava, after being themselves subject to the neighbouring country of Pegu, revolted under a leader of their own nation, in 1753. Rangoon, the capital of Pegu, surrendered to the Ava chief, who assumed the title of Alompra,‡ and the style of a sovereign; and during the succeeding eight years, laid the basis of an extensive state, which was subsequently enlarged by acquisitions on the Tenasserim coast taken from Siam, and by the annexation of the previously independent states of Arracan, of Munnipoor, and of Assam. Proceedings connected with the conquest of Arracan, brought the Burmese in contact with the British government; for, at the close of the eighteenth century, many thousand persons of the tribe called Mughs, sought refuge from the insufferable persecution of their oppressors in the British province of Arracan. The numbers of the immigrants excited apprehension, and attempts were made to prevent any more of them from crossing the boundary line formed by the Naaf river. But this was impracticable by means consistent with

the position of a mere yearly tenant, but was compelled to pay a fluctuating amount assessed annually at the pleasure of the collector for the time being, whose chief object was naturally the realisation of an immediate amount of revenue, without regard to the permanent welfare—indissolubly united—of the governors and the governed. This system, much praised at the time, reduced the Madras ryots to a state of extreme depression. Munro died of cholera near Gooty, in 1827.—(*Vide Life*, by Gleig.)

* The revenues of India rose from £17,228,000, in 1813–'14, to £23,120,000 in 1822–'3; but a considerable share of this increase is attributable to the accession of territory made under the Wellesley administration. The more than proportionate augmentation of military expense is no less clearly ascribable to the unjustifiable measures of Lord Cornwallis and Sir G. Barlow, and especially to the sufferance long extended to the ferocious Pindarries and the encroaching Mahrattas. For five years (1817 to 1822), the average annual military expenditure was £9,770,000. In 1822–'3, the expenses still reached £8,495,000. The Indian debt increased from £27,002,000, in 1813–'14, to £29,382,000 in 1822–'3; showing an augmentation of £2,380,000. An able and comprehensive summary of the Hastings administration is given by Josiah Conder, whose history terminates at this point.

† Lord Hastings married Flora Campbell, Countess of Loudon, who lived with him in India in the full blaze of vice-regal splendour. In 1827, the sum of £20,000 was granted to the young marquis.

‡ Alompra (correctly, *Alaong-b'hura*), a term applied by the Buddhists of Ava to an individual destined to become a Budd'ha, and attain the supreme felicity of absorption into the divine essence.

ordinary humanity. In 1798, not fewer than 10,000 Mughs rushed to the frontier in an almost frenzied state, and were followed by another body still more numerous, leaving the capital of Arracan nearly depopulated. They had fled through wilds and deserts without any preconcerted plan, leaving behind them abundant traces of their melancholy progress in the dead bodies of both old and young, and of mothers with infants at the breast. The leader of one party, when told to withdraw, replied that he and his companions would never return to Arracan: they were ready to die by the hands of the English, or, if forcibly driven off, would seek refuge in the jungles of the great mountains, the abodes of wild beasts. The wretched multitudes attempted no violence, but sustained life as best they could on "reptiles and leaves," numbers daily perishing, until the British government, taking pity upon their misery, provided the means of sustenance, and materials for the construction of huts to shelter them from the approaching rains. Extensive tracts of waste lands, in the province of Chittagong, were assigned to the refugees, whom, perhaps, it would have been advisable to have settled in a more central position, since a colony of 40,000 persons, established under such circumstances, would, as they grew stronger, be very likely to provoke hostilities with the already incensed and barbarous sovereign of Ava.

The surrender of the Mughs was repeatedly demanded by this potentate, but the Marquis Wellesley returned a decided refusal; qualified, however, by an offer to give up any proved and notorious criminals, and by a promise to prohibit any renewed immigration of Burmese subjects. Some communications took place of little importance; and the discussion might have passed off without producing further hostility, but for the restless spirit of the Mughs, and their natural longing to regain possession of their ancient rights and former homes. A chief, named Khyen-bran (miscalled Kingberring), arose among them inspired with an insatiable desire of vengeance against the Burmese, which he manifested by annual irruptions into Arracan. The Calcutta government strove to check these aggressions, and Lord Hastings gave leave to the Burmese to pursue the depredators to their haunts in Chittagong; but this concession did not appease the King of Ava, who attempted to form a confederacy with Runjeet Sing and other Indian princes, for the expulsion of the English from India. After the death of Khyen-bran, in 1815, the border warfare greatly diminished, and the British authorities, considering the chief cause of contention removed, maintained a very conciliatory tone, which being interpreted by the nameless* majesty of Ava as significant of weakness, only rendered his representatives more insolent and overbearing. Still no actual rupture took place until September, 1823, when a thousand Burmese landed by night on the small island of Shahpoori, at the entrance of the Tek Naaf, or arm of the sea dividing Chittagong from Arracan. The islet was little more than a sandbank, affording pasturage for a few cattle. The guard consisted only of thirteen men, three of whom were killed, four wounded, and the rest driven off the island.

An explanation of this conduct was demanded, and given in the form of a vaunting declaration, that Shahpoori rightfully belonged to the "fortunate king of the white elephants, lord of the seas and earth," and that the non-admission of the claim of "the golden foot" would be followed by the invasion of the British territories. The threat was carried into execution, and a Burmese force actually took post within five miles of the town of Sylhet, only 226 miles from Calcutta. The governor-general entered upon the war with unfeigned reluctance, and its commencement was materially impeded by ignorance of the country, its routes, and passes. The advance from Bengal was at one time intended to have been made through Arracan, but this plan was set aside from regard to the health of the troops; and the main part of the force designed for the campaign, comprising about 11,000 men,† of whom one-half were Euro-

* The names of the kings of Ava, like those of the zamorins of Calicut, were kept secret until their deaths. The style of the Ava court, was to speak of "the golden presence," to address "the golden ear," or lay petitions before "the golden foot;" and on state occasions, the royal head was literally oppressed with the weight of a golden pyramid, and the body clothed in wrought gold.—(Trant's *Two Years in Ava*, 270; Havelock's *Ava*, 245.)

† This included the combined strength of Madras and Bengal; but the excessive repugnance manifested by the native troops in the service of the latter presidency to forsake their families and forfeit caste by embarking on board ship, rendered it impossible to employ any considerable portion of them. It appears, moreover, that great neglect existed on the part of those entrusted with the charge of the commissariat, as in the case of the refusal to march

peans, assembled in May, 1824, at Port Cornwallis, in the Great Andamans. Major-general Sir Archibald Campbell took command of the land, and Commodore Grant of the marine portion of the expedition, but the latter commander was speedily compelled, by ill-health, to give place to Captain Marryat. The forces safely reached Rangoon, the chief port of Ava, which was evacuated after a very feeble attempt at resistance.* On the 10th of June, a successful attempt was made on the fortified camp and stockades at Kemendine, on the Irawaddy river. The outwork was taken by storm; the first man to gain the summit being Major (afterwards Sir Robert) Sale. These conquests were followed by a disastrous expedition, which involved not only loss of life, but of character. A Burmese detachment had formed stockades, under cover of a fortified pagoda, at Kykloo, fourteen miles from Rangoon, and a body of Madras infantry was dispatched to drive them off, under Lieutenant-colonel Smith. The Burmese suffered the English to approach within sixty yards of the pagoda, and then opened their reserved fire with deadly effect. The sepoys may well be excused for quailing before the foe when British officers fairly lost all self-control, and lay down to screen themselves from danger. Colonel Smith ordered a retreat, which soon became a flight, and many lives would doubtless have been sacrificed had not the approach of reinforcements arrested the progress of both pursuers and pursued. A strong force was sent by Sir A. Campbell to drive the Burmese from Kykloo, but they had previously absconded. This affair, which occurred in October, 1824, was not calculated to cheer the army, or encourage them in a position daily becoming less endurable. No consideration of pity for the unfortunate people of Rangoon had prevented the complete devastation of the country by its sovereign, and the invaders were consequently disappointed in their hopes of obtaining supplies of fresh meat and vegetables, and compelled to feed on putrid meat and bad biscuit. The influence of dense jungle and pestilential swamp, aggravated by intense heat and deluges of rain, spread fever and dysentery through the camp: scurvy and hospital gangrene followed in their train; and by the end of the monsoon scarcely 3,000 men were fit for active duty. The King of Ava relied on the proverbial unhealthiness of Rangoon to aid the efforts of his ill-disciplined troops, and facilitate the performance of his command to drive the invaders into the sea, or bring them to the capital to suffer torture and ignominy. Notwithstanding this vaunting language, his majesty of the golden foot became extremely uneasy on witnessing the pertinacity of the English, and despite much affected rejoicing at their having fallen into a trap by taking up a position at Rangoon, he compared himself, in an unguarded moment, to a man who, having got a tiger by the tail, knew not whether to hold on or let go.† He is said to have been encouraged in "holding on," by an odd tradition (if any such did really exist) that the capital would remain invincible until a magical vessel should advance against it without oars or sails!‡

The *Diana* steamer, which accompanied the flotilla on the Irawaddy, though possessed of no magic power, did great service in capturing and destroying the war-boats and fire-rafts sent out by the Burmese. The arrival of reinforcements and supplies from Bengal restored the number of troops at Rangoon to about their original amount, and infused new life into the survivors, and spirit to resist the repeated but ill-

against the Burmese, made by the 47th regiment (about 1,400 in number), at Barrackpoor, in 1825. The men entreated to be dismissed and suffered to return to their homes, but without effect. The regiment was paraded, and the refusal of the men to march or ground their arms (which they held unloaded, though furnished with forty rounds of ammunition), was punished by a murderous discharge of artillery, which killed numbers of them. About 200 were taken prisoners, of whom twelve were hanged, and the remainder condemned to labour in irons. The court of inquiry appointed to report on the whole affair, declared the conduct of the unhappy soldiers "to have been an ebullition of despair at being compelled to march without the means of doing so."—(Thornton's *India*, iv., 113.) How military men can reconcile their consciences to such proceedings as these, is perfectly incomprehensible.

* Crawfurd's *Embassy to Ava in* 1827: App., p. 65.

† The Shwe-da-gon, a Buddhist temple of great size and remarkable sanctity, being deserted by its priestly guardians, was used by Sir A. Campbell as a military outwork. The building was of solid brickwork, elaborately decorated, and coated with gilding, whence its name—the Golden Pagoda. The portion deemed peculiarly sacred, was a solid cone 300 feet high, which was supposed to enshrine, or rather entomb, relics of the four last Budd'has—the staff of Krakuchunda, the water-pot of Gunaguna; the bathing-robe of Kasyapa, and eight hairs from the head of Gautama, or Sakyasinha.—(Wilson's Mill, ix., 50. Also Hough, Symes, Snodgrass, Trant, and Havelock.)

‡ Auber gives the tradition upon the authority of Col. Hopkinson, who commanded the Madras artillery in the Burmese war.—(ii., 579.) Trant also mentions it.—(*Two Years in Ava*, 241.)

directed attempts of the various forces dispatched against them from Ava.

The provinces of Assam and Cachar were captured by troops sent from Hindoostan, with the aid of native auxiliaries. In January, 1825, 11,000 men were assembled in Chittagong, and dispatched, under General Morrison, to Arracan, with instructions to reduce that province, and then join Sir Archibald Campbell on the Irawaddy. The first object of the mission was fulfilled; but ignorance of the Aeng Pass rendered the Youmadoung mountains an impracticable barrier, and prevented the performance of the latter order. By the close of the rainy season one-fourth of the men were dead, and more than half the survivors in hospital, from the unhealthiness of the climate. The remainder were therefore recalled, with the exception of a few divisions left on coast stations. Happily the war had been more successfully prosecuted in Ava. The whole of Tenasserim was conquered by detachments from Rangoon* before the close of 1824; and in the following February, General Campbell prepared to advance, by land and water, against Prome, the second city of Ava. On the 25th of March, the troops came in sight of Donabew, a fortified place, where the flower of the Burmese army lay encamped. Our flotilla was attacked without success. Bandoola, the ablest and most popular of the Burmese commanders, was killed by a shell; upon which Donabew was abandoned by the enemy and immediately occupied by order of General Campbell, who advanced against Prome, which was evacuated on his approach. The King of Ava had not yet lost hope: levies were raised in every part of the kingdom; and in November, a heterogeneous force marched under the command of the prime minister for the recovery of Prome. An engagement took place on the 1st of December, which terminated in the death of the Burmese leader and the dispersion of the entire force. The British general prepared to follow up his victory by marching on the capital, but his progress was delayed by overtures of peace, which proved to be mere pretexts to gain time. The same stratagem was repeated more than once; and even at the last, when the evident futility of resistance seemed to attest the sincerity of the defeated Burmese, the boast of a military adventurer, that he would be answerable for the discomfiture of the invaders if enabled to lead an army against them, induced the renewal of offensive operations by the King of Ava. Troops to the number of 16,000 were assembled under the new leader, who was dignified by the name of Nuring Thuring, prince of Sunset (which our troops, being poor linguists, translated as prince of Darkness), and entrusted with the charge of covering the capital against the approach of the British army. The so-called "retrievers of the king's glory" encountered about 1,300 men, under Colonel Campbell (two brigades being absent on duty), and were dispersed with greater loss than had been sustained by their predecessors on any previous occasion. Their brave, though boastful leader, ventured to prostrate himself before the golden throne, and solicit a more powerful force, but was immediately put to death by the enraged and humiliated sovereign. No time could be spared now for procrastinating schemes if Ava were to be saved from the grasp of the English army, which marched on to Yandaboo, only forty-five miles distant. Two American missionaries (Messrs. Price and Judson), "the only negotiators in whom the king had any confidence," were dispatched to the British camp to conclude peace. General Campbell made no increase on the terms already stipulated for, and a treaty was finally concluded in February, 1826, by which the King of Ava ceded Arracan and Tenasserim to the English; agreed to pay them a crore of rupees (about a million sterling), to receive a resident at his court, and to grant to their ships the privileges enjoyed by his own. He likewise renounced all claim upon Asam, Jyntia, Cachar, and Munnipoor, which were to be placed under princes named by the British government.

The "peacock signet" was affixed to the treaty, the provisions of which were fulfilled, including the money stipulation, after some delay and discussion; and thus ended the first Burmese war. The dangers, disasters, and heavy cost of life and treasure involved therein, afforded strong arguments to both parties in favour of a durable peace.

* Among the expeditions sent against the English at Rangoon, was one under the immediate superintendence of the king's two brothers, and numerous astrologers. A band of warriors termed "invulnerables" by their countrymen, accompanied the princes, and were remarkable for the elaborate tattooing of their bodies, which were covered with figures of animals, and literally inlaid with precious stones. Despite their name, and real though ill-directed valour, they fled before European musketry.

The main body of the invading force returned as they came, by the line of the Irawaddy; but a body of native infantry succeeded in finding a practicable route to the Aeng Pass, and thus clearly proved that nothing but ignorance of the geography of the country had, humanly speaking, been the sole means of preventing "a portion of General Morrison's army from wintering in Ava, instead of perishing in the mountains of Arracan."*

Before the termination of the Burmese war, proceedings had occurred in another quarter which involved a fresh appeal to arms. The successors of Runjeet Sing of Bhurtpoor, had faithfully observed the treaty of 1805. The latter of these rajahs, Baldeo Sing, had taken pains to ensure the protection of the supreme government for his son, Bulwunt Sing, a child of five years old, by entreating the political agent at Delhi, Sir David Ochterlony, to invest the boy with a *khelat*, or honorary dress, which was the form prescribed by Lord Wellesley as the official recognition necessary to legal succession on the part of all subsidiary and protected princes. The request of the rajah was granted early in 1824, in consideration of his infirm health; and his death a year after, not without suspicion of poison, was followed by a train of events which proved the justice of the precautions adopted on behalf of the heir. For about a month the reins of government rested quietly in the hands of the guardian and maternal uncle of the young rajah; but at the expiration of that time, the citadel was seized, the uncle murdered, and the boy made prisoner by Doorjun Sal (a nephew of the late Baldeo Sing), who assumed the direction of affairs. This daring usurpation involved a defiance to the British government, which Sir David Ochterlony felt keenly; he also knew on how slender a thread hung the life of the boy, for whose protection the honour of England had been solemnly pledged. An immediate demand for the surrender of Bulwunt Sing was refused; but the promptitude and determination with which it had been made, probably prevented another name from being added to the long list of Indian princes born too near a throne to escape death by a poisoned opiate, or the dexterous hand of an athlete. Sir David was anxious to waste no time in inconclusive negotiation: he wished to march at once against Bhurtpoor, before the enemy should have opportunity to take measures of defence. With this intent, the veteran general, then in his sixty-eighth year (fifty preceding ones having been spent in India), set on foot the necessary preparations, which were arrested by counter-orders from the supreme government. The heavy pecuniary cost, and numerous disasters attendant on the early stages of the Burmese war, combined with mortifying recollections of the issue of the former siege of Bhurtpoor, rendered Lord Amherst reluctant to enter on an undertaking which, if unsuccessful, might, it was feared, add to existing embarrassments—that of "hostilities with every state from the Punjab to Ava."† The successful defence of this Indian fortress against Lake, was still the favourite vaunt of every secret and open foe to English supremacy: the repetition of such an event was to be avoided at any cost. The annulment of the recent measures may be vindicated as a necessary act; but there can be no excuse for the harsh and peremptory manner in which it was enforced, to the bitter mortification of Ochterlony, who after being before deprived of the position of Delhi resident by Sir George Barlow, was now compelled to tender his resignation, which he survived only a few months.‡

Doorjun Sal attributed the conduct of the British government to fear, and was consequently emboldened to drop the submissive tone which he had adopted while military preparations were in progress, and assert his claims, not as regent, but as rajah. The new Delhi resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe, advocated the same policy as that which had cost his predecessor so dearly; and his representations, in conjunction with the warlike proceedings of Doorjun Sal, induced the supreme government to resolve on espousing the cause of Bulwunt Sing. An attempt at negotiation having failed, an army, comprising about 21,000 men and above a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, marched against Bhurtpoor in December, 1825, under the direction of Lord Combermere. The garrison was believed to comprise 20,000 men, chiefly Rajpoots and Jats, with some Afghans; but the best defence of the fortress consisted in its thick high walls of indurated clay, rising from the edge of a broad and deep ditch, flanked by thirty-five tower-bastions, and strengthened by the

* Trant's *Two Years in Ava*, 447. Prof. Wilson's *Documents Illustrative of Burmese War*.
† Wilson's Mill's *India*, ix., 191.
‡ *See* Note to p. 421

outworks of nine gateways. Of these fortifications several had been added since 1805: one in particular, termed the Bastion of Victory, was vauntingly declared to have been built with the blood and bones of Englishmen there laid low. On the previous occasion the besieged had, nevertheless, enjoyed advantages far superior to those on which they now relied. An immense number of troops, stated, doubtless with exaggeration, at 80,000,* were then assembled within the walls, whence they could issue at pleasure to draw supplies from the adjacent country; for the limited number of Lord Lake's force confined his operations to a single point. Moreover, the English at that time trusted too exclusively to hard fighting, and neglected the resources of engineering skill, especially the construction of mines—a measure now adopted by Lord Combermere, at the suggestion of Major Galloway† and Lieutenant Forbes of the engineers, who was on duty at the siege. The communication between the moat of the fortress and the extensive piece of water by which it was supplied, was cut off, the ditch nearly emptied, and mines were carried across and above it; while the operation of powerful batteries covered the approaches and kept down the fire of the enemy. By the middle of January the walls had been effectively breached, and the army impatiently waited the order to storm. It was given on the 18th, the appointed signal being the springing of a mine containing 10,000 lbs. of powder. The foremost of the storming party, in their anxiety to advance immediately after the explosion, crowded too near the opening, and the quakings of the earth, and the dull tremulous sound beneath their feet, came too late to save several of them from sharing the fate of numbers of the enemy assembled to defend the breach, who perished in the convulsion which darkened the air with dense clouds of dust and smoke, and hurled disjointed masses of the hardened ramparts in all directions. The fate of their comrades gave a momentary check to the ardour of the assailants; but the order to advance was issued and obeyed—the troops scaled the ramparts, and after overcoming a resolute resistance at different points, gained possession of the town and outworks, at the cost of about 600 killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 14,000, of whom 8,000 were slain in the assault; many being cut off by the British cavalry while attempting to escape through the gates on the western face of the fortress. The citadel surrendered in the afternoon. At the commencement of the assault, Doorjun Sal had quitted the fortress with his wife and two sons, escorted by forty horsemen, and sought refuge in an adjoining wood, where he remained for several hours, and then endeavoured to escape unperceived. The attempt failed; the fugitives were overtaken by a troop of native cavalry, and secured without opposition. Doorjun Sal was sent as a prisoner of state to Allahabad, and the young rajah reinstated on the throne of his ancestors; but though the nominal regency was made over to the principal widow of Baldeo Sing, and the partial management of affairs entrusted to his leading ministers, the paramount authority was vested in a British resident permanently appointed to Bhurtpoor. The army appropriated booty to the amount of about £22,000. Before the fall of Bhurtpoor, the conduct of the Ava war, though not entirely approved, procured an earldom for Lord Amherst. Lord Combermere was created a viscount. The diplomatic arrangements made during this administration were of some importance. In 1824, Malacca, Singapore, and the Dutch possessions on the continent of India, were ceded by the King of the Netherlands in exchange for the British settlement of Bencoolen, in Sumatra. Dowlut Rao Sindia died in March, 1827, leaving no son. His favourite, but not principal wife, Baiza Bye, was, in accordance with his wish, suffered to adopt a child and assume the regency—a procedure for which the consent of the company was solicited and obtained, provision for the continued maintenance of a British contingent being made by the advance of a loan or deposit of eighty lacs of rupees, the interest of which, at five per cent., was to be employed in the support of the troops.

Lord Amherst visited the titular king of Delhi early in 1827, and then repaired to Simla on the lower range of the Himalaya, which from that time became the favourite retreat of the governors-general of India, from its beauty and salubrity. While there, hostilities broke out between Russia and Persia, and the latter and of course much weaker power demanded the aid of the Calcutta government, in accord-

* Creighton's *Siege of Bhurtpoor in* 1825-'6, p. 152.

† Better known as Major-general Galloway, the author of a valuable work on the mud forts of India.

ance with the treaty concluded at Tehran in 1814. The point at issue regarded the boundary line between the two countries. The cabinet of St. Petersburg positively refused to accept the arbitration of British officers; and the result was, that a struggle ensued, in which the British took no part; and the Persians, being worsted, were compelled to make peace with Russia by the surrender of the contested territory, in February, 1828.

In the same month Lord Amherst resigned his position, and returned to England. The restoration of tranquillity had enabled him to pay some attention to civil matters; and the diffusion of education had been promoted by the formation of collegiate institutions at Agra and at Delhi, as also by the establishment of schools in various provincial towns. The pressure of financial difficulties impeded the full execution of these as well as of other measures required to lighten the burdens and stimulate the commerce of the people of India. The war with Ava had necessitated heavy disbursements. In two years (1824 and '25), the sum of nineteen million sterling had been raised; and at the close of the Amherst administration, "the financial prospects of the country were of a most alarming complexion."* Nearly eighteen months elapsed before the arrival of a new governor-general, and during that time the supreme authority rested in the able hands of the senior member of council, Butterworth Bayley, who busily employed himself in laying the foundation of various internal reforms, which were carried out during the ensuing—

Bentinck Administration, 1828 to 1835. —After his recall from the government of Madras, in 1807, Lord William Bentinck had remonstrated forcibly against the injustice of making him the victim of measures adopted without his cognizance; and his arguments being seconded by influential family connexions (with Mr. Canning and the Portland family), he eventually obtained the appointment of governor-general, and in July, 1828, arrived in Calcutta. At that time unaccustomed tranquillity prevailed throughout India, and the character of Lord William Bentinck was considered the best guarantee against its disturbance by any aggressive or domineering spirit on the part of the English. A vivacious French traveller (Jacquemont) declared that the actual possessor of the sceptre of the Great Mogul thought and acted like a Pennsylvanian quaker: yet some of the acts of this administration would certainly not have been sanctioned by the great American coloniser. The influence of Lady Bentinck was unquestionably of the best description; and the improved tone of thought and feeling which pervaded the society of government-house, diffused itself throughout Calcutta and the British presidencies.† All the support derivable from a manly and conscientious spirit, was needed by one who came out burdened with the execution of immediate and sweeping retrenchments. No opposition was made to the extensive reduction of the army; but the old question of *batta* (extra pay) which had called forth the energies of Clive, became afresh the source of bitter discontent. The total diminution, on the present occasion, did not exceed £20,000 per annum; but it fell heavily on individuals: and although the governor-general could not avoid enforcing the accomplishment of stringent orders, he was thereby rendered permanently unpopular with the military branch of the service. The press commented freely on the *half-batta* regulations, and the discontented officers were wisely suffered to vent and dissipate their wrath in angry letters. The same forbearance was not manifested when the excessive flagellation, which at this period disgraced the discipline of the army, became the theme of censure; for Lord W. Bentinck, "though a liberal to the very core," held, as had been proved at Vellore, very stern notions on military affairs; and in this, as also in some other cases, showed himself decidedly "inclined to put a gag into the mouth of the press."‡

In 1829, a regulation was enacted, by which the practice of *suttee*—that is, of burning or burying alive Hindoo widows —was declared illegal, and the principal persons engaged in aiding or abetting it, became liable to trial for culpable homicide, and were punishable with imprisonment and fine. This enactment was far from exciting the expected degree of opposition. The same unlooked-for facility attended another measure (denounced still more de-

* Wilson's continuation of Mill, ix., 234.

† The altered tone of Calcutta society may be conjectured, from the fact of Jacquemont's going on Sunday to the house of the chief justice, Sir Charles Grey, to hear some music, play chess, and seek a refuge from the general devotion of the English.—(*Letters from India*, i., 101.)

‡ Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe*, ii., 253.

cisively) in prospect, as a perilous innovation, not on "the rights of women" only, but on those of the entire Hindoo community; namely, the abrogation of the intolerant laws which decreed the forfeiture of all civil rights as the penalty of conversion to Christianity. The convert not only became an outcast, but an outlaw; incapable of inheriting personal or family property. The wonder was that a Christian government had not sooner put a stop to such bigotry. Now, the necessary steps were taken with much caution, and the alterations were so mixed up with other ordinances, as to create little commotion or excitement even when first published.

In 1831, active measures were adopted for the extirpation of the numerous and formidable gangs of depredators, known by the name of Thugs or Phansi-gars; the former term (signifying a cheat) being the more common, the latter (denoting the bearer of a noose or phansi, wherewith to commit murder by strangulation) the less general, but equally appropriate designation. The lasso was not, however, necessary to these miscreants, whose horrible dexterity enabled them, with a strip of cloth, or an unfolded turban, to destroy the unwary traveller speedily and surely;—the dead body was then buried in the ground, and every trace of the crime carefully obliterated. Hundreds upon hundreds of husbands and fathers perished none knew how, save the members of this horrible confederacy, who, whether of Hindoo or Mohammedan origin, were usually thieves and murderers by hereditary descent. Of the doctrines of the Koran they were wholly ignorant, and of Brahminism they knew nothing but its worst superstitions; which are those connected with the sanguinary worship of the goddess Doorga or Cali, the wife of Siva, whom they regarded as their peculiar patroness, and looked to for guidance and counsel, which they believed to be communicated through the medium of the flight and utterance of birds, beasts, and reptiles. Fearful oaths of secrecy were interchanged; and the difficulty of detection was enhanced by the consummate art which enabled the stealthy assassin to maintain the bearing of an industrious peasant or busy trader. Remorse seems to have been well-nigh banished from this community by the blinding influence of the strange predestinarian delusion that they were born to rob and kill their fellow-men—destined for this end by Providence by a law similar to that which impels the savage beast of the forest to slay and devour human beings. "Is any man killed from man's killing?" was their favourite argument. "Are we not instruments in the hand of God?" The mysterious workings of that almighty and ever-present power, which controls the actions, but leaves the will free, was unthought of by these unhappy men, whose excesses rendered them a by-word of fear and loathing throughout India. Lord Hastings made some efforts for their suppression by military detachments, but with little effect. Summary and organised measures of police were adopted by Lord Bentinck, and ably carried out by Mr. Smith, Major Sleeman, and other functionaries. In the course of six years (1830 to 1835) 2,000 Thugs were arrested and tried at Indore, Hyderabad, Saugor, and Jubbulpoor, of whom about 1,500 were convicted and sentenced to death, transportation, or imprisonment. The strange *esprit de corps* which for a time sustained them, at length gave way; many purchased pardon at the expense of full and free confession: formidable gangs were thus reduced to a few scattered and intimidated individuals; and the Thugs became a bugbear of past times.

The most exceptionable feature in the Bentinck administration was the deposition of the rajah of Coorg, Veer Rajundra Wudiyar, and the conversion of his mountainous principality into a province of the Madras presidency. The immediate occasion appears to have been a domestic quarrel with his sister and her husband, which led them to seek the protection of the British resident at Mysoor. The rajah was described as fierce, cruel, and disposed to enter on intrigues against the supreme government with the rajah of Mysoor. These vague charges, together with some angry letters, demanding the surrender of his fugitive relations, and the imprisonment of a servant of the company, were considered to justify the dispatch of a powerful force for the subjugation of Coorg. The British advanced in four divisions, and entered the principality from as many quarters. The alleged unpopularity of the rajah was contradicted by the determination of his defenders, despite a proclamation offering protection to person and property as the price of neutrality; but the efforts of the brave mountaineers were rendered unavailing, less by the overwhelming superiority of

numbers and discipline on the part of the invaders, than by the avowed disinclination of Veer Rajundra to organised opposition against the powerful protectors of his ancestors. Merkara, the capital of Coorg, was captured in April, 1834, and the rajah, with his family, surrendered unconditionally. A committee of inquiry was instituted into the charges adduced against him, and the search made after the seizure of Merkara, brought to light the bodies of seventeen persons, including three relatives of the rajah, who had been put to death by decapitation or strangling, and thrown into a pit in the jungle. This was a melancholy revelation; but such severities are unhappily quite consistent with the ordinary proceedings of despotic governments; and it may well be doubted whether, even if proved beforehand, they could warrant the interference of a foreign state for the deposition of the prince by whom they were committed, in opposition to the will of the people he governed. Certainly the assumption of sovereignty over the Coorgs could be excused only by the most rigid adherence to the promise given, "that their civil rights and religious usages should be respected, and that the greatest desire should invariably be shown to augment their security, comfort, and happiness. How far these objects have been effected," adds Professor Wilson, "may admit of question; but the province has remained at peace, and the Coorgs have shown no disposition to reassert their independence."*

The rajah became a pensioner on the E. I. Cy. Some few years ago he came to England, bringing with him a daughter, a lady-like and intelligent child, to be educated as a Christian. Queen Victoria, by a graceful act of spontaneous kindness calculated to endear her to the vast Indian population beneath her sway, officiated in person as godmother to the young stranger, who, it is to be hoped, will live to merit and enjoy a continuance of the royal favour. The rajah himself has no trace, either in countenance or bearing, of the insane cruelty ascribed to him; and the satisfactory arrangement of the pecuniary question† now at issue between him and the E. I. Cy. is desirable, as the best means of strengthening the confidence of Indian princes in the good faith of the nation in general.

Whatever view may be taken of the conduct of Lord W. Bentinck in this case, and of certain complex arrangements, of comparatively small interest, with Oude, Mysoor, Nagpoor, Jeypoor, and other Indian states, there can be no doubt that the general result of his administration was highly beneficial to the cause of religious civilisation.‡ Public institutions, whether for educational or charitable purposes, were warmly encouraged; and the almost exclusive agency of European functionaries, which had been the radical defect of the Cornwallis system, was to some extent remedied by the employment of natives in offices of trust and emolument,—not, indeed, to the extent which they have a right to expect eventually, but as much perhaps as the circumstances of the time warranted. The opening of the "overland route" by way of the Red Sea, Egypt, and the Mediterranean, and the consequent reduction of the length of transit from four or five months to forty or fifty days (an immense boon to the Anglo-Indian community), was effected mainly through the instrumentality of the late Lieutenant Waghorn, R.N.

The navigation of the Ganges by steam-vessels was attempted, and proved entirely successful.§ Measures were adopted to procure the unobstructed navigation of the Indus, with a view to the extension of British trade with the countries to the westward as far as the Caspian Sea, and also in the hope of establishing a commanding influence on the Indus, in order to counteract the consequences which might be anticipated from the complete prostration of Persia, and its subservience to the designs of Russia against British India. The orders of the cabinet of St. James were positive, and Lord W. Bentinck must therefore be acquitted of blame for the complex relations formed with the Mohammedan states of Bahawulpoor, Sinde, and Afghanistan, and especially with the wily and ambitious Seik, Runjeet Sing, to whom a present of several

* Continuation of Mill's *India*, ix., 359.

† Relating to the proprietary right to a large sum of money invested by the prince and his family in the Anglo-Indian funds, the interest of which had been regularly paid to the rajah, Veer Rajundra, up to the time of his deposition, which the E. I. Cy. now appear disposed to regard as confiscated.

‡ The efforts of Lord W. Bentinck were especially directed to the diffusion of the English language among the natives—a measure difficult indeed, but highly desirable in the sight of all their well-wishers.

§ The first voyage between Bombay and Suez, made by the *Hugh Lindsay* in 1830, occupied thirty days; the second, in the same year, only twenty-two. The passage between England and India now requires fewer weeks than it formerly did months.

English horses, of unusual size and stature, were presented by Lieutenant Burnes, in the name of William IV., in October, 1831.

The renewal of the charter of the E.I. Cy. for the term of twenty years (1833 to 1853), was attended with a complete change in the constitution of that powerful body, which, after commencing in a purely commercial spirit, now consented to place in abeyance its exclusive privileges of trade with China as well as with India, but retained its political rights; and, in conjunction with the Board of Control, continued to direct the affairs of Hindoostan. The fixed dividend guaranteed to the shareholders, and charged upon the revenues of India, the means of redeeming the company's stock, with other arrangements then made, are set forth in the opening page of this history. Lord William Bentinck resigned his position on account of ill-health, and quitted India early in 1835. The brief provisional sway of Sir Charles Metcalfe was distinguished by a measure which procured him much exaggerated applause and equally indiscriminate censure. This act was the removal of the restrictions on the public press of India, which, though rarely enforced, were still in existence. It is worthy of remark, that the liability to government interference was confined to Europeans; for native editors could publish anything short of a direct libel: and after the banishment of Mr. Silk Buckingham by Mr. Adam, his paper was continued by a successor of mixed race, an Anglo-Indian, whom the law did not affect. The views of Sir Charles Metcalfe, with regard to the precarious nature of our Indian empire, were of a decidedly exaggerated and alarmist character. In 1825, he had declared the real dangers of a free press in India to be, "its enabling the natives to throw off our yoke;" and a minute recorded by him in October, 1830, expressed, with some sharpness, the inconvenience attendant on the proceedings of government finding their way into the newspapers. Despite some apparent inconsistency, the strenuous advocacy of the freedom of the press, at all hazards, would have been a proceeding worthy his frank and manly character; but it would be difficult to justify his conduct in enacting a measure, however laudable in itself, in opposition to the will, and, as it was generally supposed, to the interests of his employers. The change could scarcely have been long delayed; for now that Englishmen were to be suffered to settle at pleasure in India, it was not likely they would tamely submit to have summary deportation held over them as the penalty of offending against the prerogative of a despotic governor, in a time of external and internal tranquillity.

Auckland Administration: 1835 to 1842.—The person first nominated as the successor of Lord William Bentinck was Lord Heytesbury; but the brief interval of power enjoyed by the Tory ministry having expired before his lordship could quit England, the appointment was cancelled, the large sum granted as usual for outfitting expenses being forfeited by the E. I. Cy.

The restored Whig cabinet, under Lord Melbourne, bestowed the Indian vice-royalty on Lord Auckland, a nobleman of amiable character and business habits, who, it was generally supposed, might be safely entrusted with the charge of the supreme government, which had certainly never been assumed by any preceding functionary under more favourable circumstances. Perfect tranquillity, a diminishing debt, and increasing commerce, seemed to promise an easy and honourable administration; unhappily, it proved the very reverse. The first event of importance was one which, though vindicated by an author whose impartiality reflects equal credit on himself and the E. I. Cy.,* nevertheless appears to the writer of the present work an act of cruel injustice, the blame of which rests chiefly on the Bombay authorities; for the new governor-general gave but a tardy and reluctant assent to their decision. The measure in question was the deposition of the rajah of Sattara, the legitimate successor of Sevajee, who had been placed on the musnud in 1819. The policy or impolicy of his reinstatement need not be discussed. Pertab Sein, then twenty-seven years of age, showed unbounded delight at his restoration to what he undisguisedly viewed as real power, and diligently set about improving his little sovereignty. Successive residents at his court—Grant Duff, generals Briggs and Robertson, and Colonel Lodwick—bore witness to the general excellence of his administration from 1819 to 1837–'8, the last gentleman with some qualification, the specified drawback being the new feature of weakness of mind manifested by an excessive addiction to Brahminical superstitions, and the employment

* Mr. Edward Thornton, head of the statistical department at the India House.

of women in the management of elephants, as guards, and in other unusual offices. These complaints were the first indication of an altered tone on the part of the local authorities, and were probably the earliest results of a conspiracy formed against the rajah in his own palace. The favourable nature of the testimony regarding his conduct previously sent to England, had drawn from the Court of Directors repeated expressions of warm and generous praise. In 1829 he was declared to be "remarkable among the princes of India for mildness, frugality, and attention to business;" in 1831, "his disposition and capacity for government" are again noticed; and in December, 1835, a letter was addressed to him, lauding the "exemplary fulfilment" of his duties as "well calculated to promote the prosperity of his dominions and the happiness of his people," and acknowledging "the liberality displayed in executing various public works of great utility, which has so justly raised your reputation in the eyes of the princes aud people of India, and gives you an additional claim to our approbation, respect, and applause." This testimony was accompanied by a handsome sword, the most marked tribute of respect which could be offered to a Mahratta. The letter and sword were arbitrarily detained by the Bombay government, and never presented to the rajah, whose feelings about this time became irritated by a controversy with them regarding certain jaghires to which he laid claim. A conspiracy was, it is believed, concocted against him by a vindictive, ungrateful, and profligate brother, and the rajah was accused of endeavouring to procure the overthrow of British power by three extraordinary measures:—first, by striving to corrupt the entire Anglo-Indian army through two native officers of a regiment stationed at Sattara; second, by inducing the Portuguese at Goa to land 30,000 European troops in India, who were to be marched overland for the purpose; third, by corresponding with the fugitive ex-rajah of Nagpoor, who had neither character, influence, nor ability,—not a shilling, nor an acre of territory,—and was himself dependent on charity. The seals of the rajah were forged, pretended correspondence produced, and other artful schemes successfully carried through. There was at this time a vague feeling of alarm throughout India relative to a general rising against British supremacy: the press at home and abroad gave countenance to the idea; and Sir Charles Metcalfe declared he should not be surprised "to wake some fine morning and find the whole thing blown up." Sir Robert Grant, then governor of Bombay, and some officials around him, fell into the trap, and despatches of several hundred paragraphs were written regarding the alleged application of the rajah for the aid of 30,000 Portuguese soldiers, when, at that time, *thirty* would have been an impossibility; and great alarm was professed lest 200,000 British soldiers—Mussulmen as well as Hindoos, who had ever proved themselves true to their salt—should be seduced from their allegiance by this petty prince, who was no warrior, but an excellent farmer and landlord. The supreme government of India at first treated the affair with the contempt it merited: but reiterated calumnies began to take effect; and the alarm once given, the most absurd stories, many of which carried with them the proof of their falsehood,* were believed by men who were afterwards ashamed to confess their credulity. Sir R. Grant died, and Sir James Carnac, then chairman of the Court of Directors, succeeded him. He went to Sattara in 1839, and required the rajah to acknowledge his guilt, sign a new treaty, and all would be forgiven. Pertab Sein refused to declare himself a traitor to the British government; asked for a copy of the charges against him, and demanded a fair hearing and a public trial. Sir J. Carnac was a kind and moderate man; but the strong prejudices—not to use a harsher term—of his associates warped his judgment, and led him to view the conduct of the rajah as the continued contumacy of a rebel, instead of the offended feelings of an innocent man. A body of troops marched at midnight into the palace, led by the successful plotter, Appa Sahib: the rajah was made prisoner in his bed, all his property seized; and ere morning

* Since the deposition of the Sattara rajah, on the evidence of forged documents and perjured witnesses, a similar case has come to light. Ali Morad, one of the Ameers of Sinde, having been convicted of forgery, had a large portion of his territories confiscated by the British government. The accuser, Sheik Ali Hussein, had been prime minister of the chief, and was dismissed for malpractices: at his death (8th May, 1853), he confessed that all he had sworn against Ali Morad was untrue, and that he had given false evidence for purposes of revenge.—(*Bombay Gazette*, 10th May, 1853.)

dawned, the victim of a foul conspiracy was ignominiously hurried away as a prisoner to Benares, where he died. The brother who had caused his ruin was placed on the throne. After a few years of profligacy and indolence Appa Sahib died, leaving no son, and the little principality of Sattara devolved, in default of heirs, upon the British government. The whole transaction is painful, and reflects little credit on any concerned therein: time, the revealer of truth, has exposed the folly and injustice of the procedure; and had the ex-rajah survived, some measure of justice would probably have been reudered him.*

The next and all-absorbing feature of the Auckland administration is the Afghan war, to understand the origin of which it is necessary to explain the condition of the territories on our western frontier. Zemaun Shah, the Afghan ruler of Cabool, against whom a treaty was negotiated with Persia in 1801, by Sir John Malcolm, was deposed and blinded in the same year by his brother Mahmood—treatment precisely similar to that bestowed by him on his immediate predecessor, Humayun. Mahmood was, in turn, displaced by a fourth brother, named Soojah-ool-Moolk. With unwonted clemency the conqueror refrained from inflicting extinction of sight, which, though not a legal disqualification to sovereign power, usually proves an insuperable bar to the claims of any candidate. Soojah could not keep the throne he had gained; but being expelled by the reviving strength of Mahmood, sought refuge with Runjeet Sing, who plundered him of all his valuables, including the famous Koh-i-Noor (the gem of the English Exhibition of 1851), and made him prisoner. By the exertion of an unexpected amount of skill and resolution, Shah Soojah succeeded in making his escape in the disguise of a mendicant, and reached the British station of Loodiana in September, 1816, whither his family, together with Zemaun Shah, had previously found refuge. Mahmood did not, however, possess the throne in peace. His vizier, Futteh Khan, an able chief, who had been mainly instrumental in carrying out the late revolution, evinced indications of a desire to elevate his numerous brothers to almost exclusive authority, and to make the Barukzye clan, of which he was hereditary chief, the governing class. The youngest of his brethren, the afterwards famous Dost Mohammed, treacherously occupied the fortress of Herat, committed great excesses there, and even profaned the harem by seizing the ornaments of its inmates, and especially by violently tearing away a jewelled girdle from the person of one of the royal princesses.

The insulted lady sent the torn robe to her relative, Prince Kamran, the son of Mahmood Shah, with a demand for vengeance. Dost Mohammed fled to Cashmere, where his brother, Azim Khan, was governor. Futteh Ali was made prisoner, and blinded by the dagger of Kamran. Subsequently, on his refusal to call upon his brothers to surrender, the unfortunate vizier was literally hacked to pieces by the courtiers in attendance on the king and prince.

Dost Mohammed raised an army, and made himself master of the city of Cabool, in 1818. Shah Mahmood and Kamran established themselves in Herat, and the usurper turned his attention to the affairs of government, and proved a much better ruler than either of his predecessors. He had many difficulties to contend with, including the jealous intrigues of his brothers, several of whom became in fact independent princes. Their hostility encouraged Shah Soojah to attempt regaining possession of Cabool, but without effect. At the commencement of Lord Auckland's administration, Dost Mohammed reigned over the chief remaining portion of the Doorani kingdom founded by Ahmed Shah, which, at the time of the death of that ruler, extended from the west of Khorassan to Sirhind, and from the Oxus to the sea. Of the seventeen provinces it then comprised, only six now remained—namely, Cabool, Bameean, Ghoreband, Ghuznee, Candahar, and Jellalabad. Beloochistan had become independent, under a chief named Mohammed Khan, in 1802; Khorassan had been recovered by Persia; Herat was retained by Prince Kamran, after the death of Mahmood; Balkh was taken by the King of Bokhara, in 1823; and the Punjab, Mooltan, Dera Ghaza Khan, Dera Ismael Khan, and lastly Peshawur, fell to the share of Runjeet Sing. Sinde was still nominally dependent on Cabool; but its rulers—three brothers

* Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., Mr. John Forbes, M.P., and several leading directors of the E. I. Cy., with Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P., Arthur Lewis, of the chancery bar, and many other members of the Court of Proprietors, who were the warm friends of the ex-rajah, never ceased to seek a hearing and trial for him, and entertained a strong and permanent conviction of his innocence.

who governed conjointly under the title of "the Ameers"—generally needed the presence of an army to compel the payment of their arrears of tribute. Cabool itself, and a considerable portion of the Hazerah country, was under the immediate sway of Dost Mohammed; Candahar, and the adjacent territory, was held by his three brothers, Kohen-dil-Khan, Rehem-dil-Khan, and Mehir-dil-Khan, under the name of sirdars or governors.

The divided and independent governments beyond the Indus were in a condition well calculated to secure our power, without any infraction of the strict neutrality which the English rulers so ostentatiously declared it their desire to preserve, when, in 1838, an attack was made on Herat by the Shah of Persia, with the aid of Russian officers.* Herat has been called the key of Afghanistan: it is also the gate towards which all the great roads from Central Asia to India converge; and the Calcutta authorities became exceedingly alarmed at the probability of its falling under the influence of Russia. They became very solicitous that Afghanistan should maintain entire independence, and reject the proffered alliance with the Muscovite court. Lieutenant Burnes was dispatched on an embassy to Dost Mohammed, or "the Dost," as he was commonly called; but although the instructions of Burnes were explicit regarding the non-reception of Russian envoys, and other demands to be exacted on the part of the English, he had nothing beyond idle professions of regard to offer in return; not even mediation with Runjeet Sing for the restoration of Peshawur, which the Seik conqueror was willing to surrender to any one except to the ruler of Cabool, from whom it had been taken.

The contrast between the magnificent presents brought by Mountstuart Elphinstone to Afghanistan, on a former occasion, with the pistol and telescope, pins, needles, and playthings, now offered to the Dost for himself and the inmates of the zenana, could not but be painfully felt; yet the chief knew the value of British protection, and was not disposed to take offence lightly. But he could not afford to reject the direct offers of assistance, in men and money, made by the secretary of the Russian legation, without some clear guarantee against the evil effects of such rejection; and as this was positively refused, he had literally no alternative but to accept the Russo-Persian alliance. It would have been only common prudence, on the part of the supreme government, to have waited the issue of the siege of Herat, before proceeding further; but Lord Auckland was unhappily enjoying the cool breezes of Simla, away from his legitimate advisers at Calcutta, and was, it is said, considerably under the influence of two or three clever and impulsive men, who may have been excellent secretaries and amusing table-companions, but were very ill-adapted for wary counsellors.† It would have been an easy matter to convert Dost Mohammed, the sirdars of Candahar, and the whole Barukzye clan, into firm allies; nevertheless, Lord Auckland, in an hour of weakness and indecision, was induced to seek the co-operation of Runjeet Sing for the restoration of Shah Soojah; and, although the defeat of the Persian army, and its withdrawal, after a ten months' siege,‡ secured the independence of Herat, and removed one main incentive to war, the projected invasion was carried out despite the apathy of the Seik ruler (now fast sinking to his grave, under the combined influence of age and the most hateful excesses) and the scarcely disguised distrust of Soojah, who could not comprehend why the assistance repeatedly refused by Lord W. Bentinck, was bestowed unasked by Lord Auckland.

Perhaps so perilous an enterprise was never more rashly and needlessly undertaken. It was wrong in principle, weak in execution, and appalling in its results. Shah Soojah was not even presumptive heir to the usurped dominions of his grandfather; for Kamran, the son of the elder brother Mahmood, had a prior claim. The professed object of the Tripartite Treaty now formed, viz., to restore a legitimate sovereign to the throne from whence he had been wrongfully expelled, was therefore absolutely false; and as if to make the spirit of the whole transaction more evident, Runjeet Sing affixed his signature to the treaty at Lahore, June, 1838, with the ill-gotten Koh-i-Noor gleaming on his arm.§ In return for furnishing a few thousand troops

* One of the alleged reasons being the activity with which the slave-trade was carried on at Herat.

† Mr. H. Torrens, and John Colvin, Lord Auckland's private secretary.—Kaye's *War in Afghanistan*.

‡ Lt. Eldred Pottinger cheered, counselled, and fought with the garrison throughout the weary siege.

§ This famous stone is said by several modern writers on the Afghan war to have formed part of

to be paid by Shah Soojah, Runjeet Sing was to be confirmed in possession of all the territories (including Peshawur) wrested by him from Cabool.* As to the English, they were willing to lavish men and money on the trappings of war, and to get up "a grand military promenade," for the sake of terrifying Russia by a formidable demonstration of our power and energy. Those† who ventured to speak of the dreary defiles, inclement climate, and, above all, of the warlike temper of the people upon whom a rejected yoke was to be reimposed by English bayonets, were censured as timid, prejudiced, or misinformed; and the assembling of the "army of the Indus" was a source of agreeable excitement, fraught with promotions and appointments, commissariat contracts, and honours from the Crown; for, despite the neutral policy urged by the home authorities, it was pretty evident that a brilliant campaign was no less certain to procure for its promoters rank and emolument, than to inflict new burdens on the Indian revenues, and increase the pressure of taxes which it was alike the duty and the interest of the government to mitigate.

A declaration of war was issued from Simla, in 1838, and a British force was speedily gathered of 28,350 men, partly from Bengal, partly from Bombay. It was deemed advisable by the governor-general that the Shah should "enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops;" and, for this end, about 4,000 camp followers‡ were levied from the E. I. Cy.'s military stations, and placed under the nominal command of Timur, the eldest son of Soojah-ool-Moolk; the whole being led by British officers, and paid from the British treasury. Runjeet Sing was to supply a contingent of 6,000 men, and to station 15,000 men as an army of observation in Peshawur. The commissariat arrangements were extremely deficient, and the enormous number of camp followers, amounting to nearly 100,000 persons, imparted new difficulties to a march of extraordinary length, through an almost unexplored and hostile territory. The invading force had only physical difficulties, and the depredations of certain mountain tribes, to encounter on the road to Candahar. It was expected that the Ameers of Sinde would offer opposition on the score of the manifest infraction of the treaty of 1832, by which the E. I. Cy., when desirous to open the navigation of the Indus, expressly declared that it would be employed by them solely for mercantile uses. The Ameers, however, saw the folly of remonstrating with a powerful force thirsting for the plunder of the rich city of Hyderabad. They paid £100,000 as an instalment of the £280,000 demanded by Shah Soojah on the favourite plea of arrears of tribute, and surrendered the fortified island of Bukkur in the Indus, the possession of which was deemed necessary to the security of the English force. The army of the Indus

Shah Jehan's peacock throne, which was carried off from Hindoostan by Nadir Shah; but there does not seem evidence to support the statement. Several diamonds of extraordinary value were seized by different invaders, and one in particular was given by the exiled Humayun to his ungracious host the Shah of Persia.—(*See* p. 91.)

* The concessions made to Runjeet Sing at this period were no less undignified than unwise. At the meeting which took place with Lord Auckland at Ferozepoor, caresses were lavished on the "lion of the Punjab," who though now a decrepit and paralysed old man, continued to outrage public decency by the practice of shameful sensualities. There he sat in his golden chair, shaped like a hip-bath, with his attenuated limbs gathered beneath him, and his single restless eye flashing in rivalry of the Koh-i-Noor (the only ornament he wore, except a string of 300 pearls of the finest water and the size of small marbles), listening to the civilities of the English authorities, which happily did not extend to compliance with his previous demand for an English wife.—(Osborne's *Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing*, 199.) The fact that the old debauchee entertained some at least of his official visitors with the "burra tomacha" (great fun) of intoxicating "nautch" girls, for the sake of seeing them beat and abuse one another, gives force to the remark of a British officer, who, commenting on the indulgence evinced to the vices of Runjeet Sing, writes—"It was impossible not to feel that this complaisance was carried a little too far, when he was exhibited in the character of a Bacchus or Silenus, in the presence of an assemblage of English gentlewomen, and when their notions of decency were further outraged by the introduction, to whatever extent sanctioned by culpable usage in other parts of India, of bands of singing and dancing courtesans."—(Havelock's *War in Afghanistan*, i., 87.) After all the Seiks were not conciliated: they watched the Feringhees (foreigners) with extreme suspicion; and when their infirm old chief, in his anxiety to examine a present of two howitzers, fell prostrate before them, the accident was regarded as a fearful omen.

† In October, 1838, the author, deeply convinced of the unjust and perilous nature of the war, drew up a memorandum, which the Marquis Wellesley transmitted to Sir John Cam Hobhouse, then President of the Board of Control. His lordship addressed a subsequent communication to Sir John against the Afghan war, predicting that "our difficulties would commence where our military successes ended." The Duke of Wellington, Elphinstone, Edmonstone, Metcalfe, and other Indian statesmen took the same view of the question.

‡ Col. Dennie's *Campaigns in Afghanistan*, 51.

traversed the weary Bolan Pass, and the dangerous and difficult Kojuck defile with success, but at a fearful cost of life,* especially on the part of the camp followers, from heat and want of water. Candahar (the capital of Western Afghanistan), was occupied without resistance by Shah Soojah and his allies, in April, 1839. Kohun-dil-Khan and his brother sirdars fled as the foe advanced; and English gold scattered lavishly on all sides, enabled the returning monarch to win the temporary suffrage of several Barukzye chiefs. In the following June the army under Sir John Keane and Shah Soojah left a garrison at Candahar and set out for Ghuznee. This ancient fortress proved stronger than had been expected; but a nephew of Dost Mohammed deserted from the garrison, and betrayed the important secret, that an entrance called the Cabool gate had not, like the rest, been built up with stone, but had been left slightly barricaded in the expectation of supplies. The besiegers, acting on this information, fastened bags of gunpowder upon the wooden door at night, and by setting them on fire effected a practicable breach, through which a storming party, led by Colonel Dennie, immediately secured an entrance, captured the town, and, after some hours' resistance, the citadel also, receiving little loss, but slaying 1,000 Afghans: 3,000 more were wounded or captured. Among the prisoners were about fifty fanatics of all ages, who had assumed the name of *Ghazee*, in right of being engaged in holy warfare against infidels. These men, the first taken in arms against Shah Soojah, "were hacked to death with wanton barbarity by the knives of his executioners."†

So much for the magnanimity of the restored monarch in his short hour of triumph. The campaign thus successfully opened, was to some extent overshadowed by tidings of the death of Runjeet Sing, in 1839; but notwithstanding the jealous dislike evinced towards the English by the new authorities at Lahore, the Seik contingent, wretchedly insufficient as it was, became serviceable in the hands of Colonel Wade; and this energetic officer, with his nominal coadjutor the Shahzada (Prince Timur), who was "an absolute cypher," contrived, partly by fighting, partly by diplomacy, to traverse the formidable Khyber Pass, at the head of a motley assemblage of Hindoos, Seiks, and Afghans. Akber Khan, Dost Mohammed's favourite "fighting son," was recalled from his camp near Jellalabad, to join his father at Cabool, and the path being left open, Wade marched on and seized Jellalabad.

The position of Dost Mohammed was daily rendered more perilous by the desertion of his relatives and followers. Very shortly after the taking of Ghuznee, he attempted to compromise matters by offering to submit to the restoration of Shah Soojah, on condition of his own nomination to his late brother Futteh Khan's position of vizier. This proposition was of course rejected; for so far from being inclined to delegate authority to his opponent, Shah Soojah desired nothing better than to "hang the dog"—a procedure which the British envoy, Mr. Macnaghtan, does not appear to have considered otherwise than advisable, provided they could catch him.‡

The Dost desired to give the invaders battle at Maidan, on the Cabool river, but treachery and disaffection surrounded him on every side, and his camp at Urghundeh fairly fell to pieces. The venal Kuzzilbashes (or Persian guard) forsook the master whose salt they had eaten thirteen years. In vain he entreated them to stand by him in one charge against the Feringhees, that he might die with honour,—the spirit-stirring appeal fell on the listless ears of men determined to purchase safety by desertion; and, attended by a few faithful followers, Dost Mohammed in despair turned his horse's head towards the Hindoo-Koosh, leaving his guns standing.

Cabool opened its gates with "sullen, surly submission;" and Shah Soojah entered the Balla Hissar or palace-citadel in triumph, while his British allies sounded a long loud note of triumph, the European echoes of which were destined to die away in the very saddest cry of anguish and humiliation ever uttered by the proud conquerors of India. The authorities at Cabool soon discovered that the foreign bayonets and foreign gold which had been the means of replacing Shah Soojah on the throne of Afghanistan, were likewise the sole method of keeping him there. Lord Auckland desired the return of the entire "army of the Indus;" but the unpopularity of the Shah was too evident to admit of such a step, unless we were willing to confess the whole affair a

* Of 100,000 camp followers, only 20,000 reached Candahar.—(Capper's *Three Presidencies*, p. 212.)

† *Vide* John William Kaye's graphic and fearless *History of the War in Afghanistan*, i., 445.

‡ *Idem.*, 561.

failure, and escort his majesty back to Loodiana, or if he thought fit, leave him to take his chance among his own countrymen. An open confession of error, however mortifying, would have been incalculably wiser than following up one false step with a multitude of others. In 1839 a portion of the troops returned to Calcutta. The commander-in-chief, Sir John Keane, immediately proceeded to England, where he was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Keane of Ghuznee, and further remunerated by a pension of £2,000 per ann. for himself and his two next heirs male. The governor-general, from a baron, was made an earl. Mr. Macnaghten was created a baronet, and orders of the Bath were bestowed, not with the most discriminating hand.*

The winter of 1839 passed in tolerable tranquillity. The British took military possession of the country by establishing garrisons in the cities of Cabool and Candahar, and in the principal posts on the main roads to Hindoostan—viz., Ghuznee and Quettah on the west, Jellalabad and Ali-Musjid on the east. Some minor detachments were left in various other isolated positions; thus dividing a force which, united, was scarcely sufficient for its own protection. Moreover, the military authorities in Cabool, instead of retaining their position in the Balla Hissar, were induced to build costly and indefensible cantonments on the adjacent plain, in compliance with the scruples of Shah Soojah, who soon began to feel his throne somewhat too closely hedged in by foreign troops. The first flush of triumph over, he could not but find it a weary thing to live shut up in a fortress, despised by his own subjects; and as he looked forth from the Balla Hissar on the city beneath, he said "everything appeared to him shrunk small and miserable; and that the Cabool of his old age in no respect corresponded with the recollections of the Cabool of his youth."

The yearnings of romance were soon swallowed up in real dangers. Insurrections took place in various quarters. Dost Mohammed again appeared in arms, and several sharp encounters took place in the course of the year 1840; but the Afghans, despite some partial successes, offered no combined or systematic resistance. The Dost, after making a brave and successful stand at Purwan in November, thought the time had arrived when he might, with a good grace, surrender himself to the English (into whose hands the ladies of his family had already fallen.) Turning from the field of battle in despair, he galloped towards Cabool, and twenty-four hours spent on the saddle, brought him face to face with the British envoy, who was returning homeward from an evening ride. Dost Mohammed sprang to the ground, tendered his sword, and claimed protection as a voluntary captive. The kindly peace-loving nature of Sir William had been sadly warped since he had exchanged the ordinary routine of official duties and scholarly recreations for the arduous post of counsellor to Shah Soojah; and immediately before this unlooked-for greeting, he had been inquiring with regard to the Dost—"Would it be justifiable to set a price on this fellow's head?" for "it appears that he meditates fighting with us so long as the breath is in his body." But the chivalrous bearing of the defeated Ameer banished all harsh thoughts. Sir William refused the proffered sword; and when the Dost was sent as a state prisoner to Hindoostan, actually advocated his being provided for by the British authorities "more handsomely than Shah Soojah had been," for the following memorable reason:—"The Shah had no claim upon us. We had no hand in depriving him of his kingdom; whereas, we ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he was the victim." Lord Auckland tacitly admitted the fact by receiving the deposed ruler with extreme courtesy, and burdening the Indian population with a new pension of two lacs, or about £20,000 per ann. for his support. At this time the revenues of Cabool, gathered by force of arms, did not exceed fifteen lacs, and barely paid the ordinary expenses of government. The Anglo-Afghan treasury was well-nigh exhausted, and there were grounds for doubting whether the E. I. Cy. would not think a million and a quarter a-year too dear a price to pay for the maintenance of their nominee at Cabool. The reduction of outgoings was attempted by the diminution of the "black mail" paid to certain Khilji chiefs for checking the excesses committed by the predatory tribes who infested the passes. The experiment proved very dangerous; the Khiljies assumed a haughty tone; the Kojucks, and many tribes of whose very names the English had until now remained in happy ignorance, rose in

* Dennie's services at Ghuznee were overlooked.

what was misnamed "rebellion" against Shah Soojah. In Kohistan and the Khyber, that region of snowy precipices and roaring torrents, where every man is a good marksman behind his native rock, more than usual excitement prevailed. The British envoy, considering with some reason the state of Afghanistan to be at the best of times one of chronic unrest, paid too little heed to the numerous signs of an approaching crisis which alarmed Shah Soojah. The noses of the Dourani Khans (or lords) had, Macnaghten said, been brought to the grindstone, and all was quiet, from Dan to Beersheba.* Impressed with this agreeable conviction, he prepared to resign his position, and return to Hindoostan to fill the honourable station of governor of Bombay. His intended successor, Sir Alexander Burnes, had long ardently desired the office of envoy; but from the conflicting and contradictory character both of his official and private statements, it is difficult to say what his actual opinions were concerning the condition of the country and the feelings of the people. He must have known that the military occupation of Afghanistan (of necessity sufficiently unpopular) had been rendered peculiarly hateful and galling by his own unbridled licentiousness, and by that of other officers, whose example was closely imitated by the mass of the European soldiery. Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sale, and other Englishwomen resided within the cantonments, yet their presence did not check the excesses, the terrible retribution for which they were soon to share. Shah Soojah, whom Macnaghten declared to be "the best and ablest man in his dominions,"† and whose fidelity was evinced by the warnings he repeatedly gave the English authorities of the impending danger, and his entreaties that they would take up their abode in the Balla Hissar, remonstrated forcibly against the immorality of the officers, and pointed out the indignation which it excited among his countrymen. "I told the envoy," writes the Shah to Lord Auckland, January, 1842, "what was going on, and was not listened to. I told him that complaints were daily made to me of Afghan women being taken to Burnes' moonshee (Mohun Lal), and of their drinking wine at his house, and of women being taken to the chaonee, and of my having witnessed it."‡ Kaye states, "the scandal was open, undisguised, notorious. Redress was not to be obtained. The evil was not in course of suppression. It went on till it became intolerable; and the injured then began to see that the only remedy was in their own hands."§

That remedy was the death of the leading offender, and the expulsion of the English from Afghanistan. Warnings of various kinds were not wanting; but they passed unheeded. The week fixed for the departure of the envoy arrived, and preparations were made for his journey, and for the comfort of his successor in office, and of the other functionaries during the coming winter, which was expected to pass like the two former ones, in a succession of pastimes, including shooting, card-playing, drinking,|| and various amusements, innocent or otherwise, according to the tastes and habits of those concerned. On the evening of the 1st November, 1841, Burnes formally congratulated Macnaghten on his approaching departure during a period of profound tranquillity.¶ At that very time a party of chiefs were assembled close at hand discussing in full conclave the means of redressing their national and individual wrongs. At daybreak on the following morning, Burnes was aroused by the message of a friendly Afghan, informing him of approaching danger, and bidding him quit the city and seek safety in the Balla Hissar or the cantonments. The vizier of Shah Soojah followed on the same errand, but all in vain; the doomed man sent to ask mili-

* News had arrived at Cabool, in the course of the summer, which greatly relieved the apprehensions of Macnaghten and Burnes, both of whom had a tendency to look out for dangers from afar, rather than guard against those by which they were immediately surrounded. The raising of the siege of Herat had only temporarily allayed their fears of Russian aggression, which were soon aroused by the dispatch of a powerful force, under General Peroffski, ostensibly directed against the man-stealing, slave-holding principality of Khiva, but it was believed, intended to act offensively against the English. Whatever the true design may have been, it was frustrated by the intense cold and inaccessible character of the country, which, together with pestilence, nearly destroyed the Russian army, and compelled Peroffski to turn back without reaching Khiva.

† Kaye, i., 533. ‡ *Idem*, ii., 364. § *Idem*, i., 615.

|| Dost Mohammed prohibited the sale of a fiery spirit distilled from the grape. The English restored the Armenian manufacturers to full employment.

¶ It is asserted, that on the same day, intelligence so clear and full of a hostile confederacy had been given to Burnes, that he exclaimed the time had come for the British to leave the country. Burnes was impulsive, vacillating, ambitious, and unprincipled. It is possible that he deceived himself sometimes: it is certain that he constantly misled Macnaghten.

tary support, and persisted in remaining in his own abode, which adjoined that of Captain Johnson, paymaster of the Shah's forces. This officer was absent in cantonments, but the treasury was under the care of the usual sepoy guard, and they were ready and even desirous to fire on the insurgents. Burnes refused to give the necessary orders, in the hope of receiving speedy succour; meanwhile the crowd of stragglers grew into an infuriated mob, and his attempted harangue from the balcony was silenced by loud clamours and reproaches. Two officers had slept that night in the house of Sir Alexander: one of them, Lieutenant Broadfoot, prepared to sell his life dearly, and it is asserted, slew no less than six of his assailants before a ball struck him to the ground a corpse; the other, Lieutenant Charles Burnes, remained beside his brother while the latter offered redress of grievances, and a heavy ransom to the populace as the price of their joint lives. But in vain; the outraged Afghans loved vengeance better than gold; and after setting fire to the stables, a party of them burst into the garden, where they were fired upon by the sepoys under Lieutenant Burnes. Sir Alexander disguised himself in native attire, and strove to escape, but was recognised, or rather betrayed by the Cashmerian who had induced him to make the attempt. A fearful shout arose from the party in the garden on discovering his presence — "This is Secunder (Alexander) Burnes!" and in a few moments both brothers were cut to pieces by Afghan knives. The sepoys in charge of the treasury fought desperately, and surrendered their charge only with their lives. Massacre followed pillage; every man, woman, and child (Hindoo and Afghan) found in the two English dwellings perished:* finally, the buildings were fired; and all this with 6,000 British troops within half-an-hour's march of the city. The only energetic attempt made to check the insurrectionary movement emanated from the Shah, and was performed by one of his sons; but it proved unsuccessful, and the British authorities displayed an apathy quite inexplicable, even supposing the outbreak to have been directly occasioned by the ill conduct of its chief victim. General Elphinstone, the commander-in-chief, was an officer of high character, and of brave and kindly bearing; but increasing physical infirmities pressed heavily on him; and before the catastrophe he had applied for his recall from Afghanistan, where, indeed, he ought never to have been sent. Between him and Macnaghten no sympathy existed: they could not understand each other, and never acted in concert. The one was despondent and procrastinating, the other hopeful and energetic, but too much given to diplomacy. The consequence of this tendency was the adoption of various compromising measures when the occasion loudly called for the most active and straightforward policy. Post after post was captured from the British in the immediate vicinity of Cabool, and it soon became evident that the out-stations were in extreme peril; for the insurrection, from being local, speedily became general. The "frightful extent" of the cantonments (erected before Elphinstone's arrival), the loss of a fort four hundred yards distant, in which the commissariat stores had been most improvidently placed, together with the deficiency of artillery, so disheartened and unnerved the general, that he suffered day after day to pass without any decisive effort to gain possession of the city, and began to urge on Macnaghten the propriety of making terms with the enemy. The king remained shut up in the Balla Hissar, "like grain between two millstones." He was a man of advanced age and weak purpose, and the hostility of his subjects being avowedly directed against the Feringhees, he strove to keep his crown upon his head, and his head upon his shoulders, by a trimming policy, which rendered him an object of distrust to both parties, and cost him eventually life as well as honour. Avarice had grown on him, and he beheld with extreme annoyance the sums of money lavished by the British envoy in the futile attempt to buy off the more influential of the confederate chiefs. The urgent solicitations of Elphinstone, the growing difficulty of obtaining supplies for the troops, the unsatisfactory results of daily petty hostilities, and the non-arrival of the reinforcements of men and money solicited by Macnaghten from Hindoostan, at length induced him to offer to evacuate Afghanistan on honourable terms. The tone adopted by the chiefs was so arrogant and offensive, that the conference came to an abrupt termination; both parties being resolved to resume hostilities sooner than abate their respective pretensions. During the interview a strange

* Moonshee Mohun Lal, who did "the dirty work of the British diplomatists," made his escape.—(Kaye.)

scene took place outside the cantonments. Thinking that a treaty of peace was being concluded by their leaders, the British and Afghan soldiery gave vent to their joy in mutual congratulations. The Europeans lent over the low walls (misnamed defences), conversing familiarly with their late foes, and even went out unarmed among them, and thankfully accepted presents of vegetables. The result of the meeting between the envoy and the chiefs was the renewal of strife, and the men whose hands had been so lately joined in friendly greetings, were again called on to shed each other's blood for the honour of their respective countries. The English troops showed so little inclination for the work, that Macnaghtan angrily designated them a "pack of despicable cowards," and was soon compelled to reopen his negotiations with the enemy. Affairs were in this precarious condition when Akber Khan returned to Cabool, after more than two years of exile and suffering. His reappearance caused no additional anxiety to the beleagured English; on the contrary, the fact that the ladies of the family of the young Barukzye were, with his father, prisoners in Hindoostan, inspired a hope that he might be made the means of procuring favourable terms from the hostile leaders who, on their part, welcomed the return of the favourite son of the Dost with extreme delight. Akber (styled by Roebuck the "Wallace of Cabool") was, beyond doubt, a favourable specimen of an Afghan chief, strikingly handsome in face and figure, full of life and energy, joyous in peace, fearless in war, freedom-loving, deeply attached to his father and his country, susceptible of generous impulses, but uneducated and destitute of self-control. For some time he took no leading part against the English, and neither aided nor opposed the dominant party in formally setting aside the authority of Shah Soojah, and proclaiming as king in his stead the Nawab Mohammed Zemaun Khan, a cousin of the late Cabool chief. The selection was fortunate for the English, the Nawab being a humane and honourable man, well inclined to grant them acceptable terms of evacuation; and his turbulent and quarrelsome adherents were, after much discussion, induced to sign a treaty, the stipulations of which, mutual distrust prevented from being fulfilled by either party. The English consented to surrender the fortresses they still retained in Afghanistan, and their cannon, on condition of receiving a supply of beasts of burden from the enemy, to facilitate their march. Shah Soojah was to be allowed to return with them or to remain in Cabool, with the miserable stipend of a lac of rupees per annum; and one moment he resolved on accompanying the retreating army, while the next he declared it his intention to remain where he was, and wait a new turn of events. In either mood, he declaimed, with reason, against the folly of his allies in divesting themselves of the means of defence, asking indignantly whether any people in the world ever before gave their enemies the means of killing them? The officers in charge of Candahar and Jellalabad (Nott and Sale) took the same view of the case; and, arguing that the order of surrender must have been forcibly extorted from General Elphinstone, positively refused to abandon their positions. The treaty was thus placed in abeyance, and the troops in cantonment lived on from day to day, frittering away their resources, and growing hourly more desponding; while Macnaghten, Elphinstone, and the second in command, Brigadier Shelton, passed the precious hours in angry discussion. The ill-health of the general, increased by a painful wound caused by a musket-ball, obliged him to delegate many duties to Shelton, an officer of great personal courage, but overbearing and prejudiced, with the especial defect of being unable to sympathise with the sufferings, or appreciate the noble devotion of the much-tried native troops. The civilian is said to have been the truest soldier in the camp; but he had no confidence in his colleagues, and his own powers of mind and body were fast sinking beneath the load of anxiety which had so suddenly banished the delusion (sedulously cherished by the unhappy Burnes to the last day of his life) of the tranquil submission of Afghanistan to a foreign yoke. Never had day-dreamer a more terrible awakening. Incensed by the refusal of the holders of inferior posts to obey his orders, and by the non-fulfilment of the promises made by the Barukzye chiefs of carriage cattle, Macnaghten, chafed almost to madness, was ready to follow any *ignis fatuus* that should present a hope of escape for himself and the 16,000 men whose lives trembled in the balance. Although ostensibly bound by treaty with the Barukzyes, he was ready to side with Doorani or Populzye, Khilji or Kuzzilbash, or, in a word, to join any native faction able to

afford cordial co-operation. In this mood he lent a willing ear to a communication made to him on the evening of 22nd Dec., 1841. The proposal was that Akber and the Khiljies should unite with the British for the seizure of the person of Ameen-oollah Khan, a leading Barukzye chief, and a party to the late agreement, whose head, for a certain sum of money, would be laid at the feet of the envoy. Happily for his own honour and that of his country, Macnaghten rejected the proposition so far as the life of the chief was concerned,* but was prepared to aid in his capture without the preliminary measure of declaring the treaty void. The envoy gave a written promise for the evacuation of Afghanistan in the coming spring; Shah Soojah was to be left behind, with Akber for his vizier; and the representative of the British government further guaranteed to reward the services of Akber by an annuity of £40,000 a-year, and a bonus of no less than £300,000.

On the following morning Macnaghten sent for the officers of his staff (Capts. Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie), and, in an excited but determined tone, bade them accompany him to a conference with Akber: lastly, he informed the general of his intentions, desiring that two regiments might be got ready for service, and, to some extent, explaining the matter in hand. Elphinstone asked what part Nawab Zemaun Khan, and other leading Barukzyes, were expected to take? "None," was the reply; "they are not in the plot." The old general was scrupulously honest, and the word grated on his ear. But Macnaghten would listen to neither remonstrance nor entreaty. Impatiently turning aside from the feeble but chivalrous veteran, he exclaimed—"I understand these things better than you;" and rode off to the fatal interview,—not, however, without some misgiving as to its result; for he declared to his companions, that come what would, a thousand deaths were preferable to the life he had of late been leading. The meeting commenced in apparent courtesy; Macnaghten offered Akber a noble Arab horse, which the young chief accepted with thanks, at the same time acknowledging the gift of a pair of double-barrelled pistols, sent on the previous day, which he wore at his girdle. The whole party, English and Afghans, dismounted, and seated themselves on cloths spread on some snow-clad hillocks, near the Cabool river, and about 600 yards from the cantonments. Macnaghten stretched himself at full length on the bank; Trevor and Mackenzie seated themselves beside him; but Lawrence knelt on one knee, ready for action. There was abundant cause for suspicion: the presence of a brother of Ameen-oollah, the excited and eager manner of the Afghans, and the numbers gathering round the English, drew from Lawrence and Mackenzie a remark that such intrusion was not consistent with a private conference. "They are all in the secret," said Akber; and, as he spoke, the envoy and his companions were violently seized from behind. Resistance was hopeless: their slender escort of sixteen men galloped back to cantonments to avoid being slain, save one who perished nobly in attempting to join his masters; the three *attachés* were made prisoners; but Macnaghten commenced a desperate struggle with Akber Khan, and a cry being raised that the troops were marching to the rescue, the young Barukzye, in extreme excitement, drew a pistol from his girdle, and shot the donor through the body. A party of fanatical Ghazees came up, flung themselves on the fallen envoy, and hacked him to pieces with their knives. Trevor slipped from the horse of the chief who was bearing him away captive, and shared the fate of his leader; and the other two officers were saved with difficulty by Akber Khan, who, remorseful for his late act, "drew his sword and laid about him right manfully"† for the defence of the prisoners against the infuriated crowd.

While the mangled remains of the victims were being paraded through the streets and great bazaar of the city, the military leaders remained in their usual apathetic state; nor was it until the morrow that authentic information was received of the catastrophe. Major Eldred Pottinger, on whom the office of political agent devolved, entreated the authorities assembled in

* The same right principle had not been invariably adhered to during the Afghan war, and the chiefs had good grounds for suspecting that blood-money had been offered for their lives. John Conolly (one of three brothers who followed the fortunes of their uncle, Sir W. Macnaghten, and like him, never lived to return to India), addressed from the Balla Hissar repeated injunctions to Mohun Lal, to offer from ten to fifteen thousand rupees for the heads of certain leading chiefs; and, in the cases of Abdoollah Khan and Meer Musjedee, the rewards were actually claimed but not accorded; nor do the offers of Conolly appear to have been made with the concurrence or even cognizance of Macnaghten, much less with that of Elphinstone.—(Kaye, ii., 57—104.)

† Capt. Mackenzie's words.—(Lt. Eyre's *Journal*.)

council, either to take refuge in the Balla Hissar, or endeavour to force a way to Jellalabad, and there remain until the arrival of reinforcements from India, tidings of which arrived within two days of the massacre. But his arguments were not regarded, and new terms were concluded, by which the representatives of the Indian government engaged to abandon all their forts, surrender their guns, evacuate Afghanistan, restore the deposed Dost, and pay a ransom of £140,000 in return for the supplies necessary for the retreat. Hostages were demanded and given for the performance of these humiliating conditions; but Lawrence and Mackenzie were released. Akber Khan desired that the English ladies should be left behind, as security for the restoration of the female members of his family; but the married officers refused the advantageous offers made from head-quarters to induce them to consent, and "some (says Eyre) declared they would shoot their wives first." On the 6th of January, 1842, though deep snow already lay on the ground, the troops quitted the cantonments, in which they had sustained a two months' siege, to encounter the miseries of a winter march through a country of perhaps unparalleled difficulty, swarming with mountain tribes predatory by profession, and bitterly incensed against the foreign invaders. The records of that terrible journey are written in letters of blood. No circumstances could possibly have occurred under which regularity and discipline were more needed to ensure the safety of the retreating force; yet even the semblance of it was soon abandoned in one general attempt to keep on with the foremost rank: to lag behind was certain death from Afghan knives or Afghan snows. In the dark and terrible pass of Koord Cabool, five miles in length, through which a roaring torrent dashed on between blocks of ice, while its heights were crowned by the pitiless Khiljies, 3,000 persons perished. The Englishwomen rode through, on horseback or in camel-paniers, uninjured, except Lady Sale, who received a bullet in her arm; but, brave-hearted as they were, it seemed scarcely possible they and their infant children could long continue to bear up against the intense cold and incessant fatigue.* The only alternative was to accept the protection of Akber Khan, who, it is said, promised to convey them to Peshawur; and to him the whole of the married Englishwomen, their husbands, and children, with Lady Macnaghten and her widowed companions, were confided. It was a tempting opportunity for barbarian revenge. The wives and babes of the proud Feringhees were at the mercy of the Afghans; yet there is no record of any insult having been offered to them, or any attempt to separate them from their natural protectors, now defenceless as themselves. On the contrary, Akber Khan earnestly craved the forgiveness of Lady Macnaghten, assuring her he would give his right arm to undo what it had done; while, in many ways, he strove to alleviate the hardships of the march by bearing the weaker of the party over fords on his own steed, binding up the wounds of the officers with his own hands, and suffering the ladies to encumber the march with the costly baggage which two or three of them still retained. The voluntary surrender of such a prize was of course not to be expected while his father, brothers, and wives were retained in exile. As it was, his "guests," as they were termed, had every reason to rejoice at finding in temporary captivity an alternative for the loss of life. On the very next day (10th January), the remnant of the doomed force was intercepted on the road to Jellalabad, in a narrow gorge between the precipitous spurs of two hills, and the promiscuous mass of sepoys and camp followers were hewn down by the infuriated Afghans. Elphinstone sent to Akber Khan, who, with a body of horse, still hovered on the flanks of the retreating force, to entreat him to stop the massacre; but he replied, that it was impossible,—at such times the Khiljies were uncontrollable even by their immediate chiefs: there was but one chance for the English—an immediate and unconditional surrender of arms. The general sadly resumed his march to the Jugdulluck

* Some of them had just become, or were about to become mothers. The widow of Capt. Trevor had seven children with her, and an eighth was born at Buddeeabad. The idea of a grand military promenade was certainly carried out, when not only ladies and children, but a pack of foxhounds, and one of Broadwood's best pianos, were brought through the Bolan Pass.—(Fane's *Five Years;* Ex-political's *Dry Leaves.*) The troops in Cabool, though in many respects needlessly encumbered, do not seem to have been attended by a single chaplain; an omission which tends to justify the description given by a Beloochee of the Feringhee force, of whom one sort (the Hindoos) were idolaters; the white (English) had no religion at all; but the third were good Mussulmen, "and say their prayers as we do."—(*Idem.*)

heights, and there the troops who remained—of ranks all but destroyed by death and desertion—found a brief respite, and strove to quench their burning thirst with handsful of snow, and to still the cravings of hunger with the raw and reeking flesh of three newly-killed bullocks. The night was spent at Jugdulluck; on the following day Akber Khan requested a conference with the General, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnson. It is strange, with the recollection of the Cabool plot fresh in their minds, that the three military authorities should have accepted this significant invitation; but they did so, were courteously received, refreshed with food, provided with a tent, and—made prisoners. They entreated their captor to save the survivors of the force, and he really appears to have exerted himself for that purpose, but in vain. Captain Johnson, who understood the Persian language, heard the petty chiefs of the country between Jugdulluck and Jellalabad declaiming, as they flocked in, against the hated Feringhees, and rejecting large sums as the price of a safe conduct to Jellalabad. On the evening of the 12th, the wreck of the army resumed its perilous march. The sepoys had almost wholly perished, and of the Europeans only 120 of the 44th regiment and twenty-five artillerymen remained; but their movements were still impeded by a comparatively large mass of camp followers, who "came huddling against the fighting men," thus giving free scope to the long knives of the Afghans. The soldiers, after some time, freed themselves from the helpless rabble, turned against their foes with the bayonet, drove them off, and pursued their way to the fatal Jugdulluck Pass, where their sufferings and struggles found a melancholy termination. A barricade of boughs and bushes arrested further progress; officers, soldiers, and camp followers desperately strove to force a passage, though exposed to the deliberate aim of the "jezails" (long rifles) of the enemy. Anquetil, Thain, Nicholl, and the chief of the remaining leaders fell here. About twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers cut their way through, hoping to gain Jellalabad; but weak and wounded, with only two rounds of ammunition left, they could not make head against the armed villagers who came crowding forth against them from every hut. The majority fell at Gundamuck; a few escaped and struggled onwards: but even they fell—one here, one there; until a single European (Dr. Brydon), wounded and worn out by famine and fatigue, mounted on a jaded pony, alone survived to announce to the gallant garrison of Jellalabad the total annihilation of the force of 16,500 men which had quitted Cabool only seven days before.*

The terrible tidings reached Lord Auckland at Calcutta while awaiting the arrival of his successor in office. He had previously seen reason to regret bitterly that ever British troops had crossed the Indus: he knew that the E. I. Cy. had consistently opposed the Afghan war, and that the Peel cabinet, now in power, were of the same opinion; and he therefore refused to follow up the abortive attempts already made for the relief of the beleaguered garrisons by any efficient measures, lest his proceedings should controvert the views and embarrass the projects of his expected successor. The arrival of Lord Ellenborough, at the close of February, released Lord Auckland from his painful position, and he quitted India in the following month, leaving on record a finance minute which proved the war to have already inflicted a burden of eight million on the Indian treasury. The only remaining circumstances which occurred under his sway, were the annexation of the little principality of Kurnoul† and of Cherong, a fortified place in Bundelcund.

ELLENBOROUGH ADMINISTRATION: 1842 TO 1844.—The opinions held by the new governor-general were well known. His lordship had been for years president of the Board of Control: he was a conservative, and agreed with his party and the majority

* A few straggling sepoys and camp followers afterwards found their way to Jellalabad.

† The Nawab (or nabob) of Kurnoul was suspected of entertaining hostile intentions against the English; the chief, though not very satisfactory evidence of which rests on his having accumulated a large quantity of warlike stores. He was likewise said to be a very oppressive ruler. At the close of the year 1848, the capital was seized by a British force without opposition, and the nabob, who had abandoned the place, was pursued, taken prisoner, and became a dependent on the British government. He retired to Trichinopoly, and became a frequent attendant on the mission church. On the last occasion he was mortally stabbed by one of his Mohammedan followers. His eldest son, Uluf Khan, received a pension of £1,000 a-year until his death in 1848. The English enjoy the entire revenues of Kurnoul, estimated, in 1843, at £90,000 per annum, and control over a territory between 2,000 and 3,000 square miles in extent, with a population stated in a Parl. return for 1851, at 273,190.—(Thornton's *Gazetteer.*)

of unbiassed men, in considering the Afghan invasion "a blunder and a crime;" but he had likewise declared, that "India was won by the sword, and must be kept by the sword." These opinions, coupled with his adoption of an axiom of unquestionable truth, that "in war reputation is strength," served to convince the Indian public that his policy would probably aim at the complete and speedy evacuation of Afghanistan, performed in such a manner as to prove beyond question that England voluntarily resigned a position which an erroneous view of the feelings of the Afghans had induced her to assume; and this object, despite some glaring errors and inconsistencies, was, in the main, carried through by Lord Ellenborough. The first event in his administration was the surrender of Ghuznee, by Colonel Palmer, to Shums-oo-deen Khan, nephew to Dost Mohammed, on the 6th of March; the fear of a failure of water and provisions being the reasons alleged for the relinquishment of this strong fortress and the surrender of the officers,* who were treated with faithless cruelty by the conqueror. Nott and Sale still held their ground at Candahar and Jellalabad, against bitter cold, scarcity of fuel and provisions, and repeated though unskilful assaults, as did also the little garrison of Kelat-i-Khilji, under Captain Craigie. At Jellalabad, repeated minor shocks of earthquake were succeeded on the 10th February by a terrible convulsion, which levelled with the ground the defences which had been erected and rendered efficient at the cost of three months' intense labour of mind and body. Akber Khan, with the flower of the Barukzye horse, was at hand, ready, it was expected, to enforce the fulfilment of Elphinstone's order of surrender. But "the illustrious garrison," as Lord Ellenborough justly styled the brave band, did not abate one jot of hope or courage. The spade and pickaxe were again taken in hand, and the work of restoration went forward so rapidly that Akber, deceived as to the extent of the damage sustained, declared that English witchcraft had preserved Jellalabad from the effects of the mighty shock. The Afghans, having little inclination for a hand-to-hand encounter with Sale's brigade, contented themselves with striving to maintain a rigid blockade; but the garrison sallied forth under Dennie, and swept away sheep and goats in the very front of the foe. The political agent, Capt. Macgregor, an able and energetic man, contrived to establish a system of intelligence far superior to that generally maintained by the English. Tidings arrived on the 5th of April, that General Pollock, with 12,000 men and supplies of all kinds, was fighting his way to their rescue through the Khyber Pass, opposed by Akber Khan. The garrison gallantly resolved to assist their countrymen by issuing forth to attack the Afghan camp. This unlooked-for enterprise was attended with complete success. The blockading troops were completely routed, and fled in the direction of Lughman. The victors lost only thirteen men; but that number included the gallant Colonel Dennie, who fell at the head of the centre column. On the 11th April, the army under General Pollock reached Jellalabad, and the garrison, whose five months' beleaguerment had been already so brilliantly terminated, sent the band of the 13th light infantry to meet the troops, and marched them in to the fort to the tune of an old Jacobite song of welcome, of which the refrain runs, "Oh! but ye've been lang o' coming." General England was not successful in his early attempts to succour Nott and his "noble sepoys"† at Candahar. Having been repulsed in an attack on the Kojuck Pass, he fell back upon Quetta, and commenced fortifying that town; but General Nott imperatively demanded his renewed advance, and sent the best part of his force to aid England through the pass, who thus assisted, marched to Candahar, which place he reached with little loss; for the Afghans, though strongly posted at Hykulzie (the scene of his former discomfiture), were rapidly dispersed by a vigorous attack, and did not muster in any force to oppose his further progress.

No impediment now remained to the junction of the forces under Nott and England with those of Pollock and Sale. The only consideration was, what to do with them. Lord Ellenborough had wisely re-

* Kaye says—"If there had been any one in Ghuznee acquainted with the use and practice of artillery, the garrison might have held out till April." He adds, "That among the officers of Nott's army [by whom the place was reoccupied in September], the loss of Ghuznee was considered even less creditable than the loss of Cabool."—(ii., 428–'9.)

† "My sepoys," Nott writes to Pollock in April, "have behaved nobly, and have licked the Afghans in every affair, even when five times their number." In the same letter he states that they had had no pay since the previous December. The fidelity and privations of the native troops throughout the Afghan war well deserve a special narration.

solved on the evacuation of Afghanistan; but he left to the military authorities the choice of "retiring" by the line of Quetta and Sukkur, or by that of Ghuznee, Cabool, and Jellalabad. Nott chose the latter alternative; and in communicating his resolve, repeated with quiet sarcasm his lordship's phrase of "retiring" from Candahar to India by way of Ghuznee, Cabool, and Jellalabad; the said retirement, says Kaye, being like a man retiring from Reigate to London *viá* Dover and Canterbury. Pollock entirely sympathised with General Nott. The former marched to Cabool, which he reached on the 5th Sept., after having encountered and put to flight the Afghans under Akber,* in the valley of Tezeen and the adjacent passes of Koord Cabool, where the English had been slaughtered in the previous January. General Nott proceeded to Ghuznee, which was evacuated on his approach; and after destroying the town as well as citadel by fire, he proceeded to the tomb of Mahmood, in obedience to the special instructions of the governor-general, to bear away the famous idol-destroying mace of the conqueror, suspended above the tomb, and a pair of sandal-wood gates, embossed with brass, which were said to have been carried away by him from the temple of Somnauth, in Guzerat, A.D. 1024. Burdened with these trophies, the general proceeded to Cabool, which city Pollock had entered unopposed on the 15th Sept., and planted the union-jack on the Balla Hissar.†

In the interval between the evacuation and reoccupation of the capital of Afghanistan by the English, another melancholy tragedy had been enacted. Shah Soojah, abandoned by his allies, for some months contrived to maintain himself in the Balla Hissar; but his position becoming at length insupportable, he resolved to attempt to join Sale at Jellalabad. Early on the morning of the 5th of April, the Shah left the citadel, escorted by a small party of Hindoostanees, intending to review the troops and quit Cabool; but his passage was opposed by a body of Afghans, who opened a volley upon the royal *cortége*, which struck down the bearers of the state chair, and killed the king himself. Throughout his whole career, Shah Soojah had been a pompous man, speaking and thinking ever of "our blessed self." Now his lifeless body was stripped of its costly array, of its sparkling head-dress, rich girdle, and jewelled dagger, and flung into a ditch. His eldest son, Prince Timur, then about twenty-three years of age, was with the British at Candahar. The next in succession, Futteh Jung, was courted by the Barukzye chiefs, who hoped to find in him a shield from the vengeance of the advancing foe. The prince listened with undisguised distrust to the protestations made to him by the Seyed deputies; and in reply to offers of allegiance, to be sworn on the Koran, caused several exemplars of the sacred volume to be placed before them, bearing the seals of the Barukzye, Dourani, Kuzzilbash, and Kohistanee chiefs, with oaths of allegiance to his murdered father inscribed on the margin. "If there be any other Koran sent from heaven," he said bitterly, "let the Barukzyes swear upon it: this has been tried too often, and found wanting." The ambassadors were dismissed; but Futteh Jung, unable to maintain his ground, soon fell into the hands of the chiefs he so avowedly mistrusted, and after being robbed of the treasure which his father had contrived to accumulate, made his escape, and joined General Pollock at Gundamuck on the 1st of September, with only two or three followers.

The next feature in the campaign was a joyful one—the recovery of the captives. The ladies and children were alive and well, but General Elphinstone had expired in the month of April, worn out by incessant bodily and mental pain. On learning the approach of Pollock, Akber‡ confided his unwilling guests to the care of one

* The Goorkalese infantry fought most manfully, clambering undauntedly the steepest ascents, beneath the iron rain poured on them from Afghan jezails.—(Kaye, ii., 579.) It must have been a strange sight to see these daring, sturdy, but diminutive men, driving before them their stalwart foes; but stranger still the thought, how recently these valuable auxiliaries had done battle on their native hills, against the people for whom they were now shedding their life-blood, and ably wielding the British bayonet.

† *Balla Hissar*, the Persian for High Fort.

‡ The trials of the captives began when Akber became again a fugitive, and could no longer retain them under his immediate protection. About this time an accident occurred which placed them in jeopardy. A servant in attendance on the chief, wounded him in the arm by the accidental discharge of a musket. No difference took place in the conduct of Akber himself; and even when weak and wounded, he gave up his litter for the accommodation of the ladies on their removal from Budeeabad. His countrymen, more suspicious, attributed the disaster to English treachery; and had the young Barukzye died, the lives of all the male captives and hostages would probably have been sacrificed as an act of retribution. Ameen-oollah Khan, especially,

Saleh Mohammed, who was directed to deliver them to the charge of a neighbouring Usbeck chief, styled the Wali of Kooloom, who had proved a stanch friend to Dost Mohammed. Saleh Mohammed had formerly been a subahdar in the service of the E. I. Cy., but being (by his own account) disgusted with the abusive language used towards natives by the European officers, he deserted with his company to the Dost. It was not a difficult matter to induce him to play the traitor over again, provided the risk were small and the temptation great. Tidings of the progress of the English army calmed his fears; and offers on behalf of government, backed by the written pledge of the captives to pay him 1,000 rupees a-month for life, and a present of 20,000 rupees, stimulated his hopes: from gaoler he turned confederate; and the soldiers (250 in number) were, by the promise of four months' pay as a gratuity, metamorphosed from guards to servants. Eldred Pottinger assumed the direction of affairs, levied contributions upon some merchants passing through Bamian, and hoisted an independent flag on the fort the party had entered as prisoners. To remain at Bamian was, however, deemed even more perilous than to attempt to join the army at Cabool; and on the 16th of September, the officers, ladies, and children set forth on their march. The next day Sir Richmond Shakespear, at the head of 600 Kuzzilbash horse, met the fugitives, who thus escorted, joyfully pursued their route, till, on the 20th, near Urghundeh, the column sent by Pollock to support Shakespear appeared in sight, and its veteran commander, Sir Robert Sale, came galloping on to embrace his wife and widowed daughter.*

The objects of the campaign were fully accomplished: the beleaguered garrisons had been relieved, the captives rescued; the last of them (Captain Bygrave) being voluntarily released by Akber; and the orders of the governor-general were stringent for the return of the entire English force to Hindoostan without incurring any unnecessary peril. The various Afghan chiefs, whose blood-feuds and factious dissension had prevented any combined action, now earnestly deprecated the vengeance of the Feringhees. The hostages left at Cabool were restored,

said that he knew a reward of a lac of rupees had been offered by Macnaghten for his life. Mohammed Shah Khan, and a "young whelp," his son, took advantage of the absence of Akber to pillage the captives, and is said to have obtained from Lady Macnaghten alone, shawls and jewels to the value of £20,000; but the jewels were soon voluntarily restored (Johnson and Eyre.) Considering that the daughter and sister of the plunderers (Akber's wife) had been carried into exile by the countrymen of Lady Macnaghten, there was nothing very extraordinary in their thus seeking means to carry on the war. Before the late crisis, the captives had enjoyed advantages very unusual for even state prisoners in Afghanistan. Five rooms in the fort of Budeeabad, furnished by Mohammed Shah Khan for his own use, were vacated for their accommodation. During the three months spent here four European infants were born. The elder children passed the time in blindman's-buff and other games befitting their age; their parents in writing long letters to India and England, carrying on a great deal of cypher correspondence with Sale's garrison, and playing backgammon and drafts on boards of their own construction, and cards, by means of two or three old packs preserved among their baggage. From "a Bible and Prayer-book picked up on the field at Boothauk," the services of the established church were read every Sunday, sometimes in the open air; and this observance was, we are told, not lost on their guards, who, wild and savage as they were, seemed to respect the Christian's day of rest, "by evincing more decorum and courtesy than on the working-days of the week."—(Kaye ii., 489.) Who that really desires the spread of vital Christianity, can read this account without regretting that the captives of Budeeabad had not been inspired with more of the devotional spirit which burned so strong and clear in the bosoms of two other English captives, then dying by inches in filth and misery at Bokhara, but evincing such unmistakable indications of true piety, that sorrow for the suffering is lost in veneration for the enduring faith of Colonel Stoddart and Arthur Conolly. The former I deeply respected on the ground of personal knowledge; the latter I know only by the touching records made public since his execution. The history of both is yet fresh in the minds of the existing generation. Colonel Stoddart had gone in an official position to Bokhara, and was detained by the Ameer, who had been angered by some real or apparent slight shown him by the British authorities; Conolly sought to procure the release of Stoddart, but was condemned to share his imprisonment. The touching letters written at this period, and forwarded to India through the intervention of a faithful servant, still remain to attest the patience in adversity of these illustrious sufferers. Stoddart, in a moment of weakness, after being lowered down into a deep dark well, tenanted by vermin, was forced into making a profession of belief in the false prophet; but Conolly never wavered. On the 17th of June, 1842, the two friends were brought forth to die, clothed in the miserable rags which five months' incessant wear had left to cover their emaciated and literally worm-eaten frames. The elder captive was first beheaded, and an offer of life was made to his companion as the price of apostasy, but without effect. "Stoddart," he said, "became a Mussulman, and you killed him: I am prepared to die." The knife of the executioner did its work, and another name was added to the glorious army of martyrs—the true soldiers of the Cross.—(Kaye, Wolfe, &c.)

* The widow of Lieutenant Sturt, of the engineers, a very active officer, who was mortally wounded by the Khiljies in the Koord Cabool Pass.

and bore testimony to the good treatment they had received from the nabob, Zemaun Shah. The "guests" of Akber Khan told the same tale; and Colonel Palmer and Mohun Lal* were almost the only complainants;—the one having fallen into the hands of the instigator of the murder of Shah Soojah, the unworthy son of Nawab Zemaun Khan; the other having provoked personal vengeance by repeated offers of blood-money for the heads of the leading Barukzyes. The principal Cabool leaders proposed that a younger son of the late king's, named Shahpoor (the son of a Populzye lady of high rank), should be placed on the throne; and to this the British authorities consented. The object of the proposers was not accomplished; they hoped to turn away the vengeance of the invaders, but in vain. The military leaders pronounced that the destruction of the fortresses of Ghuznee, Jellalabad, Candahar, Khelat-i-Khilji,† Ali-Musjid, and many others of inferior note,—the sacrifice of thousands of villagers armed and unarmed, the wanton destruction of the beautiful fruit-trees (which an Afghan loves as a Kaffir does cattle, or an Arab his steed), with other atrocities almost inseparable from the march of an "army of retribution," were all too trifling to convey a fitting impression of the wrath of the British nation at the defeat, disgrace, and ruin which had attended its abortive attempt at the military occupation of Afghanistan. It is idle to talk of the savage ferocity‡ of the Khiljies, as displayed in the horrible January massacre, since that very massacre had been wantonly provoked. The English originally entered those fatal passes as foes; they marched on, in the pride of conquerors, to rivet a rejected yoke on the neck of a free, though most turbulent nation: their discipline and union were at first irresistible; yet subsequently, strife and incapacity delivered them over into the hands of their self-made enemies. They had (to use an Orientalism) gone out to hunt deer, and roused tigers. What wonder that the incensed people, heated with recent wrongs, should crush with merciless grasp the foe in his hour of weakness, under whose iron heel they had been trampled on so recently. It was a base and cruel thing to slay the retreating legions; but have civilised nations—France and England, for instance—never done worse things in Africa or the Indies, and vindicated them on the plea of state necessity? The defeated invaders fell with weapons in their hands: they fought to the last—at a heavy disadvantage, it is true; but still they did fight; and the physical obstacles which facilitated their overthrow, surely could not make the difference between the combatants greater than that which has enabled nations acquainted with the use of cannon to reduce to slavery or deprive of their land less-informed people.

The English refused to surrender, and paid by death the penalty of defeat, which would, in all probability, have been inflicted by them in a similar case. The captives and hostages were, generally, remarkably well used; even the little children who fell into the power of the Khiljies were voluntarily restored to their parents.§

Yet now the military authorities, not content with the misery wrought and suffered in Afghanistan,|| gravely deliberated on the most

* Moonshee Mohun Lal was educated at the Delhi college, where the experiment of imparting secular education, without any religious leaven, was being tried by the British government. The same system is now in force throughout India. Mohun Lal was one of its first-fruits, and his cleverly-written work on Cabool is well worthy of the attention of all interested in tracing the effects of purely secular instruction. Shahamet Ali (author of the *Sikhs and Afghans*), the fellow-student of Mohun Lal, was a different character, and not a Hindoo, but a Mohammedan. His new acquirements were not, therefore, likely to have the effect of producing the same flippancy and scepticism which was almost sure to be occasioned by proving to such men as Mohun Lal, that modern Brahminism was the offspring of superstition and ignorance, without inculcating a knowledge of those doctrines which Christians hold to be the unerring rule of life, the only wisdom.

† Kaye, ii., 599. Khelat-i-Khilji, or "the Khilji Fort," situated between Candahar and Ghuznee, must not be confounded with the famous Khelat-i-Nuseer near the Bolan Pass, taken by Major-general Willshire in November, 1839, and in the defence of which the Beloochee chief, Mehrab Khan, with hundreds of his vassals, perished. Several women were slain to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy: others fled on foot with their infants.

‡ The author of one of the numerous *Narratives* of the war, relates an anecdote of an Afghan boy of six years old, being found by an English soldier striving to decapitate the corpse of a colour-sergeant who had fallen some time before when Pollock fought his way through the Khyber Pass. The soldier came behind the child, "coolly took him up on his bayonet, and threw him over the cliff." Lieut. Greenwood narrates this incident in "the war of retribution" as evidence of *Afghan* ferocity.—(176.)

§ The daughter of Captain Anderson, and the son of Captain Boyd, fell into the hands of the Afghans in the Boothauk Pass.

|| Lord Brougham sternly denounced the destruction of the "hundred gardens" of Cabool, by "our incendiary generals."

efficient mode of perpetuating in the minds of the Cabool chiefs the memory of deeds which all parties might have been glad to bury in oblivion. The peaceable inhabitants of the city had been induced to return and resume their occupations; and when they beheld the son of Shah Soojah on the throne, and the English in daily intercourse with the leading chiefs, and making avowed preparations for final departure, they might well think that the worst was over. But it was yet to come. General Pollock considered the death of the envoy still unavenged, and resolved on the total destruction of the Great Bazaar and the Mosque. These orders were executed, but with difficulty, owing to the massiveness of these magnificent buildings, which it was found impossible to destroy in any reasonable time without the use of gunpowder. As might have been expected, the victorious soldiery and licentious camp followers did not content themselves with fulfilling their destructive commission, but rushed into the streets of the city, applied the firebrand to the houses, and pillaged the shops; so that above four or five thousand people (including many Hindoos who had been enticed into the town by express promises of protection) were reduced to utter ruin. The excesses committed during the last three days of British supremacy in Cabool, were far more disgraceful to the character of England, as a Christian nation, than the expulsion and extermination of the ill-fated troops to her military reputation.

Popular feeling, both in India and in England, was strongly expressed against the needless injury done to the Afghans by the razing of the Great Bazaar, and especially against the extensive destruction of trees, by order of the commander-in-chief, by deeply ringing the bark, and leaving them to perish. Lord Ellenborough appears to have regretted these outrages; but this and all other drawbacks were for the time forgotten in the grand display with which he prepared to welcome the returning army. The homeward march commenced on the 12th of October, and proved singularly peaceful and uneventful. The old blind king, Zemaun Shah, with his nephew Futteh Jung, and the chief part of the family of the late Shah Soojah, accompanied the troops. The gates of Somnauth were not forgotten; and the governor-general gave vent to his delight at their attainment in a proclamation, in which he declared the insult of 800 years to be at length avenged, and desired his "brothers and friends," the princes and chiefs of Sirhind, Rajwarra, Malwa, and Guzerat, to convey the "glorious trophy of successful war" with all honour through their respective territories, to the restored idolatrous temple of Somnauth.

For this strange "song of triumph," as the Duke of Wellington styled the effusion, Lord Ellenborough may perhaps be excused, in remembrance of the honest and manly recantation of error which he published on behalf of the Indian government on the 1st of October, 1842, when directing the complete evacuation of Afghanistan,—this announcement being made from Simla precisely four years after the famous warlike manifesto of Lord Auckland. The whole of the Afghan captives were released. Dost Mohammed returned to Cabool to take possession of the throne vacated by the flight of Shahpoor immediately after the departure of the British force; Akber joyfully welcomed home his father and family; the Persians again besieged Herat; and all things returned to much the same position they occupied before thousands of lives (including that of the forsaken Shah) and about fifteen million of money had been wasted, in an abortive attempt at unauthorised interference. The only change effected was, that instead of respect and admiration, the Afghans (generally, though perhaps not justly, considered an unforgiving race) learned to entertain towards their powerful neighbours emotions of fear and aversion, excited by the galling memories inseparably connected with the march of a desolating army, whose traces were left everywhere, "from Candahar to Cabool, from Cabool to Peshawur."*

The annexation of Sinde—the next event in Anglo-Indian history—has been termed by its chief promoter "the tail of the Afghan storm." Such is the light in which Sir Charles Napier avowedly desires to place it; and his brother, General William Napier, in his account of the *Conquest of Sinde*, plainly declares the open encroachment on the in-

* Kaye, ii., 669. Among other authorities examined, in writing the above sketch of the Afghan war, may be named Eyre's *Cabool*, Havelock's *Narrative*, Dennie's *Campaigns*, Outram's *Rough Notes*, Hough's *British at Cabool*, Fane's *Five Years in India*, Osborne's *Court of Runjeet Sing*, Taylor's *Scenes*, Nash's *Afghanistan*, Barr's *Cabool*, Burnes' *Cabool*, Allen's *Diary*, Thornton's *India*.

dependence of the Ameers, made by order of Lord Auckland, to have been a measure of which "it is impossible to mistake or to deny the injustice." Major (now Col.) Outram, the political Resident at Hyderabad, to some extent defends the proceedings which, though occasionally under protest, he was instrumental in carrying through; and brings forward a considerable body of evidence to prove that Sir Charles Napier, when vested with complete military and diplomatic authority in Sinde, while denouncing the unauthorised aggression committed by Lord Auckland, used the despotic power vested in him by Lord Ellenborough to sap the resources of the Ameers, and then drive them to desperation; the results being their ruin, the annexation to British India of a fertile and valuable boundary province, and the gain to the invading army of prize-money to an enormous extent—the share of Sir C. Napier (an eighth) amounting, it is asserted, to £70,000. Taken together, the admissions and accusations respectively made and preferred by the two leading authorities, can scarcely fail to leave on the mind of the unprejudiced reader a conviction that the Ameers were very illused men, especially the eldest and most influential of them, the venerable Meer Roostum. They were usurpers; but their usurpation was of above sixty years' standing: and the declaration of Lord Ellenborough is not equally correct, that what they had won by the sword they had lost by the sword; inasmuch as their earliest and most important concessions were obtained amid "a sickening declamation about friendship, justice, and love of peace;" which declamation was continued up to the moment when Meer Roostum, bending under the weight of eighty-five years, and his aged wife (the mother of his eldest son) were driven forth into the desert, not by English bayonets, but by English diplomacy.

Such at least is the account given by Napier of the opening negotiations with Sinde, and by Outram of their abrupt termination. To enter into the various points of dispute would be manifestly incompatible with the brief sketch of the leading features attending our occupation of the country, alone consistent with the objects and limits of the present work: even that sketch, to economise space, must be given in small type.

In the beginning of the 18th century, the Kalloras, military fanatics from Persia, became dominant in Sinde, and though compelled to pay tribute to the Dourani conqueror of Afghanistan, retained their position as rulers until about 1771, when a conflict arose between them and the chiefs of the Beloochee tribe of Talpoors, who had come from the hills to settle in the fertile plains. After some years' fighting the Talpoors became undisputed masters of Sinde. Their head, Meer Futteh Ali, assigned portions of the conquered territory to two of his relations, and thus gave rise to the separate states of Khyrpoor and Meerpoor. The remaining part of Sinde, including the capital Hyderabad, he ruled until his death, in amicable conjunction with his three brothers. The Talpoors, like their predecessors the Kalloras, evidently dreaded the encroaching spirit of the powerful Feringhees, and quietly but firmly opposed their early attempts at commercial intercourse. At length, in 1832, the pertinacious resolve of the English to open up the navigation of the Indus, prevailed over their prudent reserve, and a new treaty was formed through the intervention of Colonel (now Sir Henry) Pottinger, by the fifth article of which the contracting parties solemnly pledged themselves "never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." The very words betrayed the apprehensions of the Ameers; and that these were shared by their subjects is proved by the exclamation recorded by Burnes, as uttered in the previous year by the witnesses of his approach—"Alas! Sinde is gone since the English have seen our river!"

The prediction was soon verified. In 1836, the ambitious designs of Runjeet Sing gave the Anglo-Indian government an opportunity of interference, which was availed of by the proffer of British mediation. At this time the original Talpoor rulers were all dead, and their sons reigned in their stead. Noor Mohammed wore the puggree or turban of superiority, and was the acknowledged rais or chief at Hyderabad; Sheer Mohammed at Meerpoor, and Meer Roostum at Khyrpoor, in Upper Sinde. Meer Roostum was eighty years of age, and was assisted in the government by his numerous brothers. He was, however, still possessed of much energy; and so far from fearing the hostility of Runjeet Sing, or desiring the dangerous aid of the English, he exclaimed confidently—"We have vanquished the Seik, and we will do so again." It was, however, quite another thing to compete with the united forces of Runjeet Sing and the English; and the intimate connexion so unnecessarily formed between these powers in 1838, proved pretty clearly that the choice lay between mediation or open hostility. The Ameers chose the former, and consented to the permanent residence at Hyderabad of a British political agent, with an armed escort. Two months after the conclusion of this arrangement, the Tripartite Treaty was signed at Lahore, and involved a new question as to the route to be taken for the invasion of Afghanistan. Runjeet Sing, stimulated by his distrustful durbar or court, would not suffer his sworn allies to march through the Punjab. Advantage was therefore taken of the weakness of the Ameers to compel them to sanction the passage of the British troops; and the island-fortress of Bukkur was obtained from Meer Roostum, to be held "during the continuance of the war." These concessions paved the way for fresh exactions, and the Ameers were next required to contribute towards the expenses of the expedition. The demand was first urged on the plea of arrears of tribute claimed by Shah Soojah as their suzerain, but this was refuted by

the production of a formal release made by the Shah of all claims upon Sinde or Shikarpoor. The next pretext for oppression was, that the Ameers had tendered professions of submission to Persia, the evidence being a document of doubtful authenticity, ostensibly addressed by Noor Mohammed to the Persian monarch, and which, when freed from Oriental hyperbole, contained little more than expressions of unbounded respect for the Shah of Persia as the head of the Sheiah sect of Mohammedans. It was so improbable that the Ameers would comply with the present demands, except under the sternest compulsion, that preparations were made to punish their refusal by the storming of Hyderabad, and the army of the Indus turned out of its way for the express purpose, and menaced Sinde at four different points. Sir John Keane designated the anticipated siege of the capital, "a pretty piece of practice for the army;" and the officers generally indulged in sanguine expectations of pillage and prize-money. The Ameers were divided in opinion; and one of them proposed that they should defend themselves to the last, and then slay their wives and children, and perish sword in hand—the terrible resolve carried out not many months later by Mehrab Khan, of Khelat-i-Nuseer. More temperate counsels prevailed. Meer Roostum confessed that in surrendering Bukkur he had given the heart of his country into the hands of the foe; and the Ameers, with utter ruin staring them in the face, consented to the hard terms imposed by the treaty signed in February, 1839, which bound them to receive a subsidiary force, and contribute three lacs (afterwards increased to three and a-half) for its support, to abolish all tolls on the Indus, and provide store-room at Kurrachee for military supplies. In return, the Anglo-Indian government promised not to meddle with the internal affairs of the Ameers, or *listen to the complaints of their subjects* (a very ominous proviso.) These concessions, together with a contribution of £200,000, half of which was paid immediately, did not satisfy Lord Auckland. Kurrachee had been taken possession of during the war; and he now insisted on its permanent retention, despite the promises made by his representatives.

The Ameers had no alternative but to submit: yet, says General Napier, "the grace with which they resigned themselves to their wrongs, did not save them from the cruel mockery of being asked by Colonel (Sir H.) Pottinger, 'if they had the slightest cause to question the British faith during the last six months?' and the further mortification of being told, 'that henceforth they must consider Sinde to be as it was in reality a portion of Hindoostan, in which the British were paramount, and entitled to act as they considered best and fittest for the general good of the whole empire.'"

Colonel Pottinger, created a baronet, continued Resident in Sinde until the beginning of 1840. He was succeeded by Major Outram, who, by the death of his coadjutor, Mr. Ross Bell, became political agent for the whole of Sinde and Beloochistan. Major Outram found the Ameers in precisely the state of feeling which might have been expected;—deeply irritated against the English, disposed to rejoice at any misfortune which might overtake them, and ready to rise up and assert their independence if the opportunity offered; but constantly let and hindered by the fear of consequences, and by the divided counsels arising from separate interests. With anxious care the Resident watched their feelings and opinions—warning one, counselling another, reasoning with a third; and in the perilous moment when General England fell back on Quetta, after a vain attempt to succour Nott at Candahar, Outram strained every nerve to prevent the rulers of Sinde from making common cause with their Beloochee countrymen against the invading army. "Even their negative hostility," he writes, "evinced by withholding supplies, would have placed us in a position which it is fearful even to contemplate." The recollection of past wrongs did not, however, prevent the majority of the Ameers from actively befriending the troops in their hour of need; but some of them were suspected of being concerned in hostile intrigues; and though Meer Roostum behaved with accustomed candour, his minister, Futteh Mohammed Ghoree became implicated in certain suspicious proceedings. Towards the conclusion of the Afghan war, Major Outram proposed to Lord Ellenborough (the successor of Lord Auckland) a revision of the existing treaties, which were very vaguely worded, urging that precautions should be taken against the possible machinations of such of the Ameers as had betrayed hostile intentions during the late crisis, and advised that Shikarpoor and its dependencies, with Sukkur and the adjacent fortress of Bukkur, should be demanded in complete cession, in return for the relinquishment of the yearly tribute of £350,000, and of arrears due of considerable amount.

Lord Ellenborough was not content with this arrangement: he desired to reward the good service done to the forces in the late war by a neighbouring prince, the Khan of Bhawalpoor,* by the restoration of certain territories captured from him some thirty years before by the Ameers, who were considered to have rendered themselves "most amenable to punishment." To this Major Outram assented; but when his lordship proceeded to write denunciatory letters to the Ameers, threatening them with punishment for past offences, should any such be clearly proved, the Resident withheld these communications, believing that their delivery would gravely imperil the safety of the troops still scattered in isolated positions in dreary Afghanistan. The governor-general admitted the discretion of this procedure; but he had taken up, with the energy of a strong though often prejudiced mind, the popular notion of the day against political agents; and the prudence displayed by Colonel Outram did not exempt him from the sweeping measures enacted for the supercession of political by purely military functionaries.

Sir Charles Napier had just arrived in India, and to him was entrusted the task of gaining the consent of the Ameers to concessions amounting to their virtual deposition.† The sudden recall of the Resident, and the arrival of a military leader, at the head of a powerful force, alarmed the Ameers, and they strove to deprecate the impending storm by every means in their power. The testimonies of many British officers and surgeons are brought forward by Major Outram, to confirm his own evidence with regard to the characters of the unfortunate chiefs of Sinde, whom he describes as decidedly favourable specimens of Mohammedan princes, ruling after a very patriarchal fashion,—merciful, accessible to complainants, singularly temperate, abstaining not only from drinking and smoking, but likewise rigidly eschewing the accursed drug, opium, even as a medicine.‡ The

* *Vide* Shahamet Ali's *History of Bahawalpoor.*

† Thornton's *India*, vi., 423.

‡ Outram's *Commentary*, 529. Dr. Burnes' *Sinde.*

mere fact of so many chiefs living and bearing sway in the domestic fashion described by Pottinger, Burnes, and Outram, was a strong argument in their favour; yet Sir Charles Napier unhappily lent a credulous ear to the mischievous rumours which a longer residence in India would have taught him to sift narrowly, or reject wholly: and his entire conduct was in accordance with his undisguised opinion, that the Ameers were "thorough ruffians" and "villains," drunken, debauched, capable of fratricide, "any one of them," and determined to assassinate him and "Cabool" the troops. Accustomed to the courtesy of British officials (one of whom had stood unshod in their presence, some ten years before, to crave permission to open the navigation of the Indus), they were now startled by the tone of contemptuous distrust with which they were treated by the dark-visaged little old man, who, despite his unquestioned courage in the field of battle, avowedly suffered personal fear of treachery to prevent his according a friendly hearing to the "benign and grey-headed monarch who had conferred the most substantial benefits on the English nation."

Major Outram states that Sir Charles Napier scrupled not to add exactions to the treaties not desired by Lord Ellenborough: and further, that he incited the most ambitious and able of the Khyrpoor brothers (Ali Morad), to intrigue against their venerated rais or chief, Meer Roostum, who, perceiving the offensive and threatening attitude assumed by the British forces, asked the advice of the general what to do to preserve peace, and offered to take up his residence in the camp. Sir Charles Napier advised, or rather commanded him to join his brother. The aged rais complied, and the result was his being first, as Sir Charles said, "bullied" into resigning the puggree to Ali Morad, and then induced, by artfully-implanted fears of English treachery, to seek refuge with his family in the wilderness. This step was treated as an act of hostility, and immediate preparations were made for what was vauntingly termed "the conquest," but which was expected to be little more than the occupation of Sinde. The customary form of a declaration of war was passed over; and it being suspected that the fugitives had taken refuge in Emaunghur, Sir Charles marched, with 400 men mounted on camels, against that fortress in January, 1843. Emaunghur belonged to a younger brother of Roostum—Mohammed of Khyrpoor, one of the reigning Ameers, who had never "been even accused of a single hostile or unfriendly act,"* but who had the unfortunate reputation of possessing treasure to the amount of from £200,000 to £360,000, stored up in Emaunghur.† No such prize awaited the general; he found the fort without a living inhabitant, but well supplied with grain, of which the troops took possession, razed the walls, and marched back again.

At this crisis, Major Outram returned to Sinde, at the especial request of both Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier, to aid as commissioner in settling the pending arrangements. Having vainly entreated the general not to persist in driving the whole of the Ameers of Upper Sinde to open war, by compelling them to take part with Meer Roostum and his fugitive adherents, Major Outram centred his last efforts for peace in striving to persuade the Ameers not yet compromised by any manifestation of distrust, to throw themselves at the feet of the English, by signing the required treaty. The task is best described in the words of the negotiator:—"I was called upon to obtain their assent to demands against which I had solemnly protested as a positive robbery: and I had to warn them against resistance to our requisitions, as a measure that would bring down upon them utter and merited destruction; while I firmly believed that every life lost, in consequence of our aggressions, would be chargeable on us as a murder."‡

The arguments of Major Outram succeeded in procuring the signature of the chiefs of Lower Sinde; but the prohibition he had received against any promise of protection for Meer Roostum, however clearly his innocence might be proved, excited uncontrollable indignation on the part of the Beloochee feudatory chiefs; and but for the efforts of the Ameers, the commissioner and his party would have been massacred on their return to the Residency. Major Outram was warned to quit Hyderabad. The vakeels or ambassadors dispatched to the British camp to offer entire submission, failed to procure even a hearing; and they sent word to their masters—"The general is bent on war—so get ready." In fact, Napier had been so long preparing to meet a conspiracy on the part of the Ameers, that he seems to have been determined either to make or find one, if only to illustrate his favourite denunciation of—"Woe attend those who conspire against the powerful arms of the company: behold the fate of Tippoo Sultan and the peishwa, and the Emperor of China!" Therefore he continued his march; and the terrified Ameers, on learning their last and deepest humiliations had been endured in vain, gave the rein to the long-restrained fury of their followers,—just fifty-three days after the commencement of hostilities by General Napier. On the 15th of February, a horde of armed Beloochees attacked the residence of the British commissioner. After a few hours' resistance, Major Outram and his escort evacuated the place, and retreated in marching order to meet the advancing army, which continued its progress to a village called Meanee (six miles from Hyderabad), which he reached on the 17th. Here the Ameers had taken up their position, with a force stated by Sir C. Napier at 25,862 Beloochees, hastily assembled and ill-disciplined; but than whom, he says, "braver barbarians never gave themselves to slaughter." And very terrible the slaughter was; for, if General W. Napier may be trusted, the Ameers "were broken like potsherds," and 6,000 men "went down before the bayonets of his (brother's) gallant soldiers, wallowing in blood." The English lost 254 killed and wounded.

Immediately after the battle, Meer Roostum and two others of the Khyrpoor family, with three of the Ameers of Hyderabad, influenced by the representations of Major Outram, abandoned all intention of defending Hyderabad, and delivered themselves up as prisoners; and on 20th of Feb., Napier entered the capital as a conqueror. Although there had been no declaration of war, and no sign of defence,—not a shot fired from the walls,—the prize-agents immediately set about the plunder of the city, in a manner happily unparalleled in the records of Anglo-Indian campaigns. The ladies of the imprisoned Ameers were exposed to the insulting search of one of the most abandoned of their own sex, the concubine of an officer on duty in Sinde. Everything belonging to them, even to the cots on which they slept, were seized and sold by public auction;§ and several of

* Outram's *Commentary*, 39. † First Sinde *B. B.*, 469.

‡ Outram deemed himself "bound to vindicate his (Napier's) conduct in my communications with his victims."—(*Commentary*, 325.) § *Idem*, 439.

these unfortunates, driven to desperation, fled from the city barefoot, overwhelmed with shame and terror.

On the 24th of March, the army marched from Hyderabad against Sheer Mohammed, Ameer of Meerpoor, with whom a pitched battle took place near that city, in which the British were victorious, but lost 267 men in killed and wounded. Meerpoor was occupied without resistance, and the desert fortress of Amercot (the birthplace of Akber, conquered by the Ameers from the Rajpoots) surrendered at the first summons. The brothers Shah Mohammed and Sheer Mohammed were defeated in the month of June, by detachments respectively commanded by captains Roberts and Jacob; and the success of these officers in preventing the junction of the brothers, and defeating them, materially conduced to the triumphant conclusion of the campaign; for had their forces been able to unite and retire to the desert, and there wait their opportunity, heat, pestilence, and inundation (in a land intersected by canals), would have been fearful auxiliaries to the warfare of predatory bands, against an army already reduced to 2,000 effective men, who could only move in the night, and were falling so fast beneath climatorial influences, that before the intelligence of Captain Jacob's victory, orders had been issued for the return of all the Europeans to head-quarters.

The Ameers were sent as prisoners to Hindoostan, and stipends were eventually granted for their support, amounting in the aggregate to £46,614. Ali Morad was rewarded for his share in sending his aged brother to die in exile, by an addition of territory, which was soon afterwards taken away from him, on a charge of forgery urged against him, and it was thought clearly proved, by a vengeful minister. The rest of the province was annexed to British India, and divided into three collectorates—Shikarpoor, Hyderabad and Kurrachee. There is some consolation in being able to close this painful episode, by stating that the latest accounts represent the country as improving in salubrity, the inhabitants (considerably above a million in number) as tranquil and industrious, canals as being reopened, waste land redeemed, new villages springing up, and even the very mild form of slavery which prevailed under the Ameers, as wholly abolished. This is well; for since we are incontestably usurpers in Sinde, it is the more needful we be not oppressors also.*

The sword had scarcely been sheathed in Sinde before it was again drawn in warfare against the Mahratta principality formed by Mahadajee Sindia. The successor of Dowlut Rao, and the adopted son of Baiza Bye, died childless in 1843. His nearest relative, a boy of eight years of age, was proclaimed Maharajah, with the sanction of the British government; and the regency was nominally entrusted to the widow of the late prince, a wayward and passionate, but clever and sensitive girl of twelve years of age. Great disorders arose in the state; and the turbulence of the mass of 40,000 soldiers, concentrated at Gwalior, rendered them an object of anxiety to the governor-general. The doctrine openly inculcated by Lord Wellesley—of the rights and obligations of the British government, as the paramount power in India—was urged by Lord Ellenborough as the basis of his proposed movements with regard to Gwalior. An army was assembled at the close of 1843; and while one division, comprising about eight or nine thousand men, marched from Bundelcund, and crossed the Sinde river at Chandpoor, the main body, about 14,000 strong, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, accompanied by the governor-general, crossed the Chumbul near the town of Dholpoor, and on the 26th of December encamped at Hingona, twenty-three miles north-west of the fort of Gwalior. Marching thence on the 29th, the British force came in front of a Mahratta host, about 18,000 in number, encamped fifteen miles from Gwalior, near the villages of Maharajpoor and Chonda. The details of the ensuing engagement are unsatisfactorily recorded. That the British came unexpectedly on the enemy, is proved by the fact that Lord Ellenborough (not a military man, as he sorrowfully said) was on the field, and also the ladies of the family of the commander-in-chief. The conflict was desperate, and the English suffered severe loss from the numerous and well-served artillery of the foe; but they prevailed, as usual, by sheer hard fighting, marching up under a murderous fire to the mouths of the cannon, bayoneting the gunners, and driving all before them. Flinging away their matchlocks, the Mahrattas fell back on Maharajpoor, where they held their ground, sword in hand, until General Valiant, at the head of a cavalry brigade, charged the village in the rear, and dispersed the foe with much slaughter. The survivors retreated to Gwalior, leaving on the field fifty-six pieces of artillery, and all their ammunition waggons. The total loss of British troops was 106 killed and 684 wounded. On the same day, Major-general Grey encountered 12,000 Mahrattas at Puniar, twelve miles south-west of Gwalior, captured all their artillery, and slew a large number of them, his own loss being twenty-five killed and 189 wounded. The victorious forces met beneath the walls of the ancient stronghold, which, on the 4th of January, 1844, was taken possession of by the contingent force commanded by British officers. At the base of the temple stood the Lashkar, or stationary camp, where about 5,000 Mahrattas, being amply

* *Vide* Napier's *Sinde;* and Outram's *Commentary.*



SIR J. LITTLER



SIR R. SALE.



LORD HARDINGE.



LORD GOUGH.



SIR H SMITH.

supplied with artillery, held out until the offer of liquidation of arrears, and three months' additional pay, induced them to surrender their arms and ammunition, and disperse quietly.

The native durbar attempted no further opposition to the views of the governor-general, and a treaty was concluded on the 13th Jan., 1844, by which the Maharanee was handsomely pensioned, but excluded from the government; and the administration vested in a council of regency, under the control of the British Resident, during the minority of the Maharajah. The fortress of Gwalior was ceded in perpetuity, and the sum of twenty-six lacs, or an equivalent in land, was demanded by Lord Ellenborough, in payment of long-standing claims; the subsidiary force was increased, and the maximum of the native army fixed at 9,000 men, of whom not more than one-third were to be infantry. The good conduct of the young rajah led to his being permitted to assume the reins of power before the expiration of the stated interval, and at its close, in 1853, he was formally seated on the musnud, and confirmed in the authority he had previously exercised on sufferance.*

The hostilities carried on with China, however important in themselves, have no place in the already overcrowded history of India; but it would be unjust to Lord Ellenborough, to omit noticing his vigorous and successful exertions for the dispatch of troops and stores to the seat of war. The reasons for his recall by the E. I. Directory in July, 1844, were not made public; and it would be superfluous to speculate upon them in a work the object of which is to state facts, not opinions.

Hardinge Administration: 1844 to 1848.—Lord Ellenborough's successor, Sir Henry Hardinge, employed the brief interval of tranquillity enjoyed by the Anglo-Indian government in promoting public works, in improving the discipline of the army, ameliorating the condition of the native troops, and endeavouring to produce a more friendly spirit between the military and civil services.

The progress of much-needed reforms was soon arrested by the outbreak of war on the north-western frontier, which was met by the governor-general in a firm and decisive spirit. Upon the death of the old Lion of the Punjab—the mighty robber-chief who had raised himself from the leadership of a small Jat tribe to the rank of Maharajah of the Seiks,—the kingdom he had founded was shaken to its base by a series of durbar intrigues and midnight assassinations, exceeding in atrocity the worst crimes committed at the worst periods of Hindoo or Mohammedan history. Kurruck Sing, the successor, and, it was generally believed, the only son of the deceased ruler, was deprived, first of reason and then of life, by the hateful machinations of the minister Rajah Dehra Sing and his profligate and abandoned son Heera (the pampered minion of Runjeet), the leading members of a powerful family, generally known as the Lords of Jummoo, a principality conquered from the Rajpoots.† The incremation of Kurruck Sing was scarcely ended, when some loose bricks fell on the head of his son No Nehal Sing, who was placed in a litter and carried off by the arch plotter Dehra, before the extent of the injury could be ascertained by the bystanders, and kept from the presence of his family until the crime had been completed, and the young rajah was a corpse. Murder followed murder: men and women, the guilty and the innocent, the vizier in the council-chamber, the general at the head of the army, the lady at her toilette, the babe in its cradle, were by turns the victims of unscrupulous ambition, covetousness of wealth, lust, cowardice, or vengeance. Dehra and

* Churut Sing founded the fortunes of his family by establishing a sirdaree or governorship, which his son, Maha Sing, consolidated by the capture of the fort and town of Ramnuggur, from a strong Mohammedan tribe called Chettas. Maha Sing died in 1780, leaving one son, a child then four years old, the afterwards famous Runjeet Sing. The mother and mother-in-law of the young chief ruled in his name until the year 1793, when Runjeet became impatient of control, and sanctioned, or (according to Major Smyth) himself committed the murder of his mother, on the plea of her shameless immorality—a procedure in which he closely imitated the conduct of his father, likewise a matricide. The conquest of Lahore, in 1798, from some Seik chiefs by whom it was conjointly governed, was the first step of the ladder by which Runjeet mounted to power. Moultan and Peshawur were captured in 1818; Cashmere in the following year; and Runjeet's career of plunder and subjugation ceased not until a wall of impenetrable mountains closed its extension northward, in a manner scarcely less decisive than the check to his progress southward and eastward, previously given by the English, when their prudent interference compelled him to find in the Sutlej a barrier as impassable as the Himalayas themselves.—(Prinsep's *Seiks;* Smyth's *Reigning Family of Lahore;* Shahamet Ali's *Seiks and Afghans;* Hügel's *Travels in Cashmere and the Punjab.*)

† The almost independent power which Runjeet Sing suffered the Lords of Jummoo and other favourite chiefs to assume, was one of the causes of the fierce civil war for which his death gave the signal.

Heera Sing fell, each at a different crisis, while holding the office of vizier. Sheer Sing, the son of one of Runjeet's wives, obtained for a time the throne; but was murdered in 1843, after which a state of wide-spread anarchy prevailed throughout the Punjab, the chief remaining semblance of authority being vested in the person of Ranee Chunda, a concubine of the late Runjeet Sing, and the mother of a boy named Duleep Sing, who, though notoriously not the son of the Maharajah, had been in some sort treated by him as such. Dehra Sing, wanting a puppet, had drawn this child from obscurity; and his mother, under the title of regent, became the head of a faction, the opposers of which took their stand by declaiming truly against the spurious origin of Duleep Sing, and the shameless immorality of Ranee Chunda; and untruly, with regard to her alleged efforts to intrigue with the English against the independence of the Seik nation. Now, in fact, the only point upon which the various Seik parties had ever shown any degree of unanimity, was that of enmity to the British; and much evidence has gradually been brought to light of the actual treachery, as well as passive breach of treaty committed by them during the Afghan war. The intemperate language of Sir Charles Napier in Sinde, and his undisguised anticipation of war in the Punjab, had been published, doubtless with exaggeration, throughout that kingdom; and the general feeling of the Seiks was anxiety to assume an offensive position, and meet, if not anticipate, the expected invasion. The French officers in the Seik service (Ventura and M. Court), appear to have borne little part in the past commotions; but their exertions, together with those of Allard and the Neapolitan Avitabile, on whom Runjeet conferred the government of Peshawur, had been sedulously and successfully employed in casting cannon, organising artillery, and disciplining troops after the European fashion.

The preparations made at Lahore for the passage of the Sutlej by a Seik army, could not long be concealed from the governor-general, who, with all practicable expedition and secrecy, concentrated 32,000 men and sixty-eight guns in and about Ferozepoor, Loodiana, and Umballa. Towards the middle of December, the Seiks crossed their boundary, bringing with them large quantities of heavy artillery; and one body of 25,000 regulars and eighty-eight guns, took up a position near the village of Ferozshah; whilst another force of 23,000 men and sixty-seven guns, encamped opposite Ferozepoor. Both divisions commenced throwing up earthworks around their camps, and preparing for a vigorous contest.

The governor-general had hastened to the frontier to superintend the necessary preparations at the various cantonments. On learning the passage of the Sutlej by the Seiks, in direct contravention of existing treaties, he issued a declaration of war, and, in conjunction with the commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, advanced with the main column from Bussean (the military depôt) towards Ferozepoor. On reaching the village of Moodkee (18th December, 1845), tidings were received of a hostile encampment some three miles off, comprising a large body of troops, chiefly cavalry, supported by twenty-two guns. It was mid-day, and the English were weary with marching; nevertheless they started forward, after a brief interval for refreshment. The Seik artillery being advantageously posted behind some low jungle, fired briskly upon the advancing columns, but could not hinder the approach of the British horse artillery and light field batteries, which opened on them with steady precision, and caused a degree of confusion in their ranks, soon utterly broken by a sweeping charge of cavalry, closely followed by a continuous discharge from the muskets of the infantry. The Seiks were driven off by the bayonet whenever they attempted to make a stand, and fled leaving seventeen guns and large numbers of their dead comrades on the field. The slaughter would have been greater but for the weariness of the victors and the gathering darkness. The British returned to their camp at midnight, with the loss of 216 killed and 648 wounded, out of a force of 1,200 rank and file. Among the slain was Sir Robert Sale, who fell with his left thigh shattered by grapeshot. The victory was followed up by an attack on the intrenched camp of the enemy at Ferozshah. The Seiks were estimated at 35,000 rank and file, and eighty-eight guns; while the British numbered less than 18,000 men, and sixty-five guns. The disparity was sensibly felt, for the Seiks had proved themselves far more formidable opponents than had been expected; and their artillery (thanks to the labours of Ventura, Allard, Avitabile, and Court, and to the policy of encouraging foreign adventurers to enter

the service of native princes, and prohibiting Englishmen from a similar proceeding) excelled ours in calibre as much as in number, was in admirable order, and thoroughly well served. The British advanced from Moodkee, and reached the hostile encampment about eleven o'clock on the 21st of December. The engagement commenced with an attack by the artillery on the Seik lines, which extended nearly a mile in length and half a mile in breadth. An order was given to the infantry to seize the enemy's guns; and the terrible task was effected with so much success, that the battle seemed almost gained, when the sudden fall of night obliged the combatants to cease fighting, because they could no longer distinguish friend from foe. The main body of the British forces was withdrawn a few hundred yards, and while resting under arms, some of the Seik guns which had not been taken possession of, were brought to bear on the recumbent troops. The governor-general mounted his horse and led the gallant 80th, with a portion of the 1st Bengal Europeans, against the hostile guns, carried them at a charge, caused them to be spiked, and returned to his previous station. The remainder of the night was one of extreme anxiety to the British commanders: their loss had been most severe; and the reserve force, under Sir Harry Smith, had been compelled to retire; while reinforcements were believed to be on their way to join the Seiks. The "mettle" of the troops and of their dauntless leaders was never more conspicuous: at daybreak they renewed the attack with entire success, secured the whole of the seventy-six guns opposed to them, and cleared the entire length of the hostile works; the enemy falling back on the reserve, which arrived just in time to prevent their total destruction. Thus strengthened, the vanquished Seiks were enabled to recross the Sutlej without molestation. The English found full and melancholy occupation in burying their dead and nursing the wounded. Nearly 700 perished on the field; and of above 1,700 placed in hospital at Ferozepoor, 600 died or were disabled from further service.

The great loss thus sustained, and the want of a battering train, prevented the conquerors from marching on Lahore, and bringing the war to a summary conclusion. Many weeks elapsed before the arrival of reinforcements enabled Sir Hugh Gough again to take the field; and in the interval, the Seiks threw a bridge of boats across the Sutlej, and encamped at Sobraon, on the left bank of the river, where, under the direction of two European engineers, they constructed an almost impregnable *tête-du-pont*. Another body crossed the river and took post at the village of Aliwal, near Loodiana. Sir Harry Smith was dispatched from Ferozepoor to relieve Loodiana, which having effected, he marched against Aliwal with a force of about 10,000 men, and advanced to the attack on the 28th Jan., 1846, with his entire line. A brief cannonade and a cavalry charge was followed by the onset of the infantry: the village was carried by the bayonet, the opposing guns captured, and the foe driven with great slaughter across the river. Smith returned to Ferozepoor on the 8th of February, and on the following day the long-expected heavy guns reached the British camp. Before daybreak on the 10th the troops marched forth to attack the formidable intrenchments of an enemy estimated at 54,000 men, and supported by seventy pieces of artillery. The British numbered 16,000 rank and file, with ninety-nine guns. They advanced under a murderous fire from cannon, muskets, and camel guns, and in more than one place were repeatedly forced back, but the charge was invariably renewed. Line after line was carried, in the accustomed manner, by the bayonet, and the victory was completed by the fierce onslaught of a body of cavalry, under General Thackwell. The Seik guns, camel swivels, and standards were abandoned, and the retreating mass driven over their bridge of boats across the river, hundreds perishing by the fire of the horse artillery, and many more being drowned in the confusion. The English lost 320 killed (including the veteran Sir Thomas Dick, with other officers of note), and the wounded amounted to 2,063. The victorious army marched to Lahore; and there, beneath the city walls, dictated the terms of peace. The governor-general was disposed to recognise the claims of the boy Duleep Sing as Maharajah, and 10,000 men were left at Lahore (under the command of Sir John Littler) for his support and the preservation of peace. The Seik government, or durbar, consented to defray the expenses of the war, amounting to a million and a-half sterling, and agreed to the disbandment of their turbulent soldiery, of whom the majority had been already temporarily dispersed. Sir Henry Hardinge returned to England, and was rewarded for zealous and successful service by eleva-

tion to the peerage; a similar mark of royal favour was conferred on Sir Hugh Gough.

DALHOUSIE ADMINISTRATION: 1848 TO 1855.—The recent Seik treaty was not carried out, and appears to have been merely signed as a means of gaining time. A new series of crimes and intrigues commenced; and, as before, hatred of the English was the only common feeling of the various leaders of factions. The first signs of open hostility appeared in the ancient city of Mooltan, the capital of a petty state between the Indus and the Sutlej, conquered by Runjeet Sing in 1818. The British assistant Resident (Mr. Vans Agnew) and Lieutenant Anderson of the Bombay army, were assassinated in the fortress by Moolraj the governor, against whom hostile operations were immediately commenced; the earlier of which were characterised by a remarkable display of energy and judgment on the part of Major Herbert Edwardes, then a subaltern, "who had seen but one campaign."* The strong fortress of Mooltan was besieged in August, and would probably have been captured in the following month, but for the treacherous defection of a large body of Seik auxiliaries, which, with other unmistakable indications of hostility, left (in the words of Lord Dalhousie) "no other course open to us than to prosecute a general Punjab war with vigour, and ultimately to occupy the country with our troops."

In November, 1849, a British army, under Lord Gough, again took the field, and marched from Ferozepoor to Ramnuggur, near the Chenab, where a Seik force lay encamped. The attack of the British proved successful, but their loss was heavy, and included the gallant General Cureton, Colonel Havelock, and Captain Fitzgerald. The Seiks retreated in order towards the Jhelum, while Lord Gough prepared to follow up his victory by an attack on Lahore. The siege of Mooltan, conducted by General Whish, was brought to a successful issue on the 2nd of January, 1849. The fortress was most vigorously defended, until its massive fortifications were completely undermined, and several practicable breaches effected. Orders had been given to storm the citadel at daybreak, and the troops were actually forming, when Moolraj presented himself at the chief gate, and proceeding straight to the tent of the English general, surrendered the keys and his own sword.

A garrison was left in Mooltan, and the remainder of the army marched off to join the commander-in-chief, but arrived too late to share the peril and the glory of the much-criticised battle of Chillianwallah. Events so recent are hardly fit subjects of history. It is seldom until the chief actors have passed away from the stage that the evidence brought forward is sufficiently clear and full to enable the most diligent investigator to form a correct judgment on their merits and demerits.

Early in January, Lord Gough proceeded towards the Chenab, and found, as he expected, the Seiks strongly posted near Chillianwallah, with their artillery planted in a commanding and safe position, under cover of some low but dense jungle. The British marched to the attack, as they had often done before, amid a storm of grape and shell, and after a long and sanguinary engagement, which lasted till after nightfall, carried the murderous guns with the bayonet, and purchased victory with the loss of 757 killed and above 2,000 wounded. The carnage among the Seiks must have been yet more terrible; nevertheless, being joined by a body of Afghan horse, they prepared to renew the contest. The final struggle took place on the 21st of February, a few miles from the town of Gujerat. The battle was opened by Lord Gough with a fierce cannonade, which was maintained without intermission for nearly three hours. At the expiration of that time the Seiks made a retrograde movement, upon which the whole British force rushed forth on the foe, and with bayonet, lance, and sword completed the overthrow commenced by the heavy guns. Chutter Sing, Sheer Sing, and other leaders, surrendered to the victors; the Afghans fled across the Indus; the Seik forces were disbanded; and there being in truth no legitimate heir to the usurpations of Runjeet Sing, the Punjab was unavoidably annexed to British India. Its present satisfactory and improving condition will be found described in an ensuing section.

*Second Burmese War.*—Nearly two years were passed by the governor-general in active usefulness, without any interruption of the general tranquillity; the only occasion for military interference being to suppress the inroads of the Afredees and other predatory tribes in the vicinity of Peshawur. The sole quarter from which hostility was anticipated was Burmah, the very one from which it was most earnestly to be depre-

* *Year on the Punjab Frontier*, pp. 381–'2.



THE PUNJAB ... BELOOCHISTAN





INDEPENDENT TARTARY

KOHISTAN

HERAT

GHOWRAT

CABOOL

AFGHANISTAN

SHORAWUCK DESERT

BELOOCHISTAN

MEKRAN

BUSHKURDI

PUNJAB

LAHORE

Little Desert

Peshawar

Attock

Mooltan

Bahawulpoor

Kurrachee

Sonmeanee Bay

HINDOOSTAN

ARABIAN SEA



Longitude East from Greenwich

cated by all inclined to take warning by past experience.

The Earl of Dalhousie was deeply impressed with this conviction, and scrupled not, with characteristic frankness, to declare his opinion, that "conquest in Burmah would be a calamity second only to the calamity of war."* The deeply disordered finances of India had been rapidly improving under his peaceful and able administration, and he looked forward with sincere repugnance to a contingency which would assuredly produce "exhausted cash balances and reopened loans."† Nevertheless, a series of unfortunate events produced the renewal of war. The treaty of Yandaboo had been preserved inviolate by the sovereign with whom it was made; but his deposition, in 1837, gave a new turn to affairs. His usurping brother, known to the English as a military leader by the name of Prince Therawaddi, manifested great annoyance at the presence of a political agent at Ava, and the residency was in consequence removed to Rangoon, and subsequently altogether withdrawn from Burmah. The British continued to trade with Rangoon for the following twelve years; and during that time many complaints of oppression and breach of treaty were brought against the Burmese government, but none of these were deemed of sufficient extent or significancy to call for the interference of the Calcutta authorities, until the close of 1851, when the commanders of two British vessels laid before Lord Dalhousie a formal statement of oppressive judgments delivered against them by the governor of Rangoon in his judicial capacity. Commodore Lambert was dispatched from Calcutta with full and very clear instructions regarding the course to be pursued—namely, first to satisfy himself regarding the justice of these allegations, and then to demand about £900 as compensation.

On reaching Rangoon, numbers of resident traders (styled by Lord Ellenborough the Don Pacificoes of Rangoon) pushed off in their boats with a strange assortment of complaints against the governor; whereupon Commodore Lambert, without waiting to consult Lord Dalhousie on the subject, broke off all intercourse with the local functionary, and commanded him, in very peremptory language, to forward a letter to the King of Ava, stating the object of the British mission, and demanding the disgrace of the offending intermediary. The letter was dispatched, and an answer returned, that the obnoxious individual had received his dismissal, and that the required compensation would be granted. A new governor arrived at Rangoon, whose conduct induced the commodore to doubt the sincerity of the professions made by the Burmese authorities; and so far he was probably correct. But, unfortunately, his peculiar position as a Queen's officer,‡ is alleged to have given him a sort of independence, which induced the violation of Lord Dalhousie's express injunction, that no act of hostility should be committed by the British mission, however unfavourable its reception, until definite instructions had been obtained from Calcutta. The refusal of the governor to receive a deputation sent by the commodore at mid-day on the 6th Jan., 1852,—offered by the Burmese attendants on the plea that their master was asleep, according to custom, at that hour (and afterwards excused on the plea that the deputies were intoxicated, which has been wholly denied),—was immediately resented by a notice from the commodore for all British subjects to repair to the squadron—an order which was obeyed by several hundred men, women, and children. No opposition was made to their embarkation, but those who remained behind were thrown into prison. The next and wholly unauthorised measure was to take possession of a painted war-hulk, styled the "yellow ship," belonging to the King of Ava, which lay at anchor a little above the British vessels. This procedure, which has been almost universally censured, produced a declaration from the governor of Rangoon, that any attempt to carry away the property of the king, would be forcibly resisted. The British persisted in towing the vessel out of the river; and on passing the great stockade, or battery, a fire was opened on them, but soon silenced by a broadside from the squadron, which "must have done great execution."§ Commodore Lambert declared the coast of Burmah in a state of blockade, and left in a steamer for Calcutta, to seek other instructions than those he had violated in ill-judged retaliation.

The notoriously hostile spirit of the Burmese government, probably induced Lord Dalhousie to confirm the general proceedings of Lambert, despite his undisguised disapproval of the seizure of the "yellow ship."

* Further (Parl.) Papers on Burmese war, p. 44.
† *Idem*, p. 87.
‡ Cobden's *Origin of Burmese War*, 7.
§ Lambert's Despatch. Further Papers, 41.

The previous demand for compensation was reiterated and received with a degree of evasion which was deemed equivalent to rejection; and both parties made ready for an appeal to arms. The British commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, was absent at Simla; but though a brave soldier, he was a man of advanced age; and the ability of Lord Dalhousie and his council abundantly sufficed to overcome all deficiencies, including those encountered in the raising of the Madras contingent, through the insubordination of the governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, who tacitly opposed Lord Dalhousie at every point,—not through any conscientious feeling regarding the war, but simply from personal irritation, caused by some petty jealousy of office.* The Bombay authorities, aided by the head of the Indian navy (Commodore Lushington) and his able subordinates, captains Lynch and Hewett, bestirred themselves actively in the preparation of the steam fleet, and on the 2nd of April the Bengal division arrived at the mouth of the Rangoon river; the previous day having been fixed by the governor-general as that on which the King of Ava was to decide whether he would avoid war by the payment of £100,000 in consideration of the expenses incurred by the British, and sanction the residence of an accredited agent at Rangoon, in compliance with the treaty of Yandaboo. The steamer dispatched to Rangoon to receive the reply of the Burmese government, was compelled to retreat under a shower of shot from the stockades lining the river; and the campaign commenced. Martaban was stormed with little loss, and occupied by a strong garrison. The Madras division arrived soon after; and the united forces amounted to about 8,000 men, commanded by General Godwin, an active and fearless veteran, who had served under Campbell in the previous war, but whose projects were sadly fettered by an exaggerated respect for the proceedings of his predecessor. Rangoon was blockaded on the 10th of April, 1852, and the following day (Easter Sunday) witnessed a desperate and prolonged struggle. The intense heat, under which many officers dropped down dead, impeded operations; and it was not until the 14th that the fall of the Golden Pagoda completed the capture of Rangoon, which was obtained with the loss to the victors of about 150 killed and wounded. Bassein (once the head-quarters of the Portuguese in Eastern India) was carried with ease in June, and strongly garrisoned; but the dilapidated city of Pegu, which next fell into the hands of a British detachment, though evacuated on their approach, was abandoned by them, owing to insufficiency of troops. General Godwin sent to Calcutta for reinforcements, and especially for light cavalry, horse artillery, and a field battery. These were assembled and dispatched with all possible celerity; and the governor-general, probably dissatisfied with the progress of hostilities, himself visited the seat of war. Prome was taken possession of in July, but abandoned, like Pegu, for want of men, upon which the enemy returned, and made preparations for its defence. The reinforcements which reached the British cantonments in September, raised the army under General Godwin to nearly 20,000 efficient troops, and might, it was considered, have amply sufficed for more extensive enterprises than were attempted. Prome was recaptured, with little difficulty, in October, and Pegu in November; and both places were permanently occupied. An effort was made for the recovery of Pegu by the Burmese, which proved ineffectual; and an engagement with a body of the enemy, near Pegu, was chiefly remarkable for the gallantry displayed by the irregular Seik horse, who proved valuable auxiliaries to their late conquerors.

In December, 1852, the governor-general declared the province of Pegu annexed to the British empire, and intimated that no further hostilities would be pursued by the Anglo-Indian government, if the Burmese were content to submit quietly to the loss of territory which, it must be remembered, they had themselves acquired by usurpation. A new revolution at Ava, caused by the deposition of the king, Therawaddi, by one of his brothers (a procedure similar to that by which he raised himself to the throne), occasioned a cessation of foreign hostilities,† which has lasted up to the present time (1855), but really amounts to nothing more

* *See* an able article entitled "Annals of the Bengal Presidency for 1852," *Calcutta Review*, Mar., 1853.

† The assassination of Captain Latter, the deputy commissioner at Prome, in December, 1853, has been variously attributed to the treachery of the Burmese government, and to the vengeance of a petty chief, in whose subjugation to British authority he was personally instrumental. The murder was committed in the dead of night, and nothing but life was taken. The assertion that a woman's garment was found on the body, though often repeated, has been authoritatively denied; and of the whole mysterious affair nothing is certain but the death of a brave, scientific, and energetic officer.

than an armed neutrality, resting on a precarious basis.

The next event in the administration of Lord Dalhousie was the deposition of Ali Morad, the only remaining Ameer of Sinde, from the position of a dependent prince, to that of an ordinary subject holding a large jaghire. The death of Rajah Ragojee of Nagpoor or Berar (the successor of Appa Sahib), in December, 1853, without issue or male heir, was followed by the unopposed annexation of the principality to British India. In Hyderabad (the Deccan), certain portions of territory were surrendered about the same time by the Nizam to the British government, and the revenues of the districts thus obtained are to be applied to the reduction of the heavy outstanding debt, and the maintenance of the stipulated military contingent. Beside these troops the Nizam lavishes sums, ill-spared from revenues which probably do not largely exceed a million sterling, in the maintenance of a turbulent armed force of Arab, Patan, and Rohilla mercenaries,—the terror of surrounding districts, but especially of the more peaceful of his own subjects.

In Oude, the progress of annexation will probably not long be stayed. The notorious misgovernment which has prevailed in that kingdom, under successive rulers, and its general and undisputed disorganisation, produced a distinct intimation from Lord Auckland, in 1842, on the occasion of the accession of Surya Jah to the musnud, that unless the reforms necessary to the tranquillity and welfare of the country were forthwith instituted, its affairs would be taken under British management. This declaration has had no effect in rendering the present sovereign a better ruler than his predecessors; on the contrary, he is said to have "perhaps even surpassed them in weakness and profligacy." A religious war is, by our last accounts, now raging between the Hindoos and Mohammedans: under these circumstances, it is hardly to be expected that the English government will persist in upholding the despotic authority of a worthless and immoral dynasty.

The incursion of several hill tribes on the north-western frontier, especially of the Momunds, have occupied the troops at different periods. In the present year (1855), the Sonthals, an aboriginal race located near the Rajmahal hills in Bahar, have risen in insurrection. Their cause of complaint is variously stated to have originated in the tricks of Bengal money-lenders, and the oppressions of certain minor railway officials who have recently come among them. The Sonthals, though quite uncivilised, have been heretofore peaceable and well-disposed; and now that the late disturbances are passing away, it is to be hoped efforts will be made to promote the material and spiritual welfare of these and other *pariahs* or outcasts of the population, as the best and most legitimate means of ensuring the general tranquillity.

The failing health of Lord Dalhousie has conduced to give a term to an administration which has proved no less honourable to himself than beneficial to India. His lordship left his native land with a high reputation for practical ability gained as President of the Board of Trade and of the railway department: he returns still in the vigour of manhood, with matured experience and unsullied integrity. His seven years' tenure of office has borne fruit abundantly throughout the vast territories comprised in British India. In the Punjab, Pegu, and Berar, annexed by him, the basis of an effective government has been laid, and there, as in our older possessions, the progress of freedom and civilisation, so slow even in Christian Europe, has extended with comparative rapidity. The establishment of railways at the three presidencies and in Sinde, of telegraphic communication between the chief cities, of cheap and uniform postage, the increase of the means of conveyance and irrigation, the reduction of import dues, the creation of a loan for public works, and the open discussion of governmental projects and acts;—these improvements, together with an energy and dispatch in the executive department before unknown, the character and efforts of the governor-general have had no small share in producing. The personal investigation of the condition of every Indian province, enabled him to gain unusual acquaintance with their peculiar and widely different requirements; while the charm of a frank and generous spirit, heightened by easy yet refined eloquence, procured for him, as for his great exemplar Lord Wellesley, the zealous co-operation of the best talent of the military and civil service. Lord Canning (the son of the distinguished statesman appointed in 1822 to take his place in the list of Anglo-Indian viceroys, but arrested by the offer of ministerial employment at home) has been nominated to succeed Lord Dalhousie.

| Date. | Usual Name of Battle or Place. | Under whose Administration. | Enemy against whom Fought. | Strength of British Army. | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Europeans. | | | | Native. | | Total. |
| | | | | Artillery. | | Cavalry. | Infantry. | Cavalry. | Infantry. | |
| | | | | Guns. | Men. | | | | | |
| 14th Nov., 1751 | Siege of Arcot—*see* p. 264. | Mr. Sauderson, Govr. of Madras. | Reza Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib, the Nabob of Arcot. | 5 | — | — | 200 | — | 300 | 500 |
| 23d June, 1757 | Plassy; in Nuddea dist.—*see* p. 278. | Clive.[e] . . . | Surajah Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal. | 10 eight 6-pds. and 2 howts. | 150 | — | 850 | — | 2,300 | 3,300 |
| 15th Jan., 1761 | Battle of Patna[g]—*see* p. 293. | Mr. Vansittart. | Shah Alum, Emperor of Delhi. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 2nd Aug., 1763 | Geriah; near Sootee, Moorshedabad—p. 297. | Ditto . . . | Meer Cossim, ex-Nabob of Bengal. | — | — | — | 750 | 750 | 1,500 | 3,000 |
| 5th Sept., 1763 | Oodwanulla Fort; Bhaugulpoor dis. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | 3,0 | 00 | — | — | 3,000 |
| 6th Nov., 1763 | Patna taken by storm—p. 298. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 23rd Oct., 1764 | Buxar—p. 299 . . | Ditto . . . | Vizier of Oude . . | 20 | — | — | 857 | 918 | 5,297 | 7,072 |
| 6th Mar., 1799 | Sedaseer; near Periapatam—p. 379. | Marquis Wellesley. | Tippoo Sultan . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 6,420 |
| 27th Mar., 1799 | Malavelly; in Mysoor—p. 379. | Ditto . . . | Tippoo . . . . . | — | 756 | 912 | 4,608 | 1,766<br>2,726<br>20,000 | 11,061<br>Gun L<br>Nizam | 41,649<br>ascars.<br>'s Con. |
| 4th May, 1799 | Seringapatam, Storm of, p. 381. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 20000[m] |
| 4th Sept., 1803 | Allyghur Fort, Storm of, p. 396. | Ditto . . . | Mahrattas, commanded by French officers | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3,000 |
| 11th Sept., 1803 | Delhi—p. 396 . . . | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4,500 |
| 23rd Sept., 1803 | Assaye; in Hyderabad ter.—p. 395. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4,500 |
| 1st Nov., 1803 | Laswarree—p. 397. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4,500 |
| 28th Nov., 1803 | Argaum—p. 398 . | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | [r] |
| 14th Dec., 1803 | Gawilghur Fort—p. 398. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 13th Nov., 1804 | Deeg; nr. Bhurtpoor—p. 402. | Ditto . . . | Mahrattas (Holcar) | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4,648[s] |
| 24th Dec., 1804 | Deeg Fort—p. 401 | Ditto . . . | Rajah of Bhurtpoor . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3,000[v] |
| 9th Jan., 1805 | Unsuccessful storm of Bhurtpoor. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3,382[x] |
| 21st Jan., 1805 | Second do. } pp. 401-'2. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | [y] |
| 20th Feb., 1805 | Third do. } | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 21st Feb., 1805 | Fourth do. } | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 31st Oct., 1814 | Unsuccessful attack of Kalunga Fort—p. 411. | Marquis Hastings. | Goorkhas. . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2,737 |
| 27th Nov., 1814 | Do. assault, p. 412. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2,477 |
| 27th Feb., 1816 | Muckwanpoor—p. 413. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 10,000[c] |
| 5th Nov., 1817 | Kirkee, nr. Poona—p. 417. | Ditto . . . | Mahrattas . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2,800 |

[a] In the fifty days during which the siege was protracted, the British loss in defeating the attempt to storm was only four Europeans killed and two sepoys wounded.

[b] This number includes the sick; the number that actually repulsed the storm on the 14th November amounting to 80 Europeans and 120 sepoys.

[c] On the 14th November; there are no means of ascertaining previous casualties.

[d] Of these 150 were French.

[e] The powers of the governor and council of Calcutta, in civil and commercial affairs, were preserved to them, but in all military matters Clive was invested with independent authority.

[f] Some say 35,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry; also forty Frenchmen with four light pieces of artillery.

[g] One of the remarkable events of this battle was the capture of Monsieur Law, who, with a few French troops, had hitherto been the chief support of the native armies against the English.

[h] Worked by 170 Europeans.

[i] Exclusive of large bodies of irregular cavalry.

[j] Of these 2,000 were drowned in the Caramnassa.

[k] This includes sixteen missing.

[l] The number is stated between 40,000 and 50,000.

[m] This was the whole force employed in the siege; the two divisions which carried the place did not number more than 4,000 men.

[n] These numbers include the casualties during the whole period of the siege, from 4th April to 4th May.

[o] The number estimated to have fallen in the assault.

[p] Exclusive of the Rajah of Berar's infantry and Sindia's irregular corps.

| Guns. | Enemy. Cavalry. | Enemy. Infantry. | Enemy. Total | British Army Killed and Wounded. Killed. Europeans. Officers. | Killed. Europeans. Men. | Killed. Natives. | Killed. Total. | Wounded. Europeans. Officers. | Wounded. Europeans. Men. | Wounded. Natives. | Wounded. Total. | Enemy. Killed. | Enemy. Wounded. | Artillery captured. | Name of British Commander. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | 3,000 | 7,150[d] | 10,150 | 1 | 45 | 30 | 76[a] | 2 | 22 | 5 | 227[b] | 40 | 0[c] | 8 | Captain (afterwards Lord) Clive. |
| 54 24 & 32-pds. | 18,000 | 50,000 | 58,000[f] | — | 6 | 16 | 22 | 2 | 10 | 36 | 48 | 60 | 0 | 50 | Clive. |
| — | 10,000 | 10,000 | 20,000 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Major Carnac. |
| — | 20,000 | 8,000 | 28,000 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 17[h] | Major Adams. |
| — | 60, | 000 | 60,000 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 100 | Ditto. |
| — | — | 10,000[i] | 10,000 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Major Carnac. |
| — | 40, | 000 | 40,000 | — | — | — | — | — | kill. & 84 | wond. 7 | — | 4,0 | 00[j] | 133 | Major Munro. |
| — | 40, | 000 | 40,000 | — | — | — | 45[k] | — | — | — | 98 | 2,0 | 00 | — | General Stuart. |
| — | 45, | 000[l] | 45,000 | — | — | — | — | — | kill. & 6 | wond. 6 | — | 2,0 | 00 | — | General Harris. |
| — | — | — | 48,000 | 22 | 181 | 119 | 322[n] | 45 | 622 | 420 | 1,087[n] | 8,0 | 00[o] | — | Lord Harris. |
| — | — | — | — | 6 | 4 | 9 | 55 | 11 | 19 | 4 | 205 | 2.0 | 00 | 281 | General (afterwards Lord) Lake. |
| — | — | — | 19,000 | 5 | 10 | 2 | 107 | 11 | 33 | 5 | 346 | 3,0 | 00 | 68 | General Lake. |
| — | 35,000 | 10,500 | 45,500[p] | 23 | Mis 40 | sing 8 3 | 426 | 30 | 1,1 | 06 | 1,136 | 1,200[q] | — | 98 | Gl. Wellesley (Duke of Wellington.) |
| 72 | 4,500 | 9,000 | 13,500 | 11 | Mis 16 | sing 18 1 | 172 | 25 | 62 | 6 | 651 | 7,000 | — | 71 | General Lake. |
| — | — | — | — | — | 4 | 6 | — | 9 | 29 | 1 | 300 | — | — | 38 | General Wellesley. |
| — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | 2 | kill. & 12 | wond. 3 | 125 | — | — | 52 | Colonel Stevenson. |
| — | — | — | 15,000 | 5 | — | — | — | 17 | kill. & 62 | wond. 1 | 638 | 2,000[u] | — | 87 | Major-general Fraser. |
| — | — | — | [w] | 2 | 41 | — | 43 | 13 | 171 | — | 184 | — | — | 100 | Lord Lake. |
| — | — | — | — | 5 | 38 | 42 | 85 | 23 | 183 | 165 | 371 | — | — | — | Lord Lake. |
| — | — | — | — | 3 | — | — | — | 15 | kill. & 57 | wond. 3 | 588 | — | — | — | Ditto. |
| — | — | — | — | 1 | 48 | 113 | 162 | 27 | 456 | 556 | 732 | — | — | — | Ditto. |
| — | — | — | — | 6 | 63 | 56 | 125 | 27 | 452 | 452 | 862 | — | — | — | Ditto. |
| — | — | — | 400 | 5 | 4 | 23 | 32 | 15 | 50 | 163 | 228 | — | — | — | Major-general Gillespie. |
| — | — | — | 550 | 4 | 15 | 18 | 37 | 7 | 215 | 221 | 443 | 48 | 0 | — | Colonel Mawbey. |
| — | — | — | 12,000 | 1 | 11 | 34 | 46 | 1 | 19 | 156 | 176 | 80 | 0 | — | Major-general Ochterlony. |
| — | — | — | 25,000 | — | 17 | 2 | 19 | 1 | 55 | 11 | 67 | 50 | 0 | — | Lieutenant-colonel C. B. Burr. |

[q] A large number of the wounded were scattered over the country.

[r] The amount of the British force is not stated; it must, however, have been considerable, as a junction had been effected between the forces of General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson. The force placed at the disposal of the former, at the commencement of the campaign, amounted to 9,000; that of the latter to 8,000 men.

[s] Major-general Fraser's force consisted of H.M's. 76th regiment, the Company's European regiment, and four battalions of sepoys, exclusive of two battalions left for the protection of the baggage. The strength of the four battalions and the two European regiments engaged in the attack, may be estimated at the amount stated in the Table.

[t] Thorn says twenty-four battalions of infantry, besides a considerable body of horse. Captain Thornton states that the cavalry, swelled by numerous adventurers, amounted to 60,000, to which were added 15,000 well-disciplined infantry. The numbers specified in the Table are those of the infantry alone.

[u] Besides a large number drowned in a morass.

[v] This number has reference only to the strength of the storming party. Lord Lake appears to have been present with his whole army, which consisted of upwards of 10,000 men.

[w] The enemy's extensive intrenchments were occupied by a large force, but the numbers are not stated. The troops are represented to have consisted of several of the Rajah of Bhurtpoor's battalions, and the remaining infantry of Holcar.

[x] This number comprises only the storming party. *See* Note to Deeg.

[y] The Bombay division, consisting of four battalions of sepoys, H.M's. 86th regiment, eight companies of the 65th, with a troop of Bombay cavalry, and 500 irregular horse, had now joined Lord Lake's force before Bhurtpoor.

[z] Sir David Ochterlony had a force of near 20,000 men, including three European regiments. He divided this force into four brigades, with two of which he marched to Muckwanpoor.

| Date. | Usual Name of Battle or Place. | Under whose Administration. | Enemy against whom Fought. | Strength of British Army. | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Europeans. | | | | Native. | | |
| | | | | Artillery. | | Cavalry. | Infantry. | Cavalry. | Infantry. | Total. |
| | | | | Guns. | Men. | | | | | |
| 26th and 27th Nov., 1817. | Seetabuldee; near Nagpoor—p. 418. | Marquis Hastings. | Mahrattas . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1,400 |
| 21st Dec., 1817 | Mahidpoor, p. 420 | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 11,305 |
| 1st Jan., 1818 | Corygaum, Defence of—p. 418. | Ditto . . . | Arabs in pay of Peishwa. | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | 750 |
| 20th Feb., 1818 | Ashtee Combat—p. 419. | Ditto . . . | Peishwa . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 419 |
| 27th Feb., 1818 | Talneir, Storm of | Ditto . . . | Arabs . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 17th April, 1818 | Soonee Battle . . | Ditto . . . | Mahrattas . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 513[b] |
| 20th May, 1818 | Chanda Assault . | Ditto . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 6,500[c] |
| 18th to 29th May, 1818. | Malligaum taken by Storm. | Ditto . . . | Arabs in Native employ. | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2,630 |
| 8th to 10th June, 1818. | Satunwarree Fort; unsuccessful attack. | Ditto . . . | Mahrattas . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 550[e] |
| 31st Jan., 1819 | Nowah; Hyderabad. | Ditto . . . | Arab Garrison . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 9th April, 1819 | Asseerghur taken by Storm—p. 420. | Ditto . . . | Sindia's Commandaot, Jeswunt Rao Laar. | — | — | — | — | — | — | 20,000[f] |
| 10th June, 1824 | Kemendine, p. 424 | Lord Amherst | Burmese . . . . | 100 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 30th Oct., 1824 | Martaban—p. 425 | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 219[g] |
| 18th Jan., 1826 | Bhurtpoor Storming—p. 427. | Ditto . . . | Rajah of Bhurtpoor | — | — | — | — | — | — | 25,000 |
| 19th Jan., 1826 | Melloone Storming—p. 427. | Ditto . . . | Burmese . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 23rd July, 1839 | Ghuznee Capture—p. 436. | Lord Auckland. | Afghans . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4,863 |
| 13th Nov., 1839 | Kelat; in Beloochistan. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1,261 |
| 7th April, 1842 | Jellalabad Defence | Lord Ellenborough. | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1,360 |
| 13th Sep., 1842 | Tezeen Battle . . | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 17th Feb., 1843 | Meanee; Sinde—p. 451. | Ditto . . . | Beloochees . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2,600 |
| 24th Mar., 1843 | Hyderabad; Sinde—p. 452. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 29th Dec., 1843 | Puniar; Gwalior—p. 452. | Ditto . . . | Mahrattas (Sindia) | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2,000 |
| 29th Dec., 1843 | Maharajpoor—p. 452. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | 40 | — | — | — | — | — | 14,000 |
| 18th Dec., 1845 | Moodkee; left bank of Sutlej—p. 454. | Lord Hardinge. | Seiks, under Rajah Lall Sing. | — | 3, | 850 | — | 8,5 | 00 | 12,350 |
| 21st and 22nd Dec., 1845. | Ferozshah; on the Sutlej—p. 454. | Ditto . . . | Seiks . . . . . | 65 | 5, | 674 | — | 12,0 | 53 | 17,727 |
| 28th Jan., 1846 | Aliwal; on the Sutlej. | Ditto . . . | Seiks, under Runjoor Sing. | 24 | — | — | — | — | — | 10,000 |
| 10th Feb., 1846 | Sobraon; on the Sutlej. | Ditto . . . | Seiks . . . . . | 90 | — | — | — | — | — | 16,224 |
| 2nd Jan., 1849 | Mooltan, Siege of. | Lord Dalhousie. | Seiks, under Moolraj. | 150 | — | 15, | 000 | 17,0 | 00 | 32,000 |
| 13th Jan., 1849 | Chillianwalla; in the Punjab. | Ditto . . | Seiks . . . . . | 125 | — | — | — | — | — | 22,000 |
| 21st Feb., 1849 | Gujerat; in the Punjab. | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | 96 | — | — | — | — | — | 25,000 |
| 14th Apr., 1852 | Rangoon . . . . . | Ditto . . . | Burmese . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Sept., 1852 . . | Prome . . . . . . | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Dec., 1852 . . | Pegu . . . . . . . | Ditto . . . | Ditto . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

[a] In Col. Blacker's *Memoir*, p. 18, Holcar's force is estimated at 20,000 horse and 8,000 foot.

[b] The numbers here given have reference to the strength of the cavalry. In addition to this, there appears to have been a detachment of horse artillery.

[c] The force consisted of 1,000 native cavalry, a troop of horse artillery, a company of European foot artillery, 3,000 native infantry, 2,000 irregular horse, with three 18-pounders, four brass 12's, six howitzers, and twelve 6-pounders.

[d] Native garrison.

| | Enemy. | | | British Army Killed and Wounded. | | | | | | | | Enemy. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Killed. | | | | Wounded. | | | | | | | |
| | | | | Europeans. | | | | Europeans. | | | | | | | |
| Guns. | Cavalry. | Infantry. | Total. | Offi-cers. | Men. | Natives. | Total. | Offi-cers. | Men. | Natives. | Total. | Killed. | Wounded. | Artillery captured. | Name of British Commander. |
| — | 12,000 | 8,000 | 20,000 | 4 | 12 | 0 | 124 | 11 | 23 | 0 | 241 | 30 | 0 | — | Lieutenant - colonel H. Scot. |
| 70 | — | — | • | 3 | 17 | 1 | 174 | 35 | 56 | 6 | 601 | 3,0 | 00 | 63 | L.-gen. Sir T. Hislop. |
| — | — | — | — | 2 | 6 | 2 | 64 | 3 | 11 | 3 | 116 | — | — | — | Captain Staunton |
| — | 9,000 | — | 9,000 | — | — | — | 19 | 1 | — | — | — | 20 | 0 | — | Sir Lionel Smith |
| — | — | — | 300 | 2 | 5 | — | 7 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 18 | 25 | 0 | — | L.-gen. Sir T. Hislop. |
| — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | 1,0 | 00 | 5 | Colonel Adams. |
| — | — | — | 2,000 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 13 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 55 | 20 | 0 | — | Ditto. |
| — | — | — | 350[d] | 5 | 2 | 9 | 34 | 7 | 16 | 8 | 175 | — | — | — | Lieutenant - colonel MacDowell. |
| — | — | — | 250 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 11 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 75 | — | — | — | Major Lamb. |
| — | — | — | 500 | — | — | — | 22 | 6 | 17 | 4 | 180 | 40 | 0 | — | Major Pitman. |
| — | — | — | 1,350 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 47 | 9 | 25 | 7 | 266 | 43 | 95 | 119 | Brigadier - general Doveton. |
| — | — | — | 3,000 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 15 | 0 | — | Sir A. Campbell. |
| — | — | — | 3,500 | — | — | — | 7 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 14 | — | — | — | Colonel Godwin. |
| — | — | — | — | — | 61 | 42 | 103 | — | 283 | 183 | 466 | 4,0 | 00 | — | Lord Combermere |
| — | — | — | 10,000 | — | — | — | 5 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 20 | — | — | — | Sir Archibald Campbell. |
| — | — | — | 3,000 | — | — | — | 17 | — | — | — | 170 | 514 | — | — | Sir John Keane. |
| — | — | — | 2,000 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 32 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 107 | 400 | — | — | Major-general Willshire. |
| — | — | — | 6,000 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Sir Robert Sale. |
| — | — | — | 16,000 | — | — | — | 32 | 3 | 12 | 7 | 130 | — | — | — | General Pollock. |
| 15 | — | — | 35,000 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 66 | 13 | 20 | 1 | 214 | 5,0 | 00 | — | Sir Charles Napier |
| — | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | 10 | kill. & 25 | wond. 5 | — | — | — | — | Ditto. |
| — | — | — | 12,000 | — | — | — | 35 | — | — | — | 182 | — | — | 24 | Major-general Grey |
| 100 | — | — | 18,000 | — | — | — | 113 | — | — | — | 684 | 3,5 | 00 | 56 | Lord Gough. |
| 22 | — | — | 12,000 | 16 | 20 | 0 | 216 | 48 | 60 | 9 | 657 | — | — | — | Ditto |
| — | — | — | 35,000 | 48 | 8 | 206 | 694 | 1,1 | 03 | 618 | 1,721 | — | — | 88 | Ditto. |
| — | — | — | 19,000 | — | — | — | 176 | — | — | — | 413 | — | — | 68 | Sir H. Smith. |
| — | — | — | 34,000 | — | — | — | 320 | — | — | — | 2,063 | — | — | — | Lord Gough. |
| — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | General Whish. |
| — | — | — | 60,000 | 26 | 73 | 1 | 757 | 66 | 1,4 | 46 | 1,512 | 4,0 | 00 | 12 | Lord Gough. |
| 59 | — | — | 60,000 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 92 | 24 | 65 | 8 | 682 | — | — | 57 | Ditto. |
| — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | General Godwin. |
| — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

[e] This was the number of men of which the storming party was composed.

[f] The British force present at the conclusion of the siege, consisted of—horse artillery, one troop and a-half; native cavalry, eight squadrons; foot artillery, five companies; European infantry, two battalions and a-half; native infantry, eleven and a-half battalions; irregular horse, 5,000; sappers and miners, thirteen companies: and probably exceeded, in the aggregate, the amount stated in the Table.

[g] The strength of the storming party.

[The above Table was prepared by order of the Court of Directors, at the request of the Author. The particulars which should appear in the columns left blank, cannot be furnished with perfect accuracy.]

# CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHY—MOUNTAINS AND PASSES—RIVERS—PLATEAUX—PROVINCES AND CHIEF TOWNS—CLIMATE AND DISEASES—GEOLOGY—SOIL—MINERALOGY.

Asia, — the largest and most diversified quarter of the globe, has for its central southern extremity a region of unsurpassed grandeur, comprising lofty mountains, large rivers, extensive plateaux, and wide-spread valleys, such as are not to be found within a like area in any other section of the earth. This magnificent territory, known under the general designation of India,* is in the form of an irregular pentagon, with an extreme extent, from north to south and from east to west, of 1,800 miles; a superficial area of 1,500,000 square miles; and a well-defined boundary of 9,000 English miles.†

The geographical position of India possesses several advantages. On the north, it is separated from China, Tibet, and Independent Tartary, for a distance of 1,800 miles, by the Himalayan chain and prolongations termed the Hindoo-Koosh, whose altitude varies from 16,000 to 27,000 feet (three to five miles), through which there is only one pass accessible to wheeled carriages (Bamian.) This gigantic wall has at its base an equally extended buttress, the sub-Himalaya and Sewalik hills, with, in one part, an intervening irregular plateau (Tibet) of 90 to 150 miles wide: on the *West*, the Hindoo-Koosh is connected by the low Khyber ranges with the lofty Sufied-Koh, and its conjoint the Suliman mountains, which rise 10,000 feet, like a mural front, above the Indus valley, and have a southerly course of 400 miles; the Suliman are connected by a transverse chain with the Bolan mountains, which proceed nearly due south for 250 miles, and become blended with the Keertar, Jutteel, and Lukkee hills; the latter terminating in the promontory of Cape Monze, a few miles to the north-west of the Indus mouth. This *western* boundary of 900 miles, supports the table-lands which constitute a large part of Afghanistan and Beloochistan: to these there are four principal ascents—the Khyber, Gomul, Bolan, and Gundava passes, readily defensible against the strategetic movements of any formidable enemy. On the *East*, an irregular series of mountains, hills, and highlands, extend from the source of the Brahmapootra, along the wild and unexplored regions of Naga, Munneepoor, and Tipperah, through Chittagong and Arracan to Cape Negrais (the extremity of the Youmadoung range), at the mouth of the Irawaddy river; to the southward and eastward of Pegu and Martaban, the Tenasserim ridge commences about one hundred miles distant from the coast, and prolongs the boundary to the Straits of Malacca, along the narrow strip of British territory which fronts the Bay of Bengal. The length of this *eastern* frontier is 1,500 miles, and it forms an effectual barrier against aggression from the Burmese, Siamese, or Malays, with whose states it is conterminous. On the *South*, the shores of the above-described territory are washed by the Bay of Bengal, the Straits of Malacca, the Indian Ocean, and the Arabian Sea, for 4,500 miles. The natural frontiers of this extensive region may be thus summarily noted:—north, along the Himalaya, 1,800; west, along Afghanistan, &c., 900; east, along Burmah, Siam, &c., 1,800: total by land, 4,500; by sea, 4,500 = 9,000 English miles.

No pen-and-ink description can convey an adequate idea of India as a whole; the mind may comprehend separate features, but must fail to realise at one view a complete portraiture, especially if devoid of unity of configuration: in several countries a mountain ridge and a main conduit form an outline, around which the chief topographical peculiarities may be grouped; but the region before us contains several lines of great length and elevation, with diverse axis of perturbation, and declinations to three of the cardinal points, causing numerous rivers, flowing S.W. (Indus); S.E. (Ganges); S. (Brahmapootra and Irawaddy); W. (Nerbudda, Taptee, and Loonee); E. (Godavery, Kistnah, Cauvery, and Mahanuddy); and in

* *See* p. 13 for origin of word: old geographers designate the country as India *within* (S.W. of), and *beyond* (S.E. of) the Ganges.

† The reader is requested to bear in mind throughout this work, that round numbers are used to convey a general idea, easy to be remembered; they must be viewed as approximative, and not arithmetically precise. Indian statistics are still very imperfect.


SOUTHERN INDIA
BOMBAY
MADRAS
Bangalore
Hyderabad
GULF OF CAMBAY
GULF OF CUTCH
LACCADIVE ISLANDS
MALDIVE ISLANDS
NINE DEGREES CHANNEL
EIGHT DEGREES CHANNEL
PALK STRAIT
GULF OF MANAAR
CEYLON
Trincomalee
Pondicherry
Calicut
Cochin
Tropic of Cancer
Longitude East from Greenwich



other directions according to the course of the mountain-ranges and the dip of the land towards the ocean, by which the river system is created and defined.

Irrespective of the circumscribing barriers, and of the bones and arteries (hills and streams) which constitute the skeleton of Hindoostan, three features, distinctively delineated, deserve brief notice. The snowy ranges on the north give origin to two noble rivers, which, as they issue from the lesser Himalaya, are separated by a slightly elevated water-shed, and roll through widely diverging plains—the one in a south-easterly direction to the Bay of Bengal, the other south-westerly to the Arabian sea; each swollen by numerous confluents which, altogether, drain or irrigate an area equal to about half the superficies of India Proper. The Gangetic plain is 1,000, that of the Indus (including the Punjab), 800 miles in length; the average breadth of either, 300 miles; the greater part of both not 500 feet above the sea; the height nowhere exceeding 1,000 feet. Intermediate, and bifurcating the valleys of the main arteries, there is an irregular plateau, extending from north to south for 1,000, with a breadth varying from 300 to 500 miles, and a height ranging from 1,500 to 3,000 feet above the sea-level. Midway between Cape Comorin and Cashmere, this table-land is bisected from west to east, for 600 miles, by the narrow Nerbudda valley: the *northern* section, of an oblong shape, comprising Malwa, East Rajpootana, and Bundelcund, has for its south-eastern and north-western buttresses the Vindhya and Arravulli ranges, and a declination towards the Jumna and Dooab on the north-east, and to the Guzerat plain on the south-west: the *southern* section, constituting what is erroneously* termed the Peninsula, contains the Deccan, Mysoor, Berar, and adjoining districts; forms a right-angled triangle,† supported on the north by the Sautpoora mountains, and on either side by the Western and Eastern Ghauts and their prolongations; the declination is from the westward to the eastward, as shown by the courses of the Godavery and Kistnah.

These prominent physical characteristics may be thus recapitulated. 1st. The extensive mountain circumvallation, east to west, from the Irawaddy to the Indus. 2nd. The two great and nearly level plains of the Ganges and Indus. 3rd. The immense undulating plateau, of 1,000 miles long, in a straight line from the Jumna to the Cauvery. To these may be added a low coast-line of 4,500 miles, skirted on either side of the Bay of Bengal, and on the Malabar shore of the Indian Ocean, by receding *Ghauts* and other lofty ranges, backed by inland ridges of hills, and mountains traversing the land in diverse directions, such as the Vindhya, Sautpoora, and Arravulli. These salient features comprise many varieties of scenery; but for the most part wide-spread landscapes extend on the east,—teeming with animal and vegetable life; sandy wastes on the west, where the wild ass obtains scanty provender; on the north, an arctic region, whose snowy solitudes are relieved from perpetual stillness by volcanic fires bursting from ice-capt peaks; on the south, luxuriant valleys, verdant with perpetual summer; a rocky coast at Kattywar, swampy sunderbunds at Bengal, jungly ravines in Berar, and fertile plains in Tanjore;—*here* Nature in sternest aspect,—*there* in loveliest form,—*everywhere* some distinctive beauty or peculiar grandeur: while throughout the whole are scattered numerous cities and fortresses on river-bank or ocean-shore, adorned with Hindoo and Moslem architecture, cave temples of wondrous workmanship, idolatrous shrines, and Mohammedan mausoleums, wrought with untiring industry and singular artistic skill; cyclopean walls, tanks, and ruins of extraordinary extent, and of unknown origin and date; but whose rare beauty even the ruthless destroyer, Time, has not wholly obliterated. These and many other peculiarities contribute to render India a land of romantic interest, which it is quite beyond the assigned limits of this work to depict: all within its scope‡ being a brief exposition of the various mountain-ranges and passes, the plateaux, the river system, coast-line, islands, &c., with an enumeration of the principal cities and towns, which are more numerous and populous than those of continental Europe.§

* There is no partial insulation—no isthmus.

† The northern and western sides are about 900 miles in length; the eastern 1,100.

‡ A full description of the geography of India would require a volume to itself; but the tabular views here given, and now for the first time prepared, will, with the aid of the maps, enable the reader to trace out the topography of the country.

§ Autumnal tourists, in search of health, pleasure, or excitement, and weary of the beaten paths of the Seine and Rhine, might readily perform, in six months (September to March), the overland route to and from India,—examine the leading features of this ancient and far-famed land, judge for themselves of its gorgeous beauty, and form some idea of the manners and customs of its vast and varied population.

*Mountain Chains of India, their Extent, Position, Elevation, &c.*

| Name. | Extent and Position of Extremities. | Elevation above the Sea. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| HIMALAYA, or *"abode of Snow."* | This stupendous mass extends in an irregular curve over 22° of lon., from the defile above Cashmere, where the Indus penetrates into the plains of the Punjab, lon. 73° 23', to the S. bend of the Sanpoo, lon. 95° 23'. It is 1,500 m. long, with an avg. breadth of 150 m. | 1. Dairmal, 19,000 ft.; 2. Bal Tal, 19,650; 3. Ser and Mer, 20,000; 4. Hanle, 20,000; 5. Gya, 24,764; 6. Porgyal, 22,600; 7. Raldang, 20,103; 8. St. Patrick, 22,798; 9. St. George, 22,654; 10. The Pyramid, 21,579; 11. Gangoutri, 22,906; 12. Jumnoutri, 21,155; 13. Kedarnath, 23,062; 14. Badrinath, 22,954; 15. Kamet, 25,550; 16. Nanda Devi, 25,749; 17. Gurla, 23,900; 18. Dhawalagiri, 27,600; 19. Goosainthan, 24,740; 20. Junnoo, 25,311; 21. Kinchinjunga, 28,176; 22. Chomiomo, 19,000; 23. Kanchan Jhow, 22,000; 24. Chumalari, 23,929; 25. Three peaks on lower bank of Deemree, 21,000; 26. Kailas, 22,000. Average elevation, 18,000 to 20,000 ft. | Limit of perpetual snow, or congelation, on S. slope, 15,000 to 18,000 ft. Deep narrow valleys, separated by ranges running either parallel or at right angles with the main ridge, contain the numerous sources of the rivers flowing into the Ganges, the Indus, and the Brahmapootra.* The steep face is towards the plain, and to the N. the chain supports the lofty table-land of Tibet. The greater part of the giant peaks, which rise to an elevation of 25,000 or 28,000 ft., are situate not on the central axis, but to the south of it. Viewed from Patna, at a distance of about 150 miles, these mountains present a long line of snow-white pinnacles, which, on a nearer approach, are seen towering above the dark line of lower but still lofty mountains.† With the exception of a strip of land at the foot of the mountains, the whole of Bootan presents a succession of the most lofty and rugged mountains on the surface of the globe. It is a series of ridges, separated only by the narrow beds of roaring torrents. |
| HINDOO-KOOSH,‡ *Kouenlun, or Mooz Taugh.* | About 850 m. long. From Kara-korum, lat. 35°, lon. 77°; to Bamian,‖ lat. 34° 50', lon. 67° 48'.¶ | 1. Hindoo-Koosh, 35° 40', 68° 50', 21,000 ft.; §2. Summit N. of Jelalabad, 20,248; 3. Koushan Pass, 15,200; 4. Khawak Pass, 13,200; 5. Akrobat, 10,200 feet. Laram Mountains, 35° 20', 62° 54'; about 60 m. from N.E. to S.W., dividing the valley of Suwat from that of Panjkora; and Laspissor Mountains, S. of, and subordinate to, Hindoo-Koosh, about 50 m. from E. to W., 36°, 70°—little known. | Limit of perpetual snow on S. slope (lat. 37°), 17,000 ft. The most remarkable feature of Hindoo-Koosh is, that to the S. it supports the plains of Kabool and Koh-Damaun, 6,000 to 7,000 ft.; while to the N. lies the low tract of Turkestan. Koondooz town, distant in a direct line 80 m. N. of Hindoo-Koosh, only 900 ft. above the sea. The Hindoo-Koosh is a distinct mountain system, its parallelism being from S.W. to N.E., while that of the Himalaya is from S E. to N.W. ** |
| KOH-I-BABA . . . . . . | About 60 m.,—along lat. 34° 30', between lon. 67° 30', and 68° 30'. At the S.W. extremity of Hindoo-Koosh, with which it is connected by the transverse ridges of Kalloo and Hajeguk. | Variously estimated. According to Burnes and Lady Sale, 18,000 ft.; Outram, 20,000 ft.; Humboldt, 2,800 toises, or 17,640 ft.; the most probable is 16,000 ft. Highest accessible point, 34° 40', 67° 30'; 13,200 ft. Hajeguk Pass, 11,700 ft. | It is a vast rounded mass, the culminating ridge ascending in lofty peaks, covered with perpetual snow, stretching as far as the eye can reach—further to the W. it sinks into the mazy mountains forming the Huzareh highlands. Supposed to be the Parapamissus of the Greeks. |
| SUFIED-KOH, *Snowy or White Mountains.* | Near Attock, lon. 72° 16' W. to lon. 69° 36', proceeding nearly along the parallel of lat. 33° 50'; then sinking into a maze of hills stretching to the Kohistan of Kabool. | There are three ranges, running nearly parallel to the S. of the Kabool River; they rise in height as they recede from the river, the highest between 69° 40', and 70° 30', attaining an altitude of 14,000 ft. | Covered with perpetual snow. Generally of primary formation, consisting of granite, quartz, gneiss, mica-slate, and primary limestone. The Soorkh Rood, the Kara Su, and many other shallow but impetuous streams rush down its northern face, and are discharged into the Kabool river, which conveys their water to the Indus. The two lowest ranges are covered with pine forests; the highest and most distant has a very irregular outline, is steep and rocky, yet furrowed by many beautiful vales.†† |
| PUGHMAN, or *Pamghan Range.* | Subordinate to Hindoo-Koosh, running along its S. base, generally from N.E. to S.W. | Estimated at 13,000 ft. Oona Pass, 34° 23', 68° 15'; 11,320 ft. Erak Summit, 34° 40', 68° 48'; 12,480 ft. | Always covered with snow. Its south-eastern brow overhangs the delightful region of Koh-Damaun and Kabool; its northern face forms the southern boundary of the Ghorbund valley. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kurkutcha Mountains | Separate valley of Kabool from plain of Jelalabad; and connect Hindoo-Koosh with Sufied-Koh. | From 1,000 to 2,000 ft. above Kabool, and the highest part, 34° 25', 69° 30'; 8,000 ft. above the sea. | Four routes over this range; practicable only for a man and horse at Lattabund Pass, 4,000 British troops were destroyed in their retreat, in 1842. Cold intense in winter, the frost splitting the rocks into huge shattered fragments. |
| Khyber Mountains | Length, about 50 m.; breadth, about 20 m. Between 33° 30' and 34° 20', and 71° 10' and 71° 30'. They connect Hindoo-Koosh with Sufied-Koh. | Tatara summit, highest point, 4,800 ft. Summit of Khyber Pass, 3,373 ft. | Appear at first irregularly grouped, but the distinct arrangement of a chain is afterwards observable. Four passes through this range. The hills generally consist of slate and primary limestone, with overlying sandstone. |
| Goolkoo Mountains | Lat. 33° 22', lon. 67° 50'; 30 m. S.W. from Ghuznee. | Estimated at 13,000 ft. | |
| Amran Mountains | Lat. 30° 50', lon. 66° 30'. | General elevation, about 8,000 ft. Highest part, 30° 50', 66° 30'; about 9,000 ft. Kojuck Pass, 7,457 ft. | Bounds the table-lands of Shawl and Pisheen on the W., as the Hala range does to the E. |
| Toba Mountains | Length, 150m. Between 30° 40' & 32° 40', and 66° 40' and 68° 20'; extending N.E. from the N. side of Pisheen valley. | General elevation, 9,000; above Pisheen, 3,500 ft. Tukatoo Hill, 30° 20', 66° 55'; 11,500 ft. | Country, though generally rugged, fertile. |
| Pubb Mountains | Length, about 90 m. From C. Monze to lat. 26°. | Supposed to equal those of W. Scinde, viz., 2,000 ft. Highest part, about 25° 30'. | In 25° 3', 66° 50', they are crossed by the Guncloba Pass, described as stony, and of easy ascent and descent. |
| Scinde Ranges, viz.— I. Jutteel. | 60 to 70 m. S.W. from Sehwan to Dooba. Between 25° 32', 26° 20', and 67° 48', 68° 8'. | Steep—in few places less than 2,000 ft. | The road from Sehwan to Kurracheo lies between them, and Keertar more to the W. |
| II. Keertar | Parallel with the Jutteel, more to the W., between 25° 50', 26° 40', and about 67° 40'. | Average height, probably below 2,000 ft. | Imperfectly explored. |
| III. Lukkee | Length, about 50 m. From Jutteel, S.E. towards Hydrabad. Centre of range, 26°, 67° 50'. | Highest part, 1,500 to 2,000 ft. Between Lukkee and Sehwan, the mountains have a nearly perpendicular face, towards the Indus, above 600 ft. high. | They are of recent formation, containing a vast profusion of marine exuviæ. Huge fissures traverse this range, and hot springs and sulphureous exhalations are of frequent occurrence. |
| Hala, *Brahoowk*, or *Bolan Range*. | Length, about 400 m. From Tukatoo to Arabian Gulf, forming the E. wall of Beloochistan table-land. | Average height, 5,000 to 6,000 ft. Kurklekee Mountains, that part which borders on the Bolan Pass, from 29° 20' to 30° 10', 67° to 67° 30', where the crest of Bolan Pass intersects them, 5,793 ft. | The range is crossed by the Bolan Pass, through which the route lies from Shikarpoor to Kandahar and Ghuznee, which though very important in a military point of view, is inferior in commercial interest to the Goolairee, farther N. |
| Suliman Range | Length, about 350 m. From 33° 40', they run nearly S. in the 70th merid. of lon., to the mountains about Hurrund and Kahun, in lat. 29°. | Highest elevation, Takht-i-Suliman, called also Khaissa-Ghar, lat. 31° 35'; 11,000 ft. | E. face dips rather steeply to the Indus, but the W. declivity much more gradual, to the table-land of Sewestan. Sides of mountains clothed nearly to the summits with dense forests; valleys overgrown with a variety of indigenous trees, shrubs, and flowers. |
| Kala, or *Salt Range* | Stretch from the E. base of Suliman Mountains to Jhelum River, N.E. to S.W., in lon. 32° 30', to 33° 30'. | Highest elevation, 2,500 ft. | Vegetation scanty, and the bold and bare precipices present a forbidding aspect. About 32° 50', 71° 40', the Indus makes its way down a narrow rocky channel, 350 yards broad; and the mountains have an abrupt descent to the river. |
| Sewalik Range | Length, 155 m., greatest breadth, 10 m. From Hurdwar to Roopur, S.E. to N.W. | From 3,000 to 3,500 ft.; highest part, 30° 17', 77° 50', between the Timli and Lal Derwaza Passes. | In many places each hill might be represented by a right-angled triangle, the base resting on the pass, perpendicular facing towards the plains; hypothenuse sloping towards the Dhooos, in the opposite direction. |
| Nepaul Mountains, and Table-land. | 500 m., breadth from 90 to 150 m. From Kumaon to Sikhim. | Diversified by several inhabited valleys, from 3,000 to 6,000 ft. above the plains of Bengal. The hills rise towards the culminating ridge of the Himalayas. Katmandoo, 4,628 ft. above sea, in a valley surrounded by stupendous mountains.‡‡ Bynturee, 29° 35', 79° 20'; 5,615 ft. | Hills consist of limestone, hornstone, and conglomerate. Notwithstanding its low latitude, Nepaul, from its elevation, enjoys a climate resembling that of S. Europe. Snow lies on the mountain-chain which surrounds the capital, in winter, and occasionally falls in the valley. The whole is well-watered. |

| Name. | Extent and Position of Extremities. | Elevation above the Sea. | Remarks. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Abravulli Range . . . . | Length, 200 m.; average breadth, 10 to 15 m. Extend from 22° 40′, to 26° 50′, and from lon. 74° to 75°. | Average 3,000 ft. Highest elevation, Mt. Aboo, 5,000 ft. Crest of Koulmair Pass, 3,353 ft. Twelve m. from Beawr; country one mass of hills, intersected by small vales. | Forms the western buttress of the plateau of Central India. The mountains at Pokur are of a roso-coloured quartz, displaying bold pinnaces and abrupt rocky sides. The geological formation of Mt. Aboo is granitic. |
| Kattywar Mountains . . | The peninsula lies between 20° 42′, 23° 10′, 69° 5′, 72° 14′; area 19,850 sq. m. | The Gir, a succession of ridges and hills, some 1,000 ft.; elevation diminishing towards N. Girnar, a granitic peak, 3,500 ft. Palithana Mt., 1,500 ft. Group near Poorbunder, 2,000 ft. Low ridge running from Choteyla to Gir, 400 ft. The centre of peninsula is the highest, and here all the rivers take their rise. | Caverns, deep ravines, and other fastnesses, very numerous in the Gir. The base of Girnar Mt. is clothed with jungle, diversified with black rocks, which appear through the vegetation. After this, the mount rises an immense bare and isolated granite rock, the face being quite black, with white streaks; and the N. and S. sides nearly perpendicular scarps.§§ |
| Vindhya Chain. . . . . | From Guzerat on the W. to the basin of the Ganges on the E.; and comprised between the 22nd and 25th parallels of latitude. | Avg. height 1,500 to 2,000 ft. Chumpaneer, 22° 31′, 73° 41′; 2,500 ft. Crest of Jam Ghaut, 2,300 ft.‖‖ Mountain in Bhopal, 2,500 ft. Mahadeo Mountains, between 21° 30′ 22° 40′, 78° 80′: Doulagheree, said to be the highest; Ambarmarph, estimated at 2,500 ft. Chindwarra, 2,100 ft.; and Patchmaree, vaguely stated to be 5,000 ft.; but this is probably an exaggeration; Dokgur, stated to be 4,800 ft.; Putta Sunka, and Choura Doo, the highest, conjectured at 5,000 ft. Amarkantak, a jungly table-land, computed to be 3,463 ft. Leela, a summit in Lanjhee hills, 21° 55′, 80° 25′, 2,300 ft.; another of the same hills, in 21° 40′, 80° 35′, 2,400 ft. | The chain forms the southern buttress of the plateau of Malwa, Bhopal, &c. In the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, its crest is but the brow of this table-land; but in the western part, it rises a few hundred feet above the high land on its northern side. The passes that have been made over this range, are, for the most part, bad. The geological formations are the granitic and the sandstone, overlaid by trap rock. |
| Bundelcund Ranges, three, viz.— I. Bindyachal. | Commence near Seuudah, lat. 26° 14′, lon. 78° 50′; proceeds S.W. to Narwar, 25° 39′, 77° 52′; S.E. to 24° 12′; N.E. to Ajegarh, 24° 53′, 80° 20′; and Kalleenjur, in the same vicinity, and E. to Barghar, 25° 10′, 81° 36′. | None more than 2,000 ft. Average between the Tara and Kuttra passes, about 520 ft. The Tous falls over the brow by a cascade of 200 ft.; Bilohi, 398 ft.; and Bouti, 400 ft. | The lower parts are primary, overlaid by sandstone, in many places trap, or other formations of volcanic origin. The plateau, which surmounts the range, is from 10 to 12 m. wide. |
| II. Panna . . . . . | Rises S. of the Bindyachal plateau. | Average elevation between Kuttra Pass and Lohargaon, 1,050 ft. Elevation between Lohargaon and the foot of the hills near Patteriya, about 1,200 ft. | Summit an undulating platform, about ten miles wide. Where deep ravines allow examination, an enormously thick bed of sandstone is found with primary rock superincumbent, itself overlaid by volcanic rocks. |
| III. Bandair . . . . | Separated from the Panna range by the valley of Lohargaon, rising from a platform from 10 to 20 m. wide. | Average elevation, 1,700; on some of its undulations, amounting to 2,000 ft. | Generally of sandstone, intermixed with ferruginous gravel. The basin of Lohargaon is of lias limestone. The outer limit of this hilly tract is marked by abrupt isolated hills. |
| Rajmahal Hills . . . . | Rise about 20 m. S. of the Ganges; stretch S. and S.W. to the Vindhya range and the highlands of the Deccan. They terminate at the pass of Sikrigali. | Of moderate elevation. Cluster on the W. of the Phalgu, one on the E. of that river, a third near Shukpoora; 700 ft. Hills towards the S. probably twice that elevation. Railway sweeps round the eastern extremity of the range. | In the E. the rock is of trap; in one place there is a conical hill, having at the top a cavity resembling the crater of an extinct volcano. A neighbouring hill sends forth smoke, luminous at night. In the W. and S.W. the rock is of quartz, or coarse jasper and flint, containing ore of iron and lead. |
| Sirgoojah Mountains . | Length, 90 m.; breadth, 85 m. Lie between 22° 34′, 23° 54′, 82° 40′, 84° 6′. | Rugged and mountainous, from 500 to 600 ft. above adjoining table-land of Chota Nagpore. | Drained by the rivers Kunher and Rhern, with its feeder the Mohan, flowing in a direction generally northerly. These rivers are mostly shallow, except during the rains, when they become rapid torrents. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| PACHETE HILLS | Length, 105 m; breadth, 95 m. Lie between 22° 56′, 23° 54′, 85° 46′, 87° 10′. | Imperfectly known. N. part described as marked by hills from 400 to 600 ft. About 23° 35′, 85° 50′, a mountain conjectured at from 2,500 to 3,000 ft. Near the centre of dist. some hills about 900 ft. | Formation generally primitive, of either granite, gneiss, or sienite. Coal has been found near Jeria, 23° 44′, 86° 25′; and iron-ore exists at a short distance. The chain unites the N. extremities of the W. and E. Ghauts, and forms the base of the triangle on which rests the table-land of S. India. By the Moguls the country to the N. was called Hindoostan, and that to the S. the Deccan. |
| SAUTPOORA MOUNTAINS | Divides the Nerbudda from the Taptee valleys, extending from 21° and 22°, and 73° 40′, to 78°, when it becomes confounded with the Vindhya. | Avg. elevation, supposed, 2,500 ft. Asseerghur hill-fort, 1,200 ft. They form the northern base of the Deccanie table-land. | S. declivity towards Taptee abrupt; N. towards Nerbudda, gentle. They rise into peaks, or swell into forms denoting a primitive origin. They are volcanic. |
| WESTERN GHAUTS, called by the natives *Syadree* in its N. part; and *Sukheit* in its S. part.—MALABAR COAST. | Length, about 800 m. From about 21° 15′, to 73° 45′, 74° 40′, where they terminate almost precipitously, forming the N. side of the Gap of Palgatcheri. | Avg. height, 4,000 ft. About 21°; 2,000 ft. Mahabulishwur, 18°, 73° 40′; 4,700 ft. Poorundher, 4,472 ft. Singhur, 4,162 ft. Hurreechundurghur, 3,894 ft. About 15°; 1,000 ft. Towards Coorg: Bonasson Hill, 7,000 ft. Tandianmole, 5,781 ft. Papagiri, 5,682 ft. | Seaward face though abrupt, not precipitous, but consists of a series of terraces or steps. Chasms or breaks in the range, give access to the highlands, and are denominated *ghauts* or passes, a name which has become generally applied to the range itself. The core is primary, inclosed by alternating strata of more recent origin. Scenery delightful and grand, displaying stupendous scarps, fearful chasms, numerous waterfalls, dense forests, and perennial verdure. |
| NEILGHERRY GROUP | Length, about 50 m.; breadth, about 20 m.; area from 600 to 700 sq. m. Between 11° 10′ and 11° 35′, and 76° 30′ and 77° 10′. | Elevation from 5,000 to 8,000 ft. Dodabetta, 8,760 ft. Kudiakad, 8,502 ft. Kundah, 8,353 ft. Duvursolabeta, 8,380 ft. Beroyabeta, 8,488 ft. Murkurti, 8,402 ft. Ootacamund, lat. 10° 50′; 7,361 ft. General surface, an undulating table-land. | The foundation rocks are primary. Principal mineral,—iron-ore. Neither calcareous nor stratified rocks, nor organic remains are found. So steep are the precipices, that in many parts, a stone dropped from the edge, will fall several thousand feet without striking anything. Neilgherries, from "neil," blue, and "gherries," hills; blue hills. |
| PALGHAT GHAUTS | Length, about 200 m. From the Gap of Palgatcheri nearly to C. Comorin. | Elevation from 4,000 to 7,000 ft. A spacious table-land, 4,740 ft. A peaked summit, 6,000 ft. Another, 7,000 ft. Vurragherry ms., 5,000 to 6,000 ft. Near C. Comorin, in the extreme S., 2,000 ft. Several, not measured. | The W. brow is, with little exception, abrupt; on the E. side the declivity is gradual. Such a conformation would seem to indicate a volcanic disturbance along the W. precipitous face. |
| EASTERN GHAUTS, along COROMANDEL COAST | Length, about 1,000 m. From Balasore, S.W. to Ganjam; thence to Naggery, near Madras; where it joins the range which crosses the country in a north-easterly direction, from the W. Ghauts, N. of the Gap of Palgatcheri. | Average elevation, about 1,500 ft. Cauvery Chain, 4,000 ft. Condapilly, 1,700 ft. W. of Madras, estimated, 3,000 ft. Hills seen from the Moghalbundi, between Pt. Palmyras and Chilka Lake, appearing in irregular scattered groups, 300 to 1,200 ft. | Granite constitutes the basis of the range; and clay, hornblende, flinty and primitive slate, or crystalline limestone, forms the sides of the mountains; and the level country, as far N. as the Pennar, appears to consist of the debris, when the laterite formation covers a large surface. From the Kistnah, northward, the granite is often penetrated by trap and greenstone. To Vizagapatam and Ganjam sienite and gneiss predominate, occasionally covered by laterite. |
| ASSAM MOUNTAINS, VIZ.— I. NAGA HILLS. | Length, about 250 m. On the S.E. border of Assam, stretches to the mountain-range forming the N.W. boundary of Burmah. Centre, about 26° 30′, lon. 95°. | In the Khaibund range, supposed 4,000 ft. Some peaks are almost inaccessible. | The country is a wild unexplored tract. The measures adopted by the British government to restrain the outrages committed by the Nagas within British territory, have led to their submission. |
| II. DUPHALA, AND ABOR HILLS. | Mountains N. of Assam, inhabited by Bhooteans, Duphala, and Abor tribes. | From 5,000 to 6,000 ft. above the surrounding level. | The face of Assam presents an immense plain, studded with clumps of hills, rising abruptly from the general level. The mountains on the N. are composed generally of primitive rocks. Those to the S., of tertiary and metamorphic. |
| III GARROW HILLS | On the N.E. frontier of Bengal | A confused assemblage, from 1,000 to 6,000 ft. Estimated area, 4,347 sq. m. | Character of country, wild. The rock formation is supposed to be chiefly of gneiss, or stratified granite. |
| IV. COSSYAH HILLS | Estimated area, 7,290 sq. m. Between 25° & 26°, and 91° & 92°. | Chirra Poonjee, 4,100 ft. | |

| Name. | Extent and Position of Extremities. | Elevation above the Sea. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| V. JYNTEAH HILLS . . | 80 m. in length from N. to S., and 40 in breadth. Extends from lat. 24° 55′, to 26° 7′, and from lon. 91° 35′, to 92° 48′. | About 16 m. on the Silhet side, and about the same on that of Assam, consists of low land interspersed with small hills. In the interior, about 50 m. in extent, is an undulating hilly table-land, from 1,500 to 2,500 feet high. | Coal is said to abound in the hills of Jynteah. |
| YOUMADOUNG, *or Arracan Mountains.* | Length, about 600 m. From Munneepoor, lat. 22° 20′, to C. Negrais. lat. 16°. | Average height, 3,000 to 5,000 ft. Blue Mountain, 22° 37′, 93° 11′, 8,000 ft. Pyramid Hill, 3,000 ft. Crest of Aeng Pass, 4,517 ft. Pass from Podangmew to Ramree, 4,000 ft. From Blue Mountain there is a gradual slope to C. Negrais, where it is only about 300 ft. | It is a continuation of the great mountain chain commencing at the S. of Assam, in 26° 30′; and extends S., running parallel with the river Irawaddy, and forms a natural barrier between Arracan and Ava. |
| BURMAH MOUNTAINS . . . | Little known. . . . | From Prome to Ava, characterised by unevenness and general elevation. Northerly, it is decidedly mountainous. Mountains 4 m. N. of Ava, 4,000 ft. Zyngait Mts., forming a kind of elevated dooab between the Saluen and Sittang rivers. | Gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, antimony, and other metals, are met with. Quarries of marble are worked near Ummerapoora. Coal has been discovered on the Irawaddy. |
| TENASSERIM MOUNTAINS . . | Length, about 500 m., breadth nowhere exceeds 80 m. Area, 30,000 sq. m. | Siamese Mts., running N. to S. along Tenasserim provinces, 3,000 to 5,000 ft. Mountains in Ye province, three parallel ridges, from 3,000 to 4,500 ft., gradually diminishing towards the coast, about 500 ft. Buffalo Mts., about 70 m. from Moulmein, 1,543 ft. | Coal of excellent quality has been discovered. Iron, tin, and gold are frequently met with. |

* The two sections of the Himalaya furnish points of resemblance, in presenting almost insurmountable obstacles to communication between the countries which they divide, thereby separating the Botis or people of Tibet from the Hindoo family of India. Major Cunningham considers the distinction of climate not less positively marked, both ranges forming the lines of demarcation between the cold and dry climate of Tibet, with its dearth of trees, and the warm and humid climate of India, with its luxuriance of vegetable productions. Some analogy, moreover, may be traced between the drainage systems of the two sections; the one separating the waters of the Sanpoo from those of the Ganges and its affluents; and the other intervening between the Indus, flowing at its northern base, and the subsequent tributaries of that river rising on its southern slope.

† Any view of the Himalaya, especially at a sufficient distance for the snowy peaks to be seen overtopping the outer ridges, is very rare, from the constant deposition of vapours over the forest-clad ranges during a greater part of the year, and the haziness of the dry atmosphere of the plains in the winter months. At the end of the rains, when the south-east monsoon has ceased to blow with constancy, views are obtained, sometimes from a distance of nearly 200 miles.

‡ It has often been observed, the Koh Kosh, or mountain of Kosh, offers a plausible etymology for the Caucasus of the classical writers. It is supposed by Ritter and Wilford to be that mentioned by Pliny, under the name of *Graucasas*, but slightly deviating from the Sanscrit *Gravakasus* (shining rock.)

§ Remarkable for its mass and elevation. Viewed from the Koushan Pass, distant ten miles south, its appearance is very sublime. The outline is serrated, it being crowned by a succession of lofty peaks, with sides often perpendicular, and it is wrapped in a perpetual covering of snow, in all parts not too steep to admit its lying.

‖ All the series appear to diverge from the apex of the plain, expanding "like the sticks of a fan."

¶ Humboldt regards it as the "most striking phenomenon amongst all the mountain-ranges of the old world." He considers that it may be traced from Taurus, in Asia Minor, across Persia, then, in the Huzareh mountains, to Hindoo-Koosh, and to the frontier of China; and that it is distinct from the Himalaya. The two ranges are physically discriminated by the depression down which the Indus flows, which, with its numerous irregularities, it is not easy to believe could have been hollowed out by the water's force even of that great river

** "The elevated expanse of Pameer," to the north of Hindoo-Koosh, observes Humboldt, "is not only a radiating point in the hydrographical system of Central Asia, but is the focus from which originate its principal mountain chains, being common to India, China, and Turkestan; and from it, as from a central point, their several streams diverge."

†† The country between Sufied-Koh and Hindoo-Koosh is hilly; breadth about twenty m. It is divided into a series of plains by cross ranges (Khyber, Kurkutcha, &c.), which pass between Sufied-Koh and the outer ranges of Hindoo-Koosh. These plains are generally barren and stony, and have a slope from E. to W. The Kabool, which flows through them, has to make its way by narrow passages.

‡‡ Valley of Catmandoo, nearly of oval shape: length, N. to S., 12 m.; E. to W. about 10 m. Bounded on the N. and S. by stupendous mountains. To the E. and W. by others less lofty, the western end defined principally by a low steep ridge, called Naga-Arjoon, which passes close behind Sumbhoo-Nath, and is backed by a more considerable one named Dhoahouk. To the eastward, the most remarkable hills are those of Ranichouk and Mahabut, but they do not reach the elevation of Phalchouk (the highest on the south), or of Sheopoori, which is by far the highest mountain. The bottom of the valley is uneven, intersected by deep ravines, and dotted throughout with little hills.

§§ The number of peaks which crown this mountain is variously stated. According to Tod, there are six, the most elevated of which is that of Gorucknath, having on its summit an area of only ten feet in diameter, and surrounded by a shrine dedicated to Gorucknath; each of the other peaks has its shrine. On a small table-land on the mountain, about 600 feet below its summit is the ancient palace of Khengar, and numerous Jain temples.

‖‖ Ascent from Indore (1,998 feet), gradual; descent, to the Nerbudda, steep and abrupt.

*Mountain Passes on the Indian Frontiers, from the Indus to the Irawaddy—so far as known.*

| Name and Position. | Lat. and Lon. of Extremities; Length and Breadth. | Heights, in Feet. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| MOOLA or GUNDAVA—CUTCH GUNDAVA. | Lat. 28° 10′, lon. 66° 12′; lat. 28° 24′, lon. 67° 27′.—About 100 m. Open spaces, connected by defiles. | Bapow, 5,250 ft.; Peesee Bhent, 4,600; Nurd, 2,850; Bent-i-Jah, 1,850; Kullar, 750 ft. | Descent, 4,650 ft., average 46 ft. per m. Water abundant. Practicable for artillery.* |
| BOLAN—BELOOCHISTAN | Lat. 29° 30′, lon. 67° 40′; lat. 29° 52′, lon. 67° 4′.—55 m.; ½ m. wide at entrance. | Entrance, 800 ft.; Ab-i-goom, 2,540; crest, 5,793 ft. | Average ascent, 90 ft. per m.† Ditto. |
| GOMUL or GOOLAIREE—DE-RAJAT. | Lat. 32°, lon. 70° 30′.—About 100 m. | 20 m. from entrance road N.W., then 80 m. S.W., then N.W. to Ghuznee. | Winding course.‡ |
| KHYBER—PESHAWUR | Lat. 33° 58′, lon. 71° 30′.—About 33 m. | Crest, 3,373 ft. Ali Musjid, 2,433 ft. | Rises gradually from the E., but has a steep declivity westward.§ |
| BAMIAN—AFGHANISTAN | Lat. 34° 50′, lon. 67° 48′.—About 1 m. wide, bounded by nearly perpendicular steeps. | Bamian, 8,496 ft., over a succession of ridges from 8,000 to 15,000 ft. | Only known route over Hindoo-Koosh for artillery or wheeled carriages.‖ |
| KOUSHAN—HINDOO-KOOSH | Lat. 35° 37′, lon. 68° 55′: over principal shoulder of Hindoo-Koosh peak.—About 40 m.; narrow. | Crest, 15,000 ft. | Road rocky and uneven; descent, 200 ft. per m. Three entrances.¶ |
| KHAWAK—HINDOO-KOOSH | Lat. 35° 38′, lon. 70°.—About 15 m. | Crest, 13,200 ft. | Ascent on N. side, an uniformly inclined plane.** |
| BUL TUL or SHUR-JI-LA—CASHMERE. | Lat. 34° 10′, lon. 75° 15′ | Crest, 10,500 ft. | |
| BARAMULA—CASHMERE | Lat. 34° 10′, lon 74° 30′ | | Only pass into Cashmere practicable for an army. |
| BARA LACHA—TIBET | Lat. 32° 44′, lon. 77° 31′. | | |
| ROTANG—HIMALAYA | Lat. 32° 25′, lon. 77° 12′. | | |
| MANERUNG—HIMALAYA | Lat. 31° 56′, lon. 78° 24′ | Crest, 18,612; source of Darbung, 15,000 ft. | Very difficult. |
| CHARUNG—HIMALAYA | Lat. 31° 24′, lon. 78° 35′ | Crest, 17,348 ft. | Extremely difficult. |
| BURENDA—HIMALAYA | Lat. 31° 23′, lon. 78° 12′.—Length of crest, 50 paces | Crest, 15,095 ft. | Most elevated part a narrow glen, very steep.†† |
| BULCHA—KUMAON | Lat. 30° 28′, lon. 80° 14′ | | Over a high ridge extending E. and W. |
| NITI—KUMAON | Lat. 30° 57′, lon. 79° 54′ | Crest, 16,814; village of Niti, 11,464 ft. | Open from the end of June to October.‡‡ |
| KAMBACHEN—NEPAUL | Lat. 27° 38′ lon. 88° | Crest, 15,770 ft. | Broad shelf of snow, betⁿ. rocky eminences.§§ |
| CHOONJERMA—NEPAUL | Lat. 27° 33′, lon. 88° 1′ | Crest, 16,000 ft. | Temperature, 24° at 5 P. M. |
| WALLANCHOON—NEPAUL | Lat. 27° 52′, lon. 87° 14′ | Crest, 16,755 ft. | Path leading up the pass for eight miles, a narrow, stony, and steep gorge. Top, a low saddle, between two ridges of rock. |
| TUNKRA—SIKHIM | Lat. 27° 38′, lon. 88° 56′ | Crest, 16,100 ft. | Ascent, on N.W. side, gradual, over a snow-bed and glacier; descent, on S.E., steep, but grassy. |
| DONKIA—SIKHIM | Lat. 27° 56′, lon. 88° 48′ | Crest, 18,600 ft. | View of Tibet from summit. |
| AENG—ARRACAN | Lat. 19° 49′, lon. 94° 9′.—34 miles | Crest, 4,517; Khen-Kyomig, 3,777; Aeng, 147 ft. | Avrg. rise, 250 ft., avrg. descent, 472 ft. per m.‖‖ |
| MYHEE—ARRACAN | Lat. 19° 14′, lon. 94° 30′ | | Myhee village, a police-station. |

* In 1839, the Anglo-Indian detachment marched through it It is preferable to the Bolan Pass in a military point of view.
† A continuous succession of ravines and gorges. The air in the lower part of the pass is in summer oppressively hot and unhealthy.
‡ Of great commercial importance. Every spring, large caravans traverse it from Hindoostan to Afghanistan.
§ Called the Key of Afghanistan. At Ali-Musjid, merely the bed of a rivulet, with precipices rising on each side at an angle of 70°. Near Lamdee Khana, a gallery 12 ft. wide; on one side a perpendicular wall, and on the other a deep precipice. It was twice forced by the British.
‖ The great commercial route from Kabool to Turkestan; the several passes to the eastward are less frequented on account of their difficulty and their elevation.
¶ Most frequented east of Bamian; impassable for wheeled carriages.
** Scarcely frequented, yet may be considered the most practicable. Tamerlane crossed it on his march into Hindoostan.
†† Passes over the Outer Himalaya range:—Sugla, 31° 13′ lat., 78° 29′ lon.—elevation, 16,000 ft.; Kimlia, 31° 15′, 78° 25′, 17,000; Siaga, 31° 16′, 78° 20′, 16,000; Marga, 31° 16′, 78° 21′, 16,000; Lumbia, 31° 16′, 78° 20′, 16,000; Barga, 31° 16′, 78° 19′, 15,000; Nulgun, 31° 19′, 78° 13′, 14,891; Rupin, 31° 2′, 78° 10′, 15,480; Ghusul, 31° 21′, 78° 8′, 15,851; Nibrung, 31° 22′, 78° 10′, 16,035; Gunas, 31° 21′, 78° 8′, 16,026; Yusu, 31° 24′, 78° 4′, 15,877; Sundru, 31° 24′, 78° 2′, 16,000; Shatul, 31° 25′ lat., 77° 58′ lon., 15,555 ft. In Koonawur there are fifteen passes, at elevations varying from 15,000 to 17,000 ft.
‡‡ Considered the best pass between Kumaon and Tibet, and is one of the principal channels of trade between Chinese Tartary and Hindoostan.
§§ Ascended by Dr. Hooker, December, 1848. The distance to which the voice was carried was very remarkable: he could hear distinctly every word spoken at from 300 to 400 yards off.
‖‖ Considerable trade carried on over this pass between Ava and Arracan.

*Rivers of British India—their Source, Course, Discharge, and Length; Tributaries or Confluents; and estimated area, in sq. m., drained; Forty-nine Main Streams, having their outlet in the Sea; and large Tributaries, having their outlet in other Rivers.*

| Name. | Source, Course, Discharge, and Length. | Tributaries, and their Length in British Miles; and Area drained | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 GANGES.—BHAGEERUTTEE at its source, and PODDA near the sea. | Gangoutri, Himalaya, 1,400 ft. above the level of the sea. N.W. to Johnioi; W. and S.W., 13 m.; S.W., 36 m.; S., 15 m.; S.E., 39 m.; S., 8 m.; W., 24 m.; S.W., 15 m.; S., 130 m.; S.E. to Allahabad, E., 270 m.; E. to Sikrigalee; S.E. remainder of course into Bay of Bengal, by numerous mouths. The Ganges gives off some of its waters to form the Hooghly, and also anastomoses with the Megna.—Length, 1,514 m. | Jumna, 860; Ghogra, 606; Gunduck, 450; Goomtee, 482; Sone, 465; Coosy, 325; Ramgunga, 373; Mahananda, 240; Karumnassa, 140; Koniae or Jamuna, 130; Aluknunda, 80; Bhillung, 50 m.—398,000 sq. m. drained, exclusive of Hooghly. | Navigable for river craft as far as Hurdwar, 1,100 m.; steamers ply as far as Gurmukteesur, 393 miles above Allahabad, distant from Calcutta *via* Delhi, 930 miles; at Cawnpoor, 140 m. above Allahabad, the navigation is plied with great activity. The breadth of the Ganges at Benares varies from 1,500 to 3,000 ft. Mean discharge of water there, throughout the year, 250,000 cub ft. per second. |
| 2. HOOGHLY . . . | Formed by junction of Bhageeruttee and Tellinghee, two branches of Ganges. S. to Calcutta; S.W. to Diamond Harbour; E. and S.W. into the sea at Saugor roadstead, by an estuary 15 m. wide.—Length, 160 m., by winding of stream. | Dammoodah, 350; Dalkissore, 170; Coossy, 240; Mor, 130.—About 49,000 sq. m. drained. | Formerly navigable for a line-of-battle ship to Chandernagore; now, vessels drawing more than 17 ft., not safe in passing from Calcutta to the sea, by reason of shoals. |
| 3. INDUS, or NILAB ("*blue-river.*") | Tibet, behind Kailas range, to the N. of Kailas peak, 22,000 ft. above the sea. N.W. to Dras R.; more northerly to Shy-yok; W.N.W., 115 m. to Makpon-i-Shagaron; S.S.W. and S. to Attock; a little W. of S. to confluence with Punjnud; S.W. to Khyrpoor; S. to Sehwan; S.E. to Hydrabad; W. of S. to Arabian Sea, Indian Ocean.—Length, 1,800 m. | Eekung-Choo, 110; Hanle, 70; Zanskar, 150; Dras, 75; Shy-yok, 300; Shy-ghur, 70; Ghilgit; Cabool, 320; Sutlej, 850; Chenab, 765; Jhelum, 490; Ravee, 450; Punjnud, 60 m.—About 390,000 sq. m. drained. | Navigable to Attock, 942 m. from sea, there from 500 to 800 ft. wide; depth, 60 ft. Breadth and depth varies much after junction with Punjnud; breadth, 1 to 30 m.; depth, 12 to 186 ft. |
| 4. BRAHMAPOOTRA—MEGNA, near the sea. | N.E. extremity of Himalaya range; lat. 28° 30′, lon. 97° 20′. S.W., 63 m.; W.—S.W.—S.E.—S.W., and E. to Bay of Bengal, through three mouths, Hattia, Ganges, and Shebazpoor.—Length, 933 m. | Sanpoo, 1,000; Dibong, 140; Noh-Dihong, 100; Boree Dehing, 150; Soobn-Sheeree, 180; Monas, 189; Bagnee, 150; Guddala, 160; Durlah, 148; Teesta, 313; Barak, 200; Goomtee, 140 m. In lat. 25° 10′, lon. 89° 43′, it gives off the Koniae.—305,000 sq. m. drained. | The branches of the Brahmapootra, together with those of the Ganges, intersect the territory of Bengal in such a variety of directions, as to form a complete system of inland navigation. |
| 5. IRAWADDY . . . . . . | E. extremity of Himalaya, lat. 28° 5′, lon. 97° 58′. Nearly N. to S. through Burmah, and the recently acquired British territory of Pegu; into the Bay of Bengal, by numerous mouths.—Length, 1,060 m. | Khyendwen, 470; Shwely, 180; Moo, 125 m.—164,000 sq. m. drained. | The Bassein branch affords a passage for the largest ships for 60 miles from its month. No river of similar magnitude, it is stated, presents so few obstructions. |
| 6. GODAVERY . . . . . . | E. declivity of W. Ghauts, near Nassik, 3,000 ft. above the sea. S.E., 200 m.; E., 100 m.; S.E., 85 m.; E., 170 m.; S.E., 200 m.; into Bay of Bengal, by three mouths.—Length, 898 m. | Wein-Gunga, 439; Manjera, 330; Poorna, 160; Paira, 105; Inderaotee, 140 m.—130,000 sq. m. drained. | In 1846, the sanction of the Court of Directors of E. I. C. was given to the construction, at an expense of £47,500, of a dam of sufficient height to command the delta, and to supply the rich alluvial soil of which that tract is composed, with the means of constant irrigation. The experiment of navigating the Godavery by steam, has been entertained by the Madras government, and means for carrying it into effect are under consideration. |

*N.B.—Where no tributaries or area drained are mentioned, it is because, as regards the former, there are none of note; and the other is small, and imperfectly defined.*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. Kistnah, or Krishna | | Mahabulishwar table-land, Deccan, lat. 18° 1′, lon. 73° 41′; 4,500 ft. above the sea. S.E., 145 m.; N.E., 60 m.; S.E., 105 m.; N.E., 180 m.; S.E. to Chentapilly; S.E. 70 m. further; then, parting into two arms, one flowing S.E. 30 m., the other S. 25 m., into Bay of Bengal. —Length, 800 m. | Beemah, 510; Toongabudra, 325; Gutpurba, 160; Mulpurba, 160; Warna, 80; Dindee, 110; Peedda Wag, 70 m.—110,000 sq. m. drained. | The Kistnah, in consequence of the rapid declivity of its waterway and rockiness of its channel, cannot be navigated by small craft, even for short distances. An extensive system of irrigation, in connection with this river, is now in progress, and has been estimated to cost £150,000. |
| 8. Nerbudda | Western side of India. | Amarkantak, a jungly table-land, lat. 22° 39′, lon. 81° 49′; from 3,500 to 5,000 ft. above the sea. Nearly due W., with occasional windings, to Gulf of Cambay, by a wide estuary.—Length, 801 m. | Herrun; Samarsee, 60; Suktha, 70 m.—About 60,000 sq. m. drained. | The river, notwithstanding the great width of its bed in some parts of its upper course, appears to be scarcely anywhere continuously navigable for any considerable distance, in consequence of the innumerable basaltic rocks scattered over its channel. |
| 9. Loonee | | Arravulli Mts., near Pokur, lat. 26° 37′, lon. 74° 46′. S.W., nearly parallel with Arravulli range, into Runn of Cutch, by two mouths, principal in lat. 24° 42′, lon. 71° 11′.—Length, 320 m. | Rairee, 88; Sokree, 130 m.—About 19,000 sq. m. drained. | Bed full of micaceous quartoze rock; banks low, and little above the surrounding level. |
| 10. Bunnas | | In a cluster of summits in the Arravulli range, lat. 24° 47′, lon. 73° 28′. S.W., into Runn of Cutch, by several small channels.—Length, 180 m. | About 17,000 sq. m drained. | |
| 11. Bhader | | Kattywar, lat. 22° 10′, lon. 71° 18′. S.W., into Indian Ocean, near Poorbunder, lat. 21° 38′, lon. 69° 46′.—Length, 135 m. | Area of peninsula, 18,950 m. | The surface of Kattywar peninsula is generally undulating, with low ridges of hills, running in irregular directions The land in the middlemost part is the highest, and here all the rivers take their rise, disembouging themselves respectively into the Runn and Gulf of Cutch, and Gulf of Cambay. |
| 12. Oojal | | Kattywar, lat. 21° 31′, lon. 70° 50′. Circuitous, but generally W., into backwater, behind Poorbunder.—Length, 75 m. | | |
| 13. Ajee | | Kattywar, lat 22° 10′, lon. 76° 31′. N.W., into Gulf of Cutch.—Length, 60 m. | | |
| 14. Setroonjee | | Kattywar, lat. 21° 15′, lon. 70° 25′. E., into Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 60 m. | | |
| 15. Geyla | | Kattywar, lat. 22°, lon. 71° 20′. E., into Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 60 m. | | |
| 16. Gooma | | Kattywar, lat. 22° 18′, lon. 71° 30′. E., into Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 88 m. | | |
| 17. Taptee | | Sautpoora Mts., near Mooltae, lat. 21° 46′, lon. 78° 21′. Generally W., to Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 441 m. | Poorna, 160; Girna, 160; Boree, 90; Panjar, 92 m.—About 25,000 sq. m. drained. | It can scarcely be deemed a navigable stream, as at Surat, 17 m. from its month, it is fordable when the tide is out. It is said to be navigable in the dry season for boats of light draught, through Candeish. The mouth is obstructed by numerous sands and a bar. |
| 18. Myhe, or Mahe | | Vindhya Mts., lat. 22° 32′, lon. 75° 5′; 1,850 ft. above the sea. N.W., 145 m.; W. 25 m.; S.W., 180 m., into Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 350 m. | Amass, 90; Manchun, 55 m. | Navigable for 15 m. from its month. At 50 m. up, 100 yds. wide; bed, 400 yds.; depth, 1 ft. |
| 19. Washishtee | | W. Ghauts, lat. 17° 50′, lon. 73° 36′. S.—W.—S.E.—W., into Indian Ocean.—Length 55 m. | No tributaries of note; area drained small, and imperfectly defined. | Though rugged, the Concans have many fertile valleys, each of which, for the most part, affords a passage for a small river or torrent, holding a westerly course from the Ghauts to Indian Ocean. The most fertile spots are on the banks of streams. The rivers abound with fish, but are also frequented by alligators. The Savitree is navigable as far as Mhar, 30 m. from its mouth. |
| 20. Savitree | | W. Ghauts, lat. 18° 17′, lon. 73° 27′. S.E.—W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 70 m. | | |
| 21. Taunsa | | W. Ghauts, lat. 19° 41′, lon. 73° 29′. S.W.—W.—W.S.W.—W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 58 m. | | |
| 22. Soorla | | W. Ghauts, lat. 19° 54′, lon. 73° 24′. W.—S., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 68 m. | | |
| 23. Damgunga | | W. Ghants, lat. 20° 11′, lon. 73° 42′. W.—N.—W.N.W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 58 m. | | |
| 24. Par | | W. Ghauts, lat 20° 30′, lon. 73° 43′. W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 50 m. | | |

| Name. | | Source, Course, Discharge, and Length. | Tributaries, and their Length in British Miles; and Area drained. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25. Eed . . . . . . . | Western India. | W. Ghauts, lat 20° 50′, lon. 73° 42′. W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 70 m. | No tributaries of any extent; and area drained imperfectly. | Nothing worthy note. |
| 26. Poorna . . . . | | W. Ghauts, lat. 20° 59′, lon. 73° 44′. W., into the Indian Ocean.—Length, 60 m. | | |
| 27. Gungavully . . | | Plain of Dharwar, lat. 15° 45′, lon. 75° 10′. S.—S.W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 100 m. | | |
| 28. Cauly Nuddee . | | Plain of Dharwar, lat. 15° 33′, lon. 74° 47′. S., 61 m.; W., 30 m., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 91 m. | . . . . | Navigated by the largest patimars for 20 m. From Mullapoor to Shedashegur, rendered easy by uniformity of channel. |
| 29. Ponany . . . | | Coimbatoor, lat. 10° 19′, lon. 77° 6′. N.W.—W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 128 m. | | Navigable for canoes as far as Palghat, 63 m. from the sea. |
| 30. Vygah . . . . . | Eastern side of India. | Madura, lat. 10° 17′, lon. 77° 37′. S.E., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 130 m. | | The large anicuts upon it are Conoor, diverting a stream of same name, Parea Anai, & Chittanaik. |
| 31. Vellaur . . . . | | Base of E. Ghauts, lat. 10° 28′, lon. 78° 21′. E., into Gulf of Manaar.—Length, 80 m. | | |
| 32. Goondah . . . . | | Vellanuddhee hills, Madura. S.E., into Gulf of Manaar.—Length, 95 m. | | |
| 33. Cauvery . . . . | | Coorg, lat 12° 25′, lon. 75° 34′. E., 33 m.; N.E., 28 m.; S.E, 95 m.; N.E.—E.—S.E., 47 m.; S., 47 m.; S.E.—E.—N.E., into Bay of Bengal. Length, 472 m. | Magunmurchy, 40; Bhovani, 120; Noyel, 95 m.; Hennavutty; Leechman-Teert; Cubbany; Shimska; Arkavati; Ambrawutty.—About 36,000 sq. m. drained. | Navigable for craft through the low country during the inundation. Gungau Zooka fall, 370 ft. Burr Zooka, 460 ft. |
| 34. Vzllaur . . . . | | Base of E. Ghauts. E., into Bay of Bengal, near Porto Novo. | | The river is small at its mouth, and admits only coasting craft. |
| 35. Palar . . . . . | | Mysoor table-land, lat. 13° 20′, lon. 78° 2′. S.E., 55 m.; E., 87 m.; S.E., 48 m., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, about 220 m. | Pony, 40; Sheyaroo, 90 m. . . . . | The entrance of the Palar, near Sadras, is contracted by a bar or narrow ridge of sand, inside of which the river becomes of considerable width. |
| 36. Soornamooky . . | | Mysoor table-land, lat. 13° 26′, lon. 79° 11′. N.E., to Bay of Bengal.—Length, 99 m. | | |
| 37. Pennar.—(N.) . . | | Nundidroog table-land, lat. 13° 23′, lon. 77° 43′. N.W., 30 m.; N., 95 m.; E., 230 m., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 355 m. | Chittravutti, 107; Paapugnee, 130; Chittair, 75 m. | |
| 38. Pennar.—(S.) . . | | N. of Nundidroog table-land, lat. 13° 32′, lon. 77° 45′. S. to Mootanhalli, 55 m.; S.E., 190 m., into Bay of Bengal, a mile N. of Ft. St. David.—Length, 245 m. | . . | Gold is found in its sands, in its passage through the Carnatic. |
| 39. Gundlacama . . | | Lat. 15° 40′, lon. 78° 49′. Very circuitous; E.—N.E.—S.S.E.—S.E., into Bay of Nizampatnam.—Length, 155 m. | | |
| 40. Bondsdora . . . | | Table-land of Orissa, lat. 19° 39′, lon. 83° 27′. S., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 130 m. | | |
| 41. Lalolah . . . | | Table-land of Orissa, near source of Bondsdora. S., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 133 m. | | |
| 42. Mahanuddy . . . | | Native state of Nowagudda, lat. 20° 20′, lon. 82°. W., 30 m.; N.E., 110 m.; S.E., 300 m., to Bay of Bengal by numerous mouths.—Length, 520 m. | Hutsoo, 130; Aurag, 117; Tell, 130; Bang Nuddee, 60 m.—About 46,000 sq. m. drained. | From July to February, navigable for boats for 460 m. |
| 43. Brahminy . . . | | Palamow table-land, lat. 23° 25′, lon. 84° 13′. S.—E.—S.E., into Bay of Bengal, near Pt. Palmyras.—Length, 410 m. | | |
| 44. Byturnee . . | | Near Lohardugga, lat. 23° 29′, lon. 84° 55′. N.—E.—S.—S.W.—S.E.—E., into Bay of Bengal, by Dhumrah river.—Length, 345 m. | Sunk, 95 m.—About 26,000 sq. m. are drained by Brahminy and Byturnee. | Sacred in the Hindoo mythology, more especially at its source. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 45. SOOBUNREEKA (En. India) | Chota Nagpoor table-land. N.E.—E.—S.E.—S.—S.E.—E.—S.E.—S., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 280 m. | Karow, 80 m.—About 12,000 sq. m. drained. | |
| 46. ARRACAN, or COLADYNE. (East side Bengal Bay.) | Near Blue Mountain, Youmadoung range, lat. 22° 27′, lon. 92° 51′. S., into Combermere Bay.—Length, 160 m | Myoo; Lemyo. . . . . . . | Navigable within a few miles of Arracan town, for ships of 250 tons burden. 90 m. above Akyab, the stream is narrow, and navigable only for canoes. 10 m. broad at its mouth. |
| 47. SITTANG . . . . . (East side Bengal Bay.) | Burmah, lat. 21° 40′, lon. 96° 50′. S., into Gulf of Martaban.—Length, 420 m. | Yennan, 115; Saar, 120 m. . . . . | It is a navigable river. For about 190 m. forms the boundary between the Tenasserim provinces and Pegu. |
| 48. SALUEN, or SALWEEN (East side Bengal Bay.) | N. of Yunnan province, China; about lat. 27° 10′, lon. 98° 57′. S., into Gulf of Martaban, by two mouths, formed by Pelewgewen Island.—Length, 430 m. | Attaran or Weingo, 110; Thoung-yin Myit, 225; Meloun, 90 m. | It enters the British dominions about lat. 18° 40′. |
| 49. TENASSERIM . . . (East side Bengal Bay.) | Supposed to lie in the mountains to the N E. of Tavoy, between the 14th and 15th parallel of latitude. S to Metamio, lat. 14° 13′; S.E. and S. to Tenasserim town; N.W. into Bay of Bengal, by two mouths.—Length, 270 m. | Baing-Khiaung; Little Tenasserim; Kamaun Khiaung. | Upper part of course through a wild and uncultivated tract, sometimes between high and perpendicular banks. It afterwards opens on extensive plains. On many parts of its banks exist forests of fine teak, and the valuable sappan wood. |
| JUMNA, tributary to GANGES | Jumnoutri, Himalaya, lat. 31°, lon. 78° 32′; 10,849 ft. above the sea. S.W.—S.E., to Ganges, at Allababad. —Length, 860 m. | Tonse or Supin, about 100; Hindan, about 160; Hansoutee, 99; Bangunga, 220; Chumbul, 570; Sinde, 260; Betwa, 360; Cane, 230; Baghin Nuddee, 90; Seyngur, 210; Urrund Nuddee, 245 m.—About 105,000 sq. m. drained | In consequence of its bed being obstructed by shoals and rocks, navigation is not practicable for craft above Delhi, except by means of the canal. Its banks are lofty and precipitous, and ridges of rock in many places advance into the stream, combining with its general shallowness and strong current to render navigation extremely difficult and dangerous. |
| GHOGRA, tributary to GANGES | N. of Kumaon, lat. 30° 28′, lon. 80° 40′, probably between 17,000 and 18,000 ft. S.E., 33 m.; S.W., 70 m.; S.E., 12 m.; S., 30 m.; S., 23 m. further; S.E., to Ganges, near Chupra.—Length, 606 m. | Raptee, 134; Kurnalli, 225; Bhyrvee, 70; Dhauli, 45; Goringunga, 60 m.—About 49,000 sq. m. drained. | Butter describes it as navigable for the largest class of boats in all seasons. |
| GOOMTEE, tributary to GANGES | In a small lake or morass, 19 m. E. of the town of Pillebheet. Lat. 28° 35′, lon. 80° 10′; 520 ft. above the sea. S.—S.E., into Ganges, 30 m. below Benares.—Length, 482 m. | . . . | In the rainy season, boats of 1,000 or 1,200 maunds (40 tons) burthen, are sometimes seen proceeding to Lucknow. |
| SONE, tributary to GANGES . | Amarkantak table-land, lat. 22° 41′, lon. 82° 7′; from 3,500 to 5,000 ft. above the sea. N., 30 m.; N.W., 80 m.; N., 40 m.; N.E., 125 m.; E., 47 m.; N.E., into the Ganges, 10 m. above Dinapoor.—Length, 465 m. | Koel, 140; Kunher, 130; Johila, 100 m.—Including the Phalgu and other rivers falling into the Ganges above Rajmahal, about 42,000 sq. m. drained. | The navigation of the river is not considered available for purposes of important utility higher than Daudnagur, 60 m. from the confluence with the Ganges. |
| GUNDUCK, tributary to GANGES | Near Dhawalagiri peak, Himalaya. S.—S.E.—S.W. —S.E., into Ganges, near Patna.—Length, 407 m. | Trisula-gunga, 100; Marachangdi, 100; Naling, 110 m.—About 40,000 sq. m. drained. | Though navigable continuously through its whole course downwards from Bhelaunji, there are in the part of its channel nearer that place many rapids and passes, where, the course being obstructed by rocks, navigation becomes difficult and dangerous. |
| CHUMBUL, tributary to JUMNA | Malwa, lat. 22° 26′, lon. 75° 45′, 8 or 9 m. S.W. from Mhow, which is 2,019 ft. above the sea. It rises in the cluster called Janapava. N., 105 m.; N.W., 6 m.; S.E., 10 m.; N.E., 23 m.; N.W., 25 m.; N. to junction with Kalee Sind; N.E., 145 m.; S.E., 78 m., to Jumna.—Length, 570 m., described in a form nearly semicircular, the diameter being only 330 m. | Chumbela, 70; Seepra, 120; Parbutty, 220; Kallee Sind, 225; Banas, 320; Chota Kallee Sind, 104 m.—About 56,000 sq. m. drained. | It does not appear to be used for navigation, which is probably incompatible with the average declivity of its bed (2 ft. 5 in. per m.), and still more so with the general rugged and rocky character of its channel. Its average volume of water is so considerable, that on its junction it has been known to raise the united stream 7 or 8 ft. in 12 hours. |

| Name. | Source, Course, Discharge, and Length. | Tributaries, and their Length in British Miles; and Area drained. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| RAMGUNGA, tributary to GANGES. | Kumaon, lat. 30° 6′, lon. 79° 20′; about 7,144 ft. above the sea. S.E., 20 m.; S.W., 70 m.; S. to Moradabad—S.E.—S., into Ganges.—Length, 373 m | Kosee, 150; Gurra, 240 m. . . . . . | Fordable at Moradabad, at 15 m. below confluence with Kosee; but not usually fordable below Jellalabad. |
| COOSY, tributary to GANGES. | Himalaya Mountains, lat. 28° 25′, lon. 86° 11′. S.W.—S.E.—S.—E.—S.E.—S., into Ganges.—Length, 325 m. | Aruo, 310; Tambur, 95; Gogaree, 235; Dud Coosy, 50; Tiljuga, 40 m.—46,000 sq. m. dr. | Where narrowest, and when lowest, stream 1,200 ft. wide and 15 ft. deep. It is larger than the Jumna or the Ghogra. |
| MAHANANDA, tributary to GANGES. | Near Darjeeling, in the Sikhim hills, lat. 26° 57′, lon. 88° 20′. S., 40 m.; S.W., 60 m.; S.E., 50 m.; S., 20 m.; S.E., 40 m.; S., 30 m.—Length, 240 m. | . . . . | Navigable during the dry season for craft of 8 tons as far as Kishengunge; for those of much larger burthen during the rains. |
| KARUMNASSA, tributary to GANGES. | In the Kymore range, lat. 24° 38′, lon. 83° 11′. N.—N.W., into the Ganges, near Ghazeepoor.—Length, 140 m. | | |
| TONS, tributary to GANGES. | Lat. 24°, lon. 80° 30′. N.W.—E.N.E.—N., into the Ganges, a few miles below Allahabad.—Length, 165 m. | Satni, Beher, Mahana, Belun, and Seoti.—Including small streams, 13,000 sq. m. drained. | |
| ALUKNUNDA, tributary to GANGES. | Lat. 30° 33′, lon. 79° 38′. N.W.—S.W.—W.—S.W., into the Bhageerutte, at Deoprayag.—Length, 80 m. | Doulee, 35; Vishnuganga, 25; Mundakni, 32; Pindur, 60 m. | At confluence with Bhageeruttee, 142 ft. broad; rises 46 ft. during the melting of the snow. |
| BHILLUNG, tributary to GANGES. | Lat. 30° 46′, lon. 78° 55′. S.W., into the Bhageeruttee.—Length, 50 m. | . . . | Between 60 and 70 ft. wide in the beginning of May, 5 m. from its mouth. |
| DAMMOODAH, tributary to HOOGHLY. | Ramghur district, lat. 23° 55′, lon. 84° 53′. E. and S.E., to Burdwan; S., to Diamond Harbour.—Length, 350 m. | Barrachur, 155 m. . . . . . | Crossed by a ferry, 50 m. above its mouth. At Raneegunj, 135 m. from mouth, 500 yds. wide, fordable, with a rapid current about 1 ft. deep in December. |
| COOSSY, tributary to HOOGHLY | Ramghur district, lat. 23° 35′, lon. 85° 58′. Circuitous, but generally S.E., into Hooghly.—Length, 240 m. | Comaree. . . . . . . . | It is crossed at Ameenugur, 80 m. from source, & at Koilaghat, 40 m. from mouth, by fords during the dry season, aod ferries during the rains. |
| DALKISSORE, tributary to HOOGHLY. | Pachete district, lat. 23° 30′, lon. 86° 34′. S.E.—S.—S.E., into Hooghly at Diamond Harbour.—Length, 170 m. | . . . . | Crossed at Bancoora, 50 m. from source, and at Jahanabad, by means of fords. |
| SHY-YOK, tributary to INDUS | Near Kara-korum Pass. S.E.—N.W., into Indus, near Iskardo.—Length, 300 m. | Chang-Chenmo, 58; Nubra, 66 m. | |
| CABOOL, tributary to INDUS. | Lat. 34° 15′, lon. 68° 10′, near Sir-i-Chusma, in Afghanistan; elevation, 8,400 ft. Generally E., through the valley of Cabool, and plains of Jellalabad and Peshawur, into the Indus.—Length, about 320 m. | Punchshir, 120; Tagao, 80; Alishang, 120; Soorkh-Rood, 70; Kooner, 230; Suwat, 150 m.—About 42,000 sq. m. drained. | Not navigable along the N. base of Khyber Mts. except on rafts and hides. Navigable for boats of 40 or 50 tons to Dobundee. |
| ZANSKAR, tributary to INDUS | N. declivity of Bara-Lacha Pass, lat. 32° 47′, lon. 77° 33′. N.W.—W.—N.W.—N.E.—N.W.—N.E., into the Indus, a few miles below Le.—Length, 150 m. | Trarap, 42; Zingeban-Tokpo, 22 m. | |
| SUTLEJ, tributary to INDUS. | Remote sources, Lakes Manasarowar and Rahwan Hrad, lat. 30° 8′, lon. 81° 53′; 15,200 ft. above the sea. N.W., 180 m.; S.W., through Bussahir; W. to junction with Beas; S.W. to Punjnud.—Length, 550 m., to junction with Beas; 300 m. farther to Punjnud: total, 850 m. | Spiti, 120; Buspa, 52; Beas, 290 m.—About 29,000 sq. m., or, including Ghara and Beas, about 65,000 sq. m. drained. | At Roopur, 30 ft. deep, and more than 500 yds. wide. Navigable as far as Filoor in all seasons, for vessels of 10 or 12 tons burthen. |
| BEAS, tributary to SUTLEJ. | On S. verge of Rotang Pass, lat. 32° 24′, lon. 77° 11′; 13,200 ft. above the sea. S., 80 m.; W., 50 m.; then a wide sweep to N.W. for 80 m.; S., 80 m., to Sutlej, at Endreesa.—Length, 290 m. | Parbati; Sainj, 38; Gomati, 55 m.; Ul; Gaj.—About 10,000 sq. m. drained. | |
| CHENAB, tributary to INDUS | Near Bara-Lacha Pass, lat. 32° 48′, lon. 77° 27′. N.W. to Murumurdwun; S.W. to confluence with Jhelum, thence S.W. to Ghara, or continuation of Sutlej.—Length, 605 m. to Jhelum, 765 m. to Ghara. | Suruj-Bhagur, 44; Murumurdwun, 86; Dharh, 56 m.—About 21,000; including Jhelum, 50,000; and with Ravee, 72,000 sq. m. drained. | Becomes navigable for timber-rafts at Aknur. Descends at the average rate of 40 ft. per m. for the first 200 m. Estimated elevation at Kishtewar, 5,000 ft. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| JHELUM, tributary to CHENAB. | The Lidur, in N.E. mountains of Cashmere, near Shesha Nag. Through valley of Cashmere, and into Punjab by Baramula gorge; S. to Chenab confluence, in lat. 30° 10′, lon. 79° 9′.—Length, 409 m. | Lidur, 50; Vishnau, 44; Sindh, 72; Lolab, 44; Kishengunga, 140; Kunihar, 100; Pirpanjal, 115 m.—About 280,000 sq. m. drained. | Navigable for 70 m. through Cashmere. Navigable from the Indus to the town of Ohind. |
| RAVEE, tributary to CHENAUB | Lat. 32° 26′, lon. 77°, in the Pirpanjal or Mid-Himalaya range, to the W. of Rotang Pass. S.W., about 40 m.; W. to Lahore; S.W. to junction with Chenab.—Length, 450 m. | Nye, 20; Sana, 36; Chakki, 50 m.—About 22,000 sq. m. drained. | Tortuous course: fordable in most places for eight months of the year. |
| SANPOO, tributary to BRAHMAPOOTRA. | N. face of Himalayas, lat. 30° 25′, lon. 82° 5′. E., winding its way through Tibet, and washing the borders of the territory of Lassa. It then turns suddenly S., and falls into the Brahmapootra, under the name of Dihong.—Length, about 1,000 m. | Sanki-Sanpoo, Niamtsion, Zzangtsiou, Lalee Nuddee. | |
| TEESTA, tributary to BRAHMAPOOTRA. | About lat. 27° 59′, lon. 88° 50′. S.—S.E., into Brahmapootra.—Length, 333 m. | Laehoong, 23; Rungbo, 22; Rungeet, 23 m. | Navigable for craft of 6 or 7 tons as far up as Puharpoor, 15 m. beyond the divergence of the Attree. |
| BARAK, tributary to BRAHMAPOOTRA. | It is an offset from the Jeree, which leaves in lat. 24° 43′, lon. 93° 13′. W. through Cachar and Silhet; S.W., into Megna.—Length, 200 m. | . . . | Banks low and marshy along the valley of Cachar. |
| MONAS, tributary to BRAHMAPOOTRA. | Himalaya range, lat. 28° 20′, lon. 91° 18′. S., 40 m.; S.W., 110 m.; S.W., into Brahmapootra.—Length, 189 m. | Deemree, of greater length than itself. | |
| KHYENDWEN, tributary to IRAWADDY. | Burmah, lat. 26° 28′, lon. 96° 54′. Generally S., into Irawaddy, near the town of Amyenmyo.—Length, 470 m. | Myitia Khyoung, 170 m. | |
| WEIN-GUNGA, or PRENHETA, tributary to GODAVERY. | Mahadeo Mountains, lat. 22° 25′, lon. 79° 8′. E., 80 m.; S., 34 m.; S., 25 m.; S.W., 80 m.; S., 100 m.; into Godavery.—Length, 439 m. | Pench Nuddee, 150; Kanhan Nuddee, 130 m.—About 21,000 sq. m. drained, exclusive of Payne-Gunga and Wurda. | Elevation at Bundara, lat. 21° 12′; 872 ft. above the sea. |
| WURDA, tributary to WEIN-GUNGA. | Sautpoora Mountains, lat. 21° 44′, lon. 78° 25′. Generally N.W. to S.E.—Length, about 250 m. | Payne-Gunga, 320 m.—About 8,000 sq. m. drained. | Fordable, except at the height of the rains; then navigable for 100 m. above its mouth. |
| PAYNE-GUNGA, tributary to WEIN-GUNGA. | Lat 20° 32′, lon. 76° 4′, in Candeish. Very circuitous, but generally E., into Wurda.—Length, 320 m. | Araun, 105; Koony, 65 m.—About 8,000 sq. m. drained. | |
| MANJERA, tributary to GODAVERY | Lat. 18° 44′, lon. 75° 30′. S.E.—S.W., into Godavery.—Length, 330 m. | Thairnya, 95; Narinja, 75; Munnada, 100 m.—About 11,000 sq. m. drained. | |
| BEEMAH, tributary to KISTNAH. | Lat. 19° 5′, lon. 73° 33′, in the table-land of the district of Poona; 3,090 ft. above the sea. S.E., into Kistnah.—Length, 510 m. | Goor, 100; Neera, 120; Seena, 170; Tandoor, 85 m.—About 29,000 sq. m. drained. | |
| TOONGABUDRA, tributary to KISTNAH | Lat. 14°, lon. 75° 43′, junction of Toonga and Budra rivers. N.—N.E., into Kistnah.—Length, 325 m. | Chinna Hugry; Hundry, 225 m.; Wurda.—About 28,000 sq. m. drained. | Rocky obstacles to navigation in upper part of course. Fine teak forests on banks. |
| POORNAH, tributary to TAPTEE. | Lat. 21° 35′, lon. 77° 41′. S., 65 m.; W., 95 m.; into the Taptee.—Length, 160 m. | | |
| GIRNA, tributary to TAPTEE | E. slope of W. Ghauts, lat. 20° 37′, lon. 73° 25′. E., 120 m.; N., 50 m.; into the Taptee.—Length, 160 m. | | |
| BHOVANI, tributary to CAUVERY. | Among the Kundah group, lat. 11° 15′, lon. 76° 4′. E., into Cauvery.—Length, 120 m. | | |
| NOYEL, tributary to CAUVERY | E. slope of W. Ghauts, lat. 10° 59′, lon. 76° 44′. E., into Cauvery.—Length, 95 m. | | |
| HUTSOO, tributary to MAHANUDDY. | Lat. 23° 18′, lon. 82° 32′. S., into Mahanuddy.—Length, 130 m. | | |
| TELL, tributary to MAHANUDDY. | Lat. 19° 54′, lon. 82° 41′. N.W., into Mahanuddy.—Length, 130 m. | | |

NOTE—*Of the above-named rivers, forty-nine main streams flow to the sea: the chief tributaries to these number* 210, *of which thirty flow for* 200 *m. and upwards; sixty-three have a course of* 100 *to* 200 *m.; and the remainder under* 100 *m*

*Rivers in Afghanistan, and in the Countries adjacent to India on the North-west—so far as known.*

| Name and Length. | Source, Course, and Discharge. | Tributaries or Confluents; and their Length in English Miles. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| HELMUND.—650 miles . . . | Pughman range, lat. 34° 40′, lon. 68° 2′; at an elevation of 10,076 ft. above the sea. Westerly; south-westerly to Pullaluk; north-westerly; in the Hamoon marshy lake, and that of Duk-i-Teer, by numerous channels. | At 25 m. below Girishk receives the Urgundab, 250 m.; Turnak. | At Girishk, 350 m. from source; banks, about 1,000 yards apart; in spring, spreads beyond these limits,—depth, 10 or 12 ft.,—with a rapid current. At Pullaluk it was crossed by Christie, who found it, at the end of March, 400 yards wide, and very deep. |
| LORAH.—About 80 miles . . | Shawl table-land, lat. 39° 49′, lon. 67° 20′. South-westerly, until lost in the sands of the desert of Khorasan. | . . . . . . . | In April the water (which is briny) is 7 or 8 yards wide, and 2 ft. deep. It is crossed on the route from Shawl to Kandahar. |
| KOONDOOZ.—About 300 miles | Valley of Bamian, about lat. 34° 52′, lon. 67° 40′. Easterly; northerly; north-easterly; northerly; and north-westerly; into the Amoo or Jinoon River. | Inderauh, 65; and Khanah-i-bad, 90 m. | |
| HERI ROOD, or HURY.—About 600 miles. | Huzareh Mountains, lat. 34° 50′, lon. 66° 20′; 9,500 ft. above the sea. Generally westerly to Herat, where it turns north-westerly, forming a junction with the Moorghaub; the united stream is ultimately lost in the desert of Khorasan. | Sir-i-Jungle, 90 m. . . . . . . | At Herat, it was formerly crossed by a brick bridge, but three out of thirty-three arches being swept away, communication is intercepted in time of inundation. It is remarkable for the purity of its water. |
| POORALLEE.—100 miles . . | Jhalawan province, about lat. 27° 23′, lon. 66° 21′. Southerly, through Lus province into the Indian Ocean, in lat. 25° 23′, lon. 66° 20′; near Sonmeanee. | | From the bund N. of Lyaree, the river has no bed; as it fills, during the rains, the bund is swept away, and the water inundates the plain, which is here about 5 m. broad. |
| GHUZNEE.—About 60 miles . | Huzareh Mountains, about lat. 33° 50′, lon. 68° 20′. Generally southerly, as far as lat. 33°; afterwards south-westerly; into Lake Abistada, in lat. 32° 42′, lon. 68° 3′. | N.B.—*The tributaries of these rivers, in the countries adjacent to India, are as yet very imperfectly known,—as indeed are also the origin and courses of the rivers themselves, or the countries through which they flow.* | |
| BOLAN.—About 70 miles . . | Sir-i-Bolan, Bolan Pass, lat. 29° 51′, lon. 67° 8′; 4,494 ft. above sea. Remarkably sinuous, but generally south-easterly; forms a junction with the Nari River. | | Liable to inundations; and as its bed, in some parts, occupies the whole breadth of the ravine, travellers are frequently overtaken by the torrent. Falls 3,751 ft. in 50 m., from source to Dadur. |
| MOOLA.—About 150 miles . | A few miles S. of Kelat, in Beloochistan. South-easterly, about 80 miles; north-easterly; and easterly; ultimately absorbed in the desert of Shikarpoor. | | The Moola or Gundava Pass winds along its course. |
| URGUNDAB.—250 miles . . | Huzareh Mountains, about lat. 33°, lon. 67°. South-westerly to 25 m. past Kandahar; westerly remainder of course,—falls into the Helmund River. | Turnak . . . . . . . | Where crossed 12 m. from Kandahar, it is, ordinarily, about 40 yards wide, from 2 to 3 ft. deep, and fordable; but in inundations, becomes much increased. Greater part of its water drawn off to fertilise the country. |
| GOMUL.—About 160 miles . | Afghanistan, about lat. 33°, lon. 69° 6′, at the foot of an offshoot from Sufied-Koh. S.; W.; and a little E. of S. to Goolkuts; thence E., N.E., and S.E., until absorbed by the sands of the Daman. | Zhobe, about 170 m. . . . . . . | Its bed for a great distance forms the Goolairee Pass, or great middle route from Hindoostan to Khorasan, by Dera Ismael Khan and Ghuznee; crosses the Suliman range lat. 32°. |

*Table-lands of British India—their Extent, Height, &c.*

| Name. | Locality. | Elevation, in Feet. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| CENTRAL INDIA, including OODEYPOOR, MALWA, BHOPAL, BUNDELCUND, and SHAHABAD. | Extends by the Arravulli, Dongurpoor, Vindhya, Bindyachal, Panna, and Bandair ranges,—73° to 84°; about 700 m. long; breadth, very various,—greatest from Amjherra to Ajmeer, 250 m.; from Mhow to Mokundurra, 150 m.; at Saugor and Dumoh, 75 m.; afterwards very narrow. | Highest towards S. and W.; average of Oodeypoor, 2,000 ft. Malwa, 1,500 to 2,000. Bhopal, 2,000. Bundelcund, about 1,000. Shahabad, 700. Plain of Ajmere, 2,000 Oodeypoor town, 24° 37′, 73° 49′; 2,064 ft.—slope to N.E., Banas River flowing in that direction; gradual fall also to valley of Chumbul River, where it rises to Malwa; Mhow, 2,019. Dectaun, 1,881. Dhar, 1,908. Indore, 1,998. Crest of Jaum Ghaut, 2,328. Oojein, 1,698. Adjygurh, 1,340. Amjherra, 1,890. Saugor, 1,940. Rhotasgurh, 700. Sonar River, source, 1,900 ft. From the Vindhya range the surface has a generally gradual, but in some places abrupt, descent; as at Mokundurra, and the Bindyachal hills, where rivers occasionally fall over the brow in cascades. Shahabad district very rocky and uneven. | Tin and copper are found in Oodeypoor. In Bhopal the prevailing geological formation appears to be trap overlying sandstone. Minerals are few and unimportant. Water is very plentiful. The mineral resources of Bundelcund appear to be considerable. |
| SOUTHERN INDIA, including DECCAN, MYSOOR, &c. | Supported as it were by a triangle formed by the Sautpoora or sub-Vindhya on the N., W. Ghauts on the W., and E. Ghauts on the E.; the Sautpoora range constituting the base. Length, from Sautpoora River to Salem, about 700 m.; breadth from Mahabulishwar to Sirgoojah, about 700 m. If Chota-Nagpoor be considered as part of this great table-land, it may be said to extend nearly 250 m. farther in a north-easterly direction. | Highest parts, those nearest W. Ghauts, and in centre of Mysoor. Mahabulishwar 18°, 73° 45′; 4,700 ft. Source of Kistnah, 4,500. Source of Godavery, 3,000 Poona, 2,823. Source of Manjera, 3,019 ft. Rivers rising in ravines between spurs of W. Ghauts, wind their way through E. Ghauts across the Deccan, the slope being in that direction. Plains of Nagpoor, 1,000 ft.—slope to S E ; drained by Wein-Gunga, which falls into Godavery. Hydrabad, 1,800 ft. Secunderabad, 17° 26′, 78° 33′; 1,837 ft. Beder, 17° 53′, 77° 36′; 2,359 ft. From the Wein-Gunga the surface rises towards N.E., where Rypoor, 21° 12′, 81° 40′, is 1,747 ft. Source of Mahanuddy, 2,111; and Konkeir, 20° 16′, 81° 33′, 1,953 ft. Nundy-droog, highest in Mysoor, 4,856 ft.; slope from hence on all sides:—S. to Bangalore, 3,000; E. to plains of Carnatic—Chittoor, 1,100; N. to plains of Gooty, 1,182; and those of Bellary, 1,600 ft. Colar, 13° 8′, 78° 10′; 2,800 ft. Mysoor town, 12° 18′, 76° 42′; 2,450 ft. Seringapatam, 12° 25′, 76° 45′, 2,412;—from hence, there is a gradual rise to Coorg, where Verajenderpetta is 3,399, and Merkara, 4,506 ft. From Bangalore, descent to S. by rather abrupt steppes to plains of Salem, 1,400, and Coimbatoor, 1,483 ft. From Belgaum, 15° 50′, 74° 36′, 2,500 ft., there is a gradual fall to the E. Bellary plains, 1,600 ft. Gooty plains, 1,182; Cuddapah town, 507; and E. part of Cuddapah dist., 450 ft. | Hypogene schists, penetrated and broken up by prodigious outbursts of plutonic and trappean rocks, occupy by far the greater portion of the superficies of Southern India. The central part of the Deccan is composed of waving downs, which, at one time, present for miles a sheet of green harvests, but in the hot season, bear the appearance of a desert, without a tree or shrub to relieve its gloomy sameness The seaward face of the table-land towards the W., though abrupt, is not precipitous, but consists of a succession of terraces or steps. On the Coromandel side the slope to the sea is gentle, exhibiting the alluvial deposits borne down from the higher portions of the table-land. |
| SOUTH-WEST FRONTIER OF BENGAL, including CHOTA-NAGPOOR, SIRGOOJAH, PALAMOW, RAMGURH, HAZAREEBAGH, MYNPAT and AMARKANTAK. | Between 22° 30′ and 24° 30′; and easterly, from about 85° to 82′. | Chota-Nagpoor, 3,000 ft.; hills running E. and W., but of little elevation; Sirgoojah, mountainous, rising 600 to 700 ft. above level of Chota-Nagpoor. Mynpat table-land, about 30 m. S.E. from Sirgoojah town; area not ascertained—about 3,000 or 3,500 ft. Palamow dist., very mountainous—little known Hazareebagh town, 24°, 85° 24′; 1,750 ft. Slope of country to S., towards Sumbulpoor—N. and E. parts of dist. very mountainous, but level, and even depressed towards Mahanuddy. Sumbulpoor town, only 400 ft. Orissa table-land then rises on the other side of Mahanuddy, in some places to 1,700 ft., backed by the chain of E. Ghauts. Amarkantak, jungly table-land, 22° 40′, 81° 50′; 3,500 ft. | The soil in the plains is generally fertile, producing abundant crops of wheat, barley, rice, pulse, excellent vegetables, cotton and sugar-cane. The uncultivated parts are overrun with a coarse grass. A great part of the region is quite unknown to us. |
| NEPAUL . . . . . | At the foot of the Himalaya range, between Himalaya and the Tarai; 500 m. long; E. to W., 160 m. broad; area, 54,500 sq. m. | The surface generally consists of valleys varying from 4,000 to 6,000 ft. above Bengal plains. Khatmandoo (in an oval-shaped valley 12 m. long), 27° 42′, 85° 18′; 4,628. Bhynturee, 29° 34′, 80° 30′; 5,615 ft. Slope to S. drained by Ghogra, Gunduck, and Coosy. | The geological formation of the hilly tract—limestone, hornstone, and conglomerate. Vegetable productions of most remarkable stateliness, beauty, and variety. Climate resembles that of southern Europe. |

*Table-lands of Afghanistan and the Countries adjacent to India, on the North-west.*

| Name. | Locality. | Elevation, in Feet. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| WESTERN AFGHANISTAN. | From about Ghuznee or Sufied-Koh, to Amran Mountains, N. to S.; and from near Kandahar to the Suliman range. | Crest of highland of Ghuznee, lat. 30° 43′, lon. 68° 20′; 9,000 ft. Ghuznee, 33° 34′, 68° 18′; 7,726. Yerghuttoo, 33° 20′, 68° 10′; 7,502. Mookur, principal source of Turnak River, 32° 50′, 67° 37′; 7,091. Abistada Lake, 32° 35′, 68°; 7,000. Punguk, 32° 36′, 67° 21′; 6,810. Shuftul, 32° 28′, 67° 12′; 6,514. Sir-i-Asp, 32° 15′, 66° 54′; 5,973. Kelat-i-Giljie, 32° 8′, 66° 45′; 5,773. Julduk, 32°, 66° 28′; 5,396. Hydurzie, 30° 23′, 66° 51′; 5,259. Hykulzie, 30° 32′, 66° 50′; 5,063. Teer-Andaz, 31° 55′, 66° 17′; 4,829. Kandahar, 32° 37′, 65° 28′; 3,484 ft. | Afghanistan, for four-fifths of its extent, is a region of rocks and mountains, interspersed with valleys of great fertility, and in many places containing table-lands, cold, bleak, and barren. It has a surface as rugged as that of Switzerland, with summits of much greater height. General slope of country, from N.E. to S.W. |
| NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN. | Between Hindoo-Koosh on the N., and Sufied-Koh on the S.; and Huzareh country on the W., and Khyber hills on the E. | Kurzar, near source of Helmund, 34° 30′, 67° 54′; 10,939 ft. Kalloo, 34° 30′, 67° 56′; 10,883. Youart or Oord, 34° 22′, 68° 11′; 10,618. Gooljatooe, 34° 31′, 68° 5′; 10,500. Shibbertoo, 34° 50′, 67° 20′; 10,500. Siah Sung, 34° 34′, 68° 8′; 10,488. Gurdan Dewar, 34° 25′, 68° 8′; 10,076. Soktah, 34° 40′, 67° 50′; 9,839. Khawak Fort, 35° 38′, 70° 5′; 9,300. Topchee, 34° 45′, 67° 44′; 9,085. Chasgo, 33° 43′, 68° 22′: 8,697. Bamian, 34° 50′, 67° 45′; 8,496. Huftasaya, 33° 49′, 68° 15′; 8,420. Sir-i-Chusma, 34° 21′, 68° 20′; 8,400. Zohak's Fort, 34° 50′, 67° 55′; 8,186. Killa Sher Mahomed, 34° 16′, 68° 45′; 8,051. Kot-i-Asruf, 34° 28′, 68° 35′; 7,749. Maidan, 34° 22′, 68° 43′; 7,747. Urghundee, 34° 30′, 68° 50′; 7,628. Khoord Kabool, 34° 21′, 69° 18′; 7,466. Kahool, 34° 28′, 69°; 6,396. Boothauk, 34° 30′, 69° 15′; 6,247. Jugdulluk, 34° 25′, 69° 46′; 5,375. Gundamuk, 34° 17′, 70° 5′; 4,616. Crest of Khyber Pass, 34° 8′, 71° 15′; 3,373. Ali-Musjid, 34° 3′, 71° 22′; 2,433. Jellalabad, 34° 25′, 70° 28′; 1,964 ft. | Slope from W. to E.; Kabool River flowing in that direction: lofty mountains enclosing valley of Jellalabad on N. and S. sides. Course of river obstructed, and bed contracted by ridges of rock connecting them. City of Kabool surrounded by hills on three sides. Jellalabad, on a small plain. |
| SHAWL AND PISHEEN | Between Hala and Amran ranges, on the N. frontier of Beloochistan. | Khojuck Pass, Amran Mts., 30° 45′, 66° 30′; 7,449 ft. Pisheen, from 5,000 to 6,000. Shawl exceeds 5,000. Town of Shawl, 5,563. Dasht-i-Bedowlat, 30° 57′; about 5,000. Siriab, 30° 3′, 66° 53′; 5,793 ft. | Wildest parts of enclosing mountains, —haunts of wild sheep and goats: more accessible tracts yield pasture to herds and flocks. Orchards numerous. Dasht-i-Bedowlat (*wretched plain*), destitute of water. |
| BELOOCHISTAN . . | S. of Afghanistan . . . . . . | Kelat, 28° 53′, 66° 27′; 6,000 ft. Sohrab, 28° 22′, 66° 9′; 5,800. Munzilgah, 29° 53′, 67°; 5,793. Angeera, 28° 10′, 66° 12′; 5,250. Bapow, 28° 16′ 66° 20′; 5,000. Peesee-Bhent, 28° 10′, 66° 35′; 4,600. Sir-i-Bolan, 29° 50′, 67° 14′; 4,494. Putkee, 28° 5′, 66° 40′; 4,250. Paeesht-Khana, 27° 59′, 66° 47′; 3,500. Nurd, 27° 52′, 66° 54′; 2,850. Ab-i-goom, 29° 46′, 67° 23′; 2,540. Jungikoosht, 27° 55′, 67° 2′; 2,150. Bent-i-Jah, 28° 4′, 67° 10′; 1,850. Beebee Nanee, 29° 39′, 67° 28′; 1,695. Kohow, 28° 20′, 67° 12′; 1,250 Gurmab, 29° 36′, 67° 32′; 1,081. Kullar, 28° 18′, 67° 15′; 750 ft. | Coast craggy, but not elevated; in some places a sandy shore; inland surface becomes higher. Most remarkable features of Beloochistan, rugged and elevated surface, barrenness, and deficiency of water. It may be described as a maze of mountains, except on the N.W., in which direction the surface descends to the Great Desert on the S., where a low tract stretches along the sea-shore. |
| CASHMERE and BULTISTAN, or LITTLE TIBET. | Western Himalaya . . . . | Average of Cashmere valley, between 5,000 and 6,000 ft. Huramuk Mt. 13,000. Pir-panjal, 15,000. Small elevations in valley, 250 to 500 ft. Average of valley of Indus (N. of Cashmere vale), 6,000 to 7,000 ft. Slope from S.E. to N.W. Mountains on each side rising from 6,000 to 8,000 ft. higher. | Mountains enclosing Cashmere vale, basaltic. Ranges on each side of Bultistan valley rugged, bare, and nearly inaccessible; formation generally of gneiss; that of the valley, shingle and sand. |

PRINCIPAL CITIES.*—A description of the cities and towns in India would occupy several volumes: all that can here be given is a brief note on some of the best known.†

*Calcutta,*—on the left bank of the Hooghly, about 100 m. from the sea; present seat of supreme government; a village when acquired by the English in 1700. Length, about 4½ m.; breadth, 1½ m.; area, nearly 8 sq. m. Beyond the Mahratta Ditch (an intrenchment intended as a defence against the incursions of the Mahrattas), are the suburbs of Chitpoor, Nundenbagh, Bahar-Simlah, Sealdah, Entally, Ballygunge, Bhowaneepoor, Allipoor, and Kidderpoor. On the opposite side of the river lie the villages of Seebpoor, Howrah, and Sulkea. The city is defended by Fort William, a large and strong fortress, built on a plain, of an octagonal form, somewhat resembling that of Antwerp: it mounts 619 guns.

In May, 1850, the population of Calcutta, exclusive of suburbs, was 413,182; number of residences, 62,565; of huts, 49,445. Among the public buildings are the Government-house, a magnificent structure; the Town-hall, a handsome edifice; the Supreme Court of Judicature, the Madrissa and Hindoo colleges, Metcalfe Hall, and the Ochterlony monument. About three miles below the city, on the Howrah side, there are extensive botanical gardens, laid out with good taste and effect.

The most elevated part of Calcutta (Clive-street) is only thirty feet above the sea-level at low-water. It appears to me very probable that the whole city will some day be submerged by the shifting beds of the Hooghly or Ganges.

*Madras,*—on the Coromandel coast, consists of three broad streets, running north and south, dividing the town into four nearly equal parts; they are well built, and contain the principal European shops. On the beach is a line of public offices, including the Supreme Court, the Custom-house, the Marine Board Office, and the offices and storehouses of the principal European merchants. The other buildings are, the Mint, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Church Mission Chapel, Armenian Church, Trinity Chapel, the General Hospital, and Medical School. Fort St. George is in form an irregular polygon, somewhat of a semicircle, of which the sea-face, which is well armed with heavy guns, is nearly a diameter.

No part is probably more than twenty feet above the sea-level. Population, 720,000, including the Black Town and suburbs.

*Bombay.*—The old town, built on the island, is about 2 m. in circuit, and strongly fortified; the recent increase of the calibre of the guns has completed the means of defence. Few remarkable buildings. There is a Government-house, an excellent dockyard and foundry for steam-vessels, a church within the fort, and one on the island of Colaba, where there are considerable cantonments: several banks, insurance companies, the Steam Navigation Company, Bombay branch of Asiatic Society, Bombay Geographical Society, &c.; and the leading merchants have their offices within the fort. Population, 566,119, including the widely-scattered suburbs.

*Agra,*—formerly a large city; the old walls remain, and mark out a space extending along the Jumna, about 4 m. in length, with a breadth of 3 m.; the area is about 11 sq. m; but not one-half is at present occupied. There is one wide street running from the fort in a north-westerly direction. The houses are built chiefly of red sandstone. Within the fort is the palace of Shah Jehan, and his hall of audience; the Motee Masjid or Pearl Mosque, and other structures. The celebrated Tajmahal, or mausoleum of Shah Jehan, is outside the city, and about a mile east of the fort. Adjacent to the city, on the west, is the Government-house, the official residence of the lieutenant-governor of the North Western Provinces. Population, 66,000.

*Ahmedabad,*—on the left bank of the Saburmuttee, 5¾ m. in circumference, surrounded by a high wall, with irregular towers every fifty yards. The noblest architectural relic is the Jumma Masjit or Great Mosque, built by Ahmed Shah of Guzerat, the founder of the city. Near the city wall is a tank a mile in circumference. Population said to amount to 30,000.

*Ajmere,*—a city of great antiquity and celebrity—situate in a picturesque valley, surrounded by hills, on the base and slope of one of which the town is built. A wall of stone, with five strong gateways (all on the north and west sides), surround it. The town contains several large mosques and temples. Some of the streets are wide and handsome. The houses of the wealthy are spacious, and generally well built: the habitations of the poorer classes are more commodious than ordinary. The strong fort of Taraghur, with a walled circumference of 2 m., surmounts the hill rising above the city: it contains two tanks, and commands another outside.

*Allahabad,*—at the confluence of the Ganges (here 1½ m. wide) and Jumna, (¾ of a m. in width.) The fort on the east and south rises directly from the water, and is in form a bastioned quinquangle, 2,500 yards in circuit, and of great strength. The town extends along the Jumna, to the west of the fort. Notwithstanding the advantageous position, it is an ill-built and poverty-stricken place. The Jumma Masjit is a stately building, but without much ornament. Population, 70,000. [This ought to be the seat of Supreme Government for India.]

*Almora.*—Principal place of the British district of Kumaon, situate on the crest of a ridge running from east to west, consists principally of one street, ¾ of a m. long, secured by a gate at each end, and forming two bazaars, divided from each other by Fort Almora, and by the site of the ancient palace of the rajahs of Kumaon, now occupied by a gaol. Detached houses, chiefly inhabited by Europeans and Brahmins, are scattered along each face of the mountain below the town. Fort Moira is at the western extremity, and adjoins the military lines.

*Amritsir.*—A walled city, about half-way between the Beas and Ravee rivers. It owes its importance to a *Tulao* or reservoir, which Ram Das caused to be made here in 1581, and named it Amrita Saras, or "fount of immortality." It is a square, of 150 paces, containing a great body of water, pure as crystal, though multitudes bathe in it: it is supplied, apparently, from natural springs. On a small island in the middle is a temple, to which are attached 500 or 600 priests. On this island Ram Das (the founder) is said to have spent his life in a sitting posture. City very populous and extensive; streets narrow; houses lofty. Manufactures—cloths, silks, and shawls. There is besides a very extensive transit trade, and considerable monetary transactions. Most striking ob-

* The several positions of these places, and their elevation, will be given in a Topographical Index.

† Full details will be found in Thornton's excellent *Gazetteer*.

ject, the fortress Govinghur; its great height and heavy batteries, rising one above the other, giving it a very imposing appearance. Population, 80,000 or 90,000.

*Bangalore.*—Town tolerably well built. has a good bazaar, and is inclosed by a wall, a ditch, and a broad fence of thorns and bamboos. Fort oval, constructed of strong masonry: within it is the palace of Tippoo Sultan, a large building of mud. Manufactures—cotton and silk; but the present importance of the place results from its being the great British military establishment for the territory of Mysoor. The cantonment is nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. in length, and 1 m. in breadth. Population, 60,000.

*Bareilly,*—situate in a pleasant and well-wooded country in the N.W. provinces. It is a considerable town, the principal street or bazaar being nearly 2 m. long, has a brisk and lucrative commerce, and some manufactures, of which the principal is that of house furniture, cotton-weaving, muslins, silks, jewellery, gold, silver, and metal working, besides numerous others. Population, 92,208. Cantonment at south side of town, near the new fort, which is quadrangular, and surrounded by a ditch: it is the head-quarters for the Rohilcund division.

*Baroda,*—situate near the river Biswamintri, which is here crossed by a stone bridge. The town is surrounded by numerous groves containing many mosques, mausolea, and tombs of Mussulmen, which give an impressive solemnity to the scene. The fortifications, of no great strength, consist of slight walls, with towers, and several double gateways. Town intersected and divided into four equal quarters, by two spacious streets, meeting in the centre, at a market-place. Houses, in general, very high, and built of wood. Population, 140,000.

*Beejapoor.*—The walls, which are of hewn stone and very lofty, are entire, but inside all is desolation. The deep moat, the double rampart, and the ruins of the palaces in the citadel, attest its former magnificence. The Great Mosque is a grand edifice, and the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah, remarkable for elegant and graceful architecture. The chief feature of the scene is the mausoleum of Mohammed Adil Shah, the dome of which fills the eye from every point of view. The fort has a rampart flanked by 109 towers. The works surrounding it, and the citadel in the interior, are very strongly built; the parapets are 9 ft. high, and 3 ft. thick. The ditch is from 40 to 50 ft. in breadth, and about 18 deep: the curtains, which appear to rise from the bottom of it, vary from 30 to 40 ft. high, and 24 ft. thick. A revetted counterscarp is discernible, the circuit of which is $6\frac{1}{2}$ m., and its ground-plan deviates little from a circle. To the westward of the fort there is a vast mass of ruins, from the numerous edifices of every description scattered around. Beejapoor was evidently one of the greatest cities in India. It was formerly divided into several quarters, one of which is 6 m. in circumference. Among the various wonders of this ruined capital, is the gun called Malik-i-Maidan, or "the King of the Plain," one of the largest pieces of brass ordnance in the world.

*Beekaneer,*—capital of the Rajpoot state of the same name, viewed from without presents the appearance of a great and magnificent city. The wall, which is built of stone, is $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. in circuit, 15 to 30 ft. high (including parapet), 6 ft. thick, surrounded on three sides by a ditch 15 ft. deep and 20 ft. wide; there are five gates and three sally-ports. The interior exhibits a rather flourishing appearance; many good houses, neat and uniform, with red walls, and white doors and windows. Eighteen wells within the city; depth of each about 240 ft. Citadel situate $\frac{1}{2}$ a m. N.E. of the city, and quite detached from it; defences, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a m. in circuit, constructed of good masonry. The rajah's residence occupies nearly the whole of the inside. Population, stated by Boileau and Tod, 60,000.

*Belgaum,*—Southern Mahratta country. Fort of an oval ground-plan, 1,000 yards long, 700 broad, and surrounded by a broad and deep wet ditch, cut in very hard ground. In 1848, the inhabitants formed a committee, and in four months reconstructed all the roads of the town, extending to a length of between 9 and 10 m. Belgaum was selected as the site of the educational institution for the instruction of the sons of natives of rank: in February, 1853, the number of pupils exceeded 50.

*Bellary.*—The fort, or fortified rock, round which the cantonment is situate, is a hill of granite: length, 1,150 yards; height, 450 ft.; circumference, 2 m.; eastern and southern sides precipitous; western face slopes gradually towards plain. Lower fort, $\frac{1}{2}$ a m. in diameter, contains barracks, arsenal, and commissariat stores, church, two tanks, and several on the top of the rock. Native population in 1836, exclusive of military, 30,426.

*Benares,*—on the Ganges, 3 m. long, 1 m. broad. Streets very narrow, and access gained to the river by noble ghauts, extending along the bank of the river, in the city. Numerous Hindoo temples, which render it a celebrated place of pilgrimage. Population, 300,000.

*Bhagulpoor,*—on the right bank of the Ganges here 7 m. wide during the rains. Though represented to be 2 m. long and 1 broad, it is a poor place, consisting of scattered market-places, meanly built; it is, however, ornamented by European residences and by mosques. Cavalry barracks, occasionally occupied; 4 m. from them are those of a native corps formed of the highlanders (Sonthals or Puharees) of the Rajmahal wilds. There is also a court of justice, a gaol, and an educational institution.

*Bhooj,*—the capital of Cutch, at the base of a fortified hill. When viewed from the north, has an imposing appearance. Rajah's palace, a castle of good masonry. A large tank has been excavated at the west end of the city. Population, about 20,000.

*Bhopal.*—Town surrounded by a wall of masonry about 2 m. in circuit, within which is also a fort of masonry. Outside, a large *gunje* or market, with wide straight streets. The fort of Futtyghur is on a rock S.W. from the town. S.W. of the fort is Bhopal Tal, or Lake, $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. long, $1\frac{1}{2}$m. broad: another tank, 2 m. long, is on the east. They are deep, and abound with alligators, but both appear to be artificial. The Bess river has its rise in the former. Bhopal is the seat of the British political residency.

*Bhurtpoor.*—Town 3 m. long, $1\frac{1}{4}$ broad, and about 8 in circumference. Its site is somewhat depressed; and this circumstance, in a military point of view, contributes to its strength; as the water of a neighbouring *jhil*, being higher than the ditch of the town, can be discharged into it in such a volume, as to render it unfordable. The defences are now shapeless piles of mud.* This measure of repair was permitted to the young rajah, after attaining majority, in 1844, and the walls allowed to be maintained in a condition (in the rajah's words) "to keep out thieves and wild beasts:" and the town itself is

* *See* Historical Section, 1805-'6, and 1824-'5.

merely a great collection of hovels; but it is a thriving place, having a trade in the Sambhur Lake salt. Population estimated at 100,000.

*Burdwan*,—on the left bank of the Dammoodah. The rajah's residence is a great collection of buildings of various sizes and colours, and without symmetry or regularity: the town an assemblage of crowded suburbs, wretched huts, a few handsome houses, but no temple of striking effect. Contiguous to the town is an artificial piece of water, having an estimated area of 30 acres, and much frequented by the natives for bathing. Burdwan contains the civil establishment of the district, and two English schools.

*Cawnpoor*,—on the right bank of the Ganges; area of the city, 690 acres; contains about 11,000 houses, and nearly 59,000 inhabitants. Population of cantonments, 49,975; making a total of 108,796, exclusive of the military. Commerce—busy and important; the Ganges (which is here 500 yards wide when lowest, and 1 m. wide when swollen by the periodical rains) being navigable to the sea, a distance of 1,000 m., and upwards to Sukertal, a distance of 300 m.

*Coimbatoor*,—situate near the left bank of the Noyel, a tributary of the Cauvery, in a dry and well-cultivated country, near the base of the Neilgherry group of mountains. Streets wide, airy, and neatly built; European quarter eastward of the town, and detached from it. In the time of Hyder Ali it is said to have contained 4,000 houses, but it suffered much in the wars between the British and Mysoor.

*Cuttack*,—situated on a tongue of land near the bifurcation of the Mahanuddy. Fortifications in a ruinous state, their materials fast disappearing, the stones being carried away, and used in various public works; among others, in the lighthouse at False Point, and in the macadamization of the cantonment roads. Within the fort is an old mosque. Town straggling, and exhibits evident signs of decay. The Jumma Masjit, and the "Kuddum Russool," Moslem buildings, are inelegant, and Brahminical temples small and ungraceful. Manufactures—brass cooking-vessels and shoes. Population estimated at 40,000.

*Dacca*,—on the Burha Gunga, an offset of the Koniae or Jabuna; 4 m. long, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ m. broad. It is at present a wide expanse of ruins. The castle of its founder, Shah Jehangir, the noble mosque he built, the palaces of the ancient newaubs, the factories and churches of the Dutch, French, and Portuguese, are all sunk into ruin, and overgrown with jungle. The city and suburbs are stated to possess ten bridges, thirteen ghauts, seven ferry-stations, twelve bazaars, three public wells, a variety of buildings for fiscal and judicial purposes, a gaol and gaol-hospital, a lunatic asylum, and a native hospital. Population, 200,000.

*Delhi*,—about 7 m. in circumference, is inclosed on three sides by a wall, and on the other, the river. Streets mostly narrow; the principal one is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a m. long, and 50 yds. wide, with good shops on each side. Population, 137,977.

*Dinapoor*.—Important military station on the right bank of the Ganges. Remarkable for the barracks, which are magnificent buildings, and of great extent. Church, spacious and handsome.

*Golconda*.—Fortress and ruined city, in the Nizam's dominions. Fortress on a rocky ridge of granite, is extensive, very strong, and in good repair, but is commanded within breaching distance. Being the depository of the treasures of the Nizam, and also used as a state prison, it is very strictly guarded, and entrance cannot be obtained by any but officials. The ancient mausolea form a group about 600 yards from the fort, the stern features of the surrounding rocky ground heightening the impressiveness and grandeur of those astonishing buildings. These tombs were erected at great expense, some of them being said to have cost £150,000. The diamonds of Golconda have obtained great celebrity throughout the world. (*See* Minerals.)

*Gwalior*,—the capital of the possessions of Sindia's family. The rock on which the celebrated Hill Fort is situate, is completely isolated: greatest height at the north end, 342 ft. The approach, by means of steps cut in the rock, is so large, and of such gentle acclivity, that elephants easily ascend. The passage, protected by guns pointing down it, has a succession of seven gates. Within the enclosure there are several tanks, capable of supplying an adequate garrison, though 15,000 men would be required to man the defences. The town lies along the eastern base of the rock; it is large, but irregularly built, and contains a cannon-foundry, and gunpowder and firework manufactory.

*Hurdwar*, or sometimes Gangadwara, the "Gate of the Ganges,"—a celebrated place of Hindoo pilgrimage. Town evidently of great antiquity, is situate close to the western bank; the foundations of many of the houses in the bed of the river.

*Hydrabad* (Deccan.)—The ground plan is a trapezoid, the longest or north-western side of which, extending along the river Mussi, is about $2\frac{3}{4}$ m. in length; the south-eastern, 2 m.; the southern, 1 m.; the south-western, $1\frac{3}{4}$ m. A suburb on the river side communicates with the city by a stone bridge. Streets, some paved; narrow; houses close together, and displaying little or no taste. The most remarkable structures are the principal mosque, and the British residency. Population, probably not exceeding 200,000.

*Hydrabad* (Sinde),—on the Gunjah hills, 4 m. from the Indus. Outline of fortress irregular, corresponding with the winding shape of the hills. Walls built of burnt bricks, thick at the base, but taper towards the top, and weakened by loopholes. There are about 5,000 houses; bazaar extensive, forming one street the entire length of the town. Manufactures—arms, and ornamental silks and cottons. Population (supposed), 24,000.

*Indore*,—capital of the possessions of Holcar's family. Outline of city, nearly a square of 1,000 yards; area, about 216 acres: ill-built, the houses disposed in irregular winding streets, constructed with sun-dried bricks, and covered with clumsy tiles laid on bamboos. It contains a few mosques, but has no architectural pretensions. The British residency, east of the town, has a pleasing scene.

*Jessulmere*,—built at the base of the south end of a rocky range of hills. Ramparts and bastions of uncemented stone; circuit, about $2\frac{1}{4}$ m.; height, 14 ft., including a parapet of 6 ft.; thickness of ramparts, 4 ft.: these defences are in many places so obliterated by sand-drifts, that they may be crossed on horseback. There are four gateways and three sally-ports. Outline of citadel an irregular triangle, about $\frac{3}{4}$ths of a mile in circumference; interior occupied by the palace, and several temples and dwellings. At the time of Boileau's visit, in 1835, there were 6 guns, a large howitzer, and 3 field-pieces.

*Jeypoor*,—in a small plain surrounded by hills on all sides, except the south. It is about 2 m. long, E. to W.; 1 m. broad, encompassed by a wall

of masonry, with lofty towers and well-protected gateways, and considered to be the most regularly built of the cities laid down by native Indians. A main street, 2 m. long and 40 yards wide, extends from E. to W.; this is intersected by several streets of the same width; and at each point of intersection is a *chauk* or market-place; and the whole is portioned out into rectangular blocks, the palace and royal premises being in the centre. Houses in the principal streets are generally built of stone, and, with the fine temples, add to the architectural splendour of the town. Population, 300,000.

*Joudpoor*,—on the north-eastern edge of a cultivated but woody plain. Site striking, being at the southern extremity of a ridge 25 m. long, between 2 and 3 m. broad, and from 300 to 400 feet above the average level of the plain. Built on an irregular surface, sloping upwards towards the base of the rock surmounted by the citadel, and inclosed by a rampart 5 m. in circumference. There are several tanks within the walls; but all fail in long-continued droughts, except the Rani Sagur, which is reserved exclusively for the garrison, being thrown open to the citizens only on extreme emergency. North-east of the city is the suburb Mahamandir. Population, 60,000.

*Khatmandoo.*—Capital of Nepaul, situate in a valley,* and on the east bank of the Bishnmutty river. Length, about 1 m.; average breadth, scarcely ¼ of a m. Streets narrow; houses brick, with tiled roofs, and though of several stories, are of mean appearance. Town adorned by several temples, the gilded pinnacles of which have a picturesque effect. The river is crossed by two bridges, one at each extremity of the town. Population estimated at 50,000; number of houses, 5,000.

*Lahore*,—surrounded by a brick wall, and defences 7 m. in circumference: fort at the north-west angle; there are several large and handsome mosques, besides Hindoo temples. Streets narrow; houses lofty; bazaars contracted and mean. Population, 100,000, or 120,000.

*Loodiana*,—four miles from left bank of the Sutlej: town ill-built, and without a wall, but having a fort of no great strength, which was constructed in 1808, on the north side, situate on a bluff, rising about 30 ft. above the *nullah* or watercourse. It is a thriving place, the residents including several capitalists, among whom are corresponding bankers; and as the mart lies on one of the principal routes between Hindoostan and Afghanistan, it has a considerable transit trade. Manufactures—cotton, cloth, and shawls. Population estimated at 20,000; chiefly Mohammedans.

*Lucknow*,—extends about 4 m. along the bank of the Goomtee. Streets, with few exceptions, crooked and narrow; number of brick-built houses small—palaces of showy architecture. The great ornament is the Imambarah, a Moslem cathedral, and the mosque attached to it. Population, 300,000.

*Masulipatam*,—on a plain stretching to the base of the E. Ghauts. Fort built on a swamp overflowed by the sea at spring-tides. Ground-plan, an oblong rectangle, 800 yards long and 600 broad, with high ramparts and a wide and deep ditch. The native town is situated south-west of the cantonment, and has some wide and airy streets, tolerably straight, and well built. Population, in 1837, 27,884.

*Meerut*,—situate in the Dooab, and nearly equidistant from the Ganges and the Jumna. Ruined wall of the town extensive, inclosing a considerable space. Streets narrow, and houses ill-built. Most important structure, the English church. Cantonments 2 m. north of the town. Population, 29,014.

*Mhow.*—In the territory of Indore. Its appearance is that of an European town, having a church with steeple on an eminence, a lecture-room and library, and a theatre. A considerable force is stationed at the cantonments, which are situate 1½ m. S.E. from the town.

*Mirzapoor*,—consists mainly of three long, wide, straight streets, along the side of which are rows of trees and wells. The houses, seldom more than two stories high, are for the most part built of mud or unburnt brick: those of the Europeans, which are the best, occur only at considerable intervals. It derives its present importance principally from its being the greatest cotton mart in India; military cantonment situated three miles north-east of the city. Population, 55,000.

*Mooltan.*—An ancient city, 3 m. east of the Chenab, whose inundations reach the fort. It is built on a mound of considerable height, formed of the ruins of more ancient cities. Bazaars extensive; about 4,600 shops. Manufactures—silks, cottons, shawls, loongees, brocades, tissues. Banking constitutes a large proportion of the business, and the merchants are considered rich. Population estimated at 80,000.

*Moorshedabad*,—extends about 8 m. along both banks of the Ganges, with an average breadth of 4 m. Though a place of considerable commerce it consists but of mud buildings, lying confusedly together. Unapproachable by craft of above a foot draught, during the dry months of spring. Population about 150,000.

*Muttra*,—extends along the Jumna in the form of a crescent, and, with its great ruined fort, has a very picturesque appearance; but its streets are steep, narrow, winding, and dirty. Population, in 1846, 49,672.

*Nagpoor.*—About 7 m. in circumference, but very irregular in shape. There is but one good street, the others being mean and narrow. Throughout the town no specimen of fine architecture; the rajah's palace, which is the most considerable building, is devoid of symmetry or beauty; it is merely a large pile of masonry, completely obscured by the encroachments of mean mud huts built against its walls. Population, 111,231.

*Oodeypoor*, Rajpoot city,—situate on a low ridge, in a valley, where extends an artificial lake 5 m. in circuit. Town ill-built; palace, a noble pile of granite, 100 ft. high, and overlooking the city.

*Oojein*,—in the territory of Gwalior, on the Seepra. It is of oblong outline, 6 m. in circumference, surrounded by a stone wall with round towers. Houses crowded together, and built either of brick or wood. Principal bazaar, a spacious street. There are four mosques, and many Hindoo temples. City well supplied with water. The head of the Sindia family has a spacious palace here, but of little exterior magnificence. At the southern extremity of the town is the observatory constructed by Jai Sing, the scientific rajah of Jeypoor. Principal trade in cotton fabrics, opium, and the wares of Europe and China. It is one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindoos, and the first meridian of their geographers.

*Patna.*—City extends about 1½ m. along the Ganges, inclosed by a rectangular wall, and has extensive suburbs; the principal one, on the east, called Marusganj, contains the chief market, and many store-

* *See* Note at end of "Mountains."

houses for grain. This is joined by another, denominated Giafir Khan. On the other side of the city is a long, narrow suburb, extending to Bankipoor, a distance of about 4 m.; this is the European quarter. The better class of houses in the city are built of brick, but the greater number of mud, and generally tiled. Population, 284,132.

*Peshawur*,—built by Akber, who fixed the name, signifying "advanced post," in reference to its being the frontier town of Hindoostan towards Afghanistan, is situate on a plain about 18 m. east of the eastern extremity of the Khyber Pass, and 44 m. from the Indus. In the early part of the present century, when visited by Elphinstone, it was a flourishing town, about 5 m. in circuit, and reported to contain 100,000 inhabitants. Twenty years later, Runjeet Sing demolished the Balla Hissar, the state residence, injured the city, and laid waste the surrounding country. The fortress, erected by the Seiks on the site of the Balla Hissar, is a square of about 220 yards, with round towers at each angle, and surrounded by a wall of mud 60 ft. high, fausse-braie 30 ft., and a wet ditch. The city is now improved under the British government. Population, 56,045; Hindoos, 7,706; remainder, Mussulmen.

*Poona*,—an ill-built city, without walls or fort; bazaars mean, streets irregular; recent improvements have somewhat changed its appearance. Between 1841 and 1846, 400 new houses were built, and several more were in the latter year in course of construction. A bridge over the Nagjurree Nullah was completed, and a stone one replaced for the old Mahratta bridge over the Moota Moola; there is another called the Wellesley bridge; the streets in the eastern part of the city have been macadamized, and a full supply of water secured to the population. The most remarkable building is the palace, formerly the residence of the Peishwa; situation picturesque. Population, 100,000.

*Rangoon*, or the "City of Victory,"—situated about a mile from the river of the same name. Ground-plan, a square of about ¾ths of a m., having at its northern side a pagoda as a citadel. It has been twice burnt (in 1850, when it was entirely destroyed, and in 1853); but conditions have been prescribed by government for ensuring its protection against future conflagrations.

*Sattara*,—situate amidst the highlands of the Deccan, and where the country, though rugged, inclines to the eastward. The fort, on the summit of a steep mountain, has an area extending about 1,000 by 500 yards. The town lies immediately under it, in a valley.

*Saugor*,—built along the west, north, and north-east sides of a lake nearly a mile in length, and three-quarters in breadth, which occupies the lowest part of a valley, or rather basin, surrounded by hills. There is a large fort, now used as an ordnance depôt. The mint stood about a mile from the lake, but the business of the establishment has been transferred to Calcutta. In 1830, an iron suspension-bridge was erected over the Bessi, a river running near the town. Population, 70,000.

*Seringapatam*,—a celebrated fortress (built 700 years ago) and town, once the capital of Mysoor, situate on an island in the Cauvery. Town ill-built, having narrow streets; houses ill-ventilated and inconvenient: water supplied abundantly from the river, which washes the walls on the northern and south-west sides. Ground-plan, an irregular pentagon, 1½ m. by ¾ of a m. Palace of Tippoo Sultan within the fort, and is surrounded by a strong wall of stone and mud. The Shehr Gangam, a suburb detached from the fortified town, was demolished by Tippoo on the eve of the investment of the place, but was afterwards built with considerable regularity. Population of the island, during his reign, estimated at 150,000; in 1800 it was only 31,895, exclusive of the garrison.

*Shikarpoor*.—The most important commercial town in Sinde. It is situate 20 m. west of the Indus. A branch of the Sinde canal passes within 1 m. of the city. Circuit of wall, which is now in ruins, 3,831 yards. The character of the place is thoroughly commercial, almost every house having a shop; mansions of the opulent Hindoo merchants large, inclosed and secluded by high brick walls; but the streets are narrow, and the houses generally small. The bazaar extends about 800 yards through the centre of the city, and contained, in 1837, 884, and in 1841, 923 shops. Transit trade important, as it is on the route to Afghanistan through the Bolan Pass. Population estimated at 30,000; viz., 20,000 Hindoos, and 10,000 Mohammedans, of whom 1,000 are Afghans. The town was founded in 1617.

*Surat*.—Outline of town an arc, nearly semicircular, the river forming the chord; circuit, about 6 m. Castle, though small, has bastions, covered way, and glacis; streets narrow and winding; houses high, upper stories projecting beyond the base. Population, in 1838, 133,544.

*Tanjore*.—Town consists of two forts; the greater, 4 m. in circumference, surrounded by a fortified wall and a ditch; streets within it irregularly built. Adjoining is the smaller fort, 1 m. in circuit, and very strong; within it is the great pagoda, considered to be the finest of the pyramidical temples of India.

*Trichinopoly*.—Rock very striking when viewed from a distance at any point, it being 600 ft. above the surrounding level. The fort is situate on part of the rugged declivity of the rock, and 2 furlongs from the Cauvery, which is embanked, but the works sometimes give way and inundate the country. The fort, with its strong and massive walls, bear the appearance of having been regularly and strongly built; they are from 20 to 30 ft. high, of considerable thickness, and upwards of 2 m. in circumference. Within is an extensive *petta* or town, arranged into tolerably straight, wide, and regular streets, many of which have bazaars. On the rock is a pagoda. The natives manufacture hardware, cutlery, jewellery, saddlery, and cheroots. The cantonment is from 2 to 3 m. south-west of the fort, and the troops generally there form a force of between 4,000 and 5,000 men.

*Umballa*.—On the route from Hindoostan to Afghanistan. It is a large walled town, situate in a level and highly cultivated country. Houses built of burnt brick, streets narrow. Fort at the N.E. of the town, and under its walls the encamping ground of the British troops.

*Vellore*.—A town in the Carnatic, with a strong extensive fort, on the south side of the Palar river; ramparts built of large stones, with bastions and round towers at short distances. A deep and wide ditch, cut in the rock, filled with water, surrounds the whole. Within are barracks, hospitals, magazines, and other buildings. Town situate between the fort and some rocky hills on the east, is clean and airy, and has an extensive and well-supplied bazaar. Most remarkable building, a pagoda dedicated to Crishna. Government, in 1846, sanctioned the erection of a church within the fort.

Climate.—A country extending through six-and-twenty degrees of latitude, and with elevations from the coast-level to the height of three or four miles above the sea, must necessarily possess great variety of temperature. About one-half of India is intertropical, comprising within its limits the three principal stations of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; in fact, all the country south of a line drawn from Burdwan on the east, through Bhopal, to the gulf of Cutch on the west—a distance from Cape Comorin of about 1,000 miles. All the region north of this line, and extending 800 miles from Cutch to Peshawur, is outside the tropic of Cancer: the area of the inter and extra-tropical territory is nearly alike. Mere distance from the equator will not convey an adequate idea of the climate of any district: other circumstances must be taken into account; such as elevation above the sea,—aspect in reference to the sun and the prevailing winds,—more or less vegetation,—radiation of terrestrial heat,—quantity of rain falling,* or siccidity of atmosphere,—proximity to snow-covered mountains or great lakes, — drainage, ventilation, &c.;† — all these, varying in collateral existence or in degree of operation, cause a variety of climate and thermometrical range, which latitude will not indicate. Regions contiguous to the equator, at or near the sea-level, possess a high but equable temperature: the mercury, on Fahrenheit's scale, exhibits in the shade at Singapore, a flat island in 1° 17′ N., a heat of 73° to 87° throughout the year. As we recede from the equator north or south, a wider caloric range is experienced, not only throughout the year, but within the limits of a single day. In the N. W. Provinces of India, and in the S.E. settlements of Australia, the mercury not unfrequently rises in the summer season to 90° and even 100° Fahr., and shows a fluctuation, in twenty-four hours, of 24°: but this extreme torridity —when the circumambient fluid seems to be aeriform fire—is but of brief duration. Animal and vegetable life are reinvigorated, for a large part of the year, by a considerably cooler atmosphere. Indeed, at New York and Montreal, I found the heat of June and July more intolerable than that of Jamaica or Ceylon; but then snow lies on the ground, at the former places, for several weeks in winter. Again, moisture with heat has a powerful and injurious effect on the human frame, though favourable to vegetation and to many species of animal life. Speaking from my own sensations, I have lain exhausted on a couch with the mercury at 80° Fahr., during the rainy season, in Calcutta, Bombay, and Hong Kong; and ridden through the burning forests of Australia, on the sandy Arabian plains, and over the sugar-cane plantations of Cuba, with the mercury at 100° Fahr. So, also, with reference to elevation: in the East and West Indies, at a height of several thousand feet above the sea, I have enjoyed a fire at night in June; and yet, in April and September, been scorched at mid-day in Egypt, Northern China, and Eastern Europe. These observations are made with a view of answering the oft-recurring inane question, without referring to any locality, "What sort of a climate has India?" In order, however, to

* The quantity of rain in the tropical or temperate zones is effected by the elevation of the land above the sea. In India the maximum fall is at 4,500 feet altitude; beyond this height it diminishes. This is shown by the present scientific chairman of the E. I. Cy., Colonel Sykes, in his valuable *Meteorological Observations:* thus, on the western coast of India the fall is at sea-level (mean of seven levels)—inches, 81; at 150 ft. altitude (Rutnagherry in the Concan), 114; at 900 ft., Dapoolee (S. Concan), 134; at 1,700 ft. (Kundala Pass, from Bombay to Poona), 141; at 4,500 ft. (Mahabulishwar—mean of 15 years, 254; at 6,200 ft. (Augusta Peak, Uttray Mullay range), 194; at 6,100 ft. (Kotagherry, in the Neilgherries, one year), 81; at 8,640 ft. (Dodabetta, highest point of Western India, one year), 101 inches. The same principle is observable in the arid lofty table-land of Thibet, and in the contiguous elevated regions where rain seldom falls. So also in Chili and other parts of the Andes. The distinguished meteorologist, Dr. John Fletcher Miller, of Whitehaven, adduces evidence, in his interesting account of the Cumberland Lake District, to demonstrate the existence of a similar law in England, where he considers the maximum fall of rain to be at the height of 2,000 feet.

† In 1829, I wrote and published in Calcutta a small *brochure*, entitled *The Effects of Climate, Food, and Drink on Man.* The essay was prepared in the hope of inducing the government to adopt sanitary measures for the drainage and ventilation of Calcutta, where cholera had become permanently located. I predicted that unless the *nidus* of this fearful malady were destroyed in the Indian cities by the purification of their respective atmospheres, the disease would be extensively generated and wafted with the periodical winds from Asia to Europe. The prognostication was ridiculed: sad experience may now perhaps induce corporations and citizens of large towns to adopt timely-effective sanitary measures. By so doing a healthy climate may everywhere be obtained; but no altitude or position will avail for the prevention of endemic diseases, or for lengthening the duration of life, wherever large masses of human beings are congregated, unless complete drainage, free circulation of air, and the removal of all putrescent animal and vegetable matter be made an urgent and daily duty.

convey some idea of the thermometrical range, and the quantity of rain falling at different stations, the following table has been collated from different sources:—

*Meteorological Monthly Observations for different parts of India; showing the Latitude, number of feet above the level of the sea, average Thermometer, and Rain in inches.*

| Places, Latitude, and Elevation above sea. | THERMOMETER. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Jan. | Feb. | March | April. | May. | June. | July. | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | Mean of Year. |
| Calcutta, 22° 34′, 18 ft. . . | 69 | 73 | 78 | 87 | 88 | 83 | 82 | 82 | 82 | 82 | 71 | 67 | 79* |
| Madras, 13° 5′, sea-level . | 78 | 78 | 82 | 88 | 92 | 87 | 88 | 86 | 86 | 84 | 82 | 78 | 83 |
| Bombay, 18° 57′, sea-level† | 77 | 77 | 80 | 82 | 85 | 85 | 81 | 84 | 79 | 84 | 84 | 80 | 84 |
| Tirhoot, 25° 26′, 26° 42′, little elevated . . . | 60 | 66 | 76 | 85 | 89 | 86 | 84 | 85 | 81 | 73 | — | 61 | 78 |
| Goorgaon, 28° 28′, 817 ft. . | 70 | 72 | 80 | — | 104 | 98 | 85 | 84 | 89 | 87 | 75 | 66 | — |
| Delhi, 28° 41′, 800 ft. . . | 53 | 62 | 70 | 79 | 82 | 82 | 82 | 80 | 80 | 73 | 62 | 56 | 72 |
| Rajpootana, ‡ about 500 ft. | 70 | 73 | 82 | 82 | 74 | 90 | 85 | — | — | — | 90 | 66 | — |
| Nagpoor, 21° 10′, 930 ft. . | 68 | 75 | 83 | 89 | 90 | 84 | 79 | 79 | 79 | 79 | 73 | 72 | 79 |
| Hyderabad, 17° 22′, 1,800 ft. | 74½ | 76¼ | 84 | 91½ | 93 | 88 | 81 | 80¼ | 79 | 80 | 76½ | 74½ | 81½ |
| Bangalore, 12° 58′, 3,000 ft. | 71 | 73 | 79 | 78 | 79 | 75 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 71 | 71 | 70 | 74 |
| Hawilbagh, 29° 38′, 3,887 ft. | 47 | 55 | 61 | 60 | 73 | 76 | 78 | 79 | 75 | 69 | 60 | 52 | — |
| Kotagherry, 11° 27′, 6,100 ft. | 59 | 60 | 61 | 62 | 62 | 64 | 64 | 65 | 61 | 62 | 60 | 59 | 61 |
| Ootacamund, 11° 24′, 7,300 ft. | 54 | 56 | 60 | 64 | 64 | 59 | 56 | 56 | 56 | 56 | 55 | 53 | 57 |
| Mussoorie, 30° 27′, 6,282 ft. | — | — | — | — | 77 | 70 | 68 | 68 | 67 | 61 | 56 | — | — |
| Landour, 30° 27′, 7,579 ft. . | 41 | 46 | 55 | 65 | 68 | 66 | 68 | 66 | 64 | 57 | 46 | 47 | — |
| Darjeeling, 27° 2′, 8,000 ft. | 40 | 42 | 50 | 55 | 57 | 61 | 61 | 61 | 59 | 58 | 50 | 43 | 53 |
| | RAIN IN INCHES. | | | | | | | | | | | | Total. |
| Calcutta . . . . . . . . | 0 05 | 0·48 | 1·77 | 3·52 | 12·86 | 3·04 | 12·44 | 8·15 | 8·19 | 3·68 | 0·06 | 2·57 | 56·61 |
| Nagpoor . . . . . . . . | 0 40 | 0 50 | 3·84 | 1·01 | 0.21 | 6·25 | 14·93 | 7·51 | 16·32 | — | 2·89 | 0·13 | 53·99§ |
| Bangalore . . . . . . . | — | — | 35 | 4·16 | 5·89 | 3·24 | 5·88 | 4·13 | 13 97 | 5·10 | 1·30 | — | — |
| Kotagherry . . . . . . . | 2 | 3 | 6 | 10 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 10 | 2 | 5 | 50 |
| Ootacamund . . . . . | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 60 |
| Darjeeling . . . . . . . | 1 | — | 1 | 2 | 9 | 26 | 25 | 29 | 15 | 8 | — | — | 122 |

The monsoons or prevailing winds within the tropics, as on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, are denominated the *South-west* and the *North-east*; but owing to modifying circumstances, the direction is in several places changed: at Arracan, the S.W. blows more frequently from the S., and the N.E. more to the W. of N. Lower Bengal, including the country around Calcutta, has a climate more trying than that of any other part of India. November, December, and January are tolerably cool, and Europeans may walk out during the day. In February, March, April, and May, the heat daily increases, until, during the last month especially, it becomes almost intolerable; not a cloud appears in the heavens to mitigate the burning rays of the sun, which seem to penetrate into the very marrow of an European. I have known men and beasts to drop dead in the streets of Calcutta. When the monsoon is on the eve of changing, before the *chota bursaut* (little rain) set in, the nights as well as the days are oppressive; respiration becomes laborious, and all animated nature languishes: the horizon assumes a lurid glare, deepening to a fiery red; the death-like stillness of the

* Abstract of the mean annual summaries of a meteorological register kept at Calcutta, for ten years:—

| Years. | Sunrise. | 2·40 P.M. | Sunset. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1841 . . . | 72°·7 | 89°·0 | 82°·4 |
| 1842 . . . | 73·3 | 88·0 | 82·1 |
| 1843 . . . | 73·3 | 87·6 | 82 5 |
| 1844 . . . | 72·7 | 87·6 | 82·3 |
| 1845 . . . | 73·7 | 86 9 | 82·3 |
| 1846 . . . | 74·3 | 86·3 | 81·9 |
| 1847 . . . | 73·2 | 86·1 | 81·1 |
| 1848 . . . | 74·1 | 87·4 | 82·5 |
| 1849 . . . | 73·6 | 86·7 | 81·8 |
| 1850 . . . | 73·1 | 86·1 | 81·4 |
| Mean . . | 73·4 | 87·2 | 82·0 |

The annual fall of rain at Calcutta, during six years, commencing with 1830, averaged 64 inches. In the wet season evaporation is very slight.

† Amount of rain at Bombay for six years:—

| | Inches. | | Inches. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1845 . . . . | 54·73 | 1848 . . . | 73·42 |
| 1846 . . . . | 87·48 | 1849 . . . | 118·88 |
| 1847 . . . . | 67·31 | 1850 . . . | 47·78 |

Average annual fall during thirty years, 76·08 inches. At Madras, average for eight years, 66·59 inches.

‡ Between lat. 26° 54′, and lat. 29° 23′.—(Boileau's *Tour in Rajwara*, pp. 304—317.)

§ Situation, about 350 m. from nearest part of Bay of Bengal, and 420 m. from Indian Ocean. In 1826, and in 1831, the fall of rain slightly exceeded 65 inches; the greatest registered fall was 72 inches, and that was in 1809. Average fall of rain for eight years, 48·10 inches. Proceeding westward towards the Ghauts and Indian Ocean, the rains become heavier until reaching Mahabulishwar, where the fall is probably unexampled in amount; in 1849 it was 294 inches. The mean annual quantity is 239 inches, of which 227 fell in the four monsoon months. The greatest annual fall was in 1834, when it amounted to 297 inches. Another report gives the mean annual fall, as deduced from the observation of ten years, at 229 inches; and the number of days on which rain falls, at 127.

air is occasionally broken by a low murmuring, which is responded to by the moaning of cattle: dense, dark masses of clouds roll along the Bay of Bengal, accompanied with occasional gusts of wind; streaks of lightning, after sunset, glimmer through the magazines where the electric fluid is engendered and pent up; the sky becomes obscured with mist, and lowring; next, broad sheets of lambent flame illumine each pitchy mass, until the entire heavens seem to be in a blaze; while peal after peal of thunder reverberates from cloud to cloud, like discharges of heavy artillery booming through cavernous hills, or along an amphitheatre of mountains; thin spray is scattered over the coast by the violence of the increasing gale,—the rain commences in large drops, augments to sheeted masses, and sweeps like a torrent from the sky; the surf roars along the beach,—the wind howls furiously, screaming or groaning piteously; and every element seems convulsed with the furious conflict: at length the S.W. monsoon gains the victory, and the atmosphere becomes purified and tranquil. The monsoon is felt with varying degrees of intensity at different parts of the coast; but at Madras and at Bombay the scene is one of awful grandeur. During the rains the air is saturated with moisture; and the pressure on each square inch of the human frame causes extreme lassitude and mental depression: along the sea-shore the pernicious effects are mitigated by a sea-breeze, called the "Doctor," which sets in about ten, A.M., and lasts until sunset. As the country is ascended above the ocean-level, varieties of climate are experienced; but on the plains of the Ganges and of the Indus, and in some parts of Central India, hot winds blow nearly equal in intensity to those which are felt in Australia. In few words, some idea may be conveyed of the climate of several districts:—

*Bengal Proper*,—hot, moist, or muggy for eight months—April to November; remainder cool, clear, and bracing.

*Bahar*,—cool in winter months: hot in summer; rain variable.

*Oude*,—fluctuating temperature and moisture; therm. range 28 to 112°; rain, 30 to 80 inches.

*Benares*,—mean temperature, 77°; winter cool and frosty sometimes; therm. at night, 45°, but in the day, 100°; rain variable—30 to 80 inches.

*Agra*,—has a wide range of temperature; in midwinter night-frosts and hail-storms sometimes cut off the cotton crop and cover the tanks with ice; yet at noon in April, therm. reaches the height of 106° in the shade.

*Ghazeepoor*,—range in coldest months, 58 to 71°—April, 86 to 96°; May, 86 to 95°; June, 85 to 98°; July, 86 to 96°. In the *Dehra Doon*—range 37 to 101°. In the year 1841, December mean heat, 60°; June, 88°; whole year, 74°. In 1839, total fall of rain, 67 inches; of which in July, 15; August, 26.

*Cuttack* and opposite coast of Bay of Bengal,—refreshed by a sea-breeze blowing continuously from March to July.

*Berar*,—moderate climate, according to elevation.

*Madras*,—cold season of short duration in the Carnatic. Mercury in therm. higher than in Bengal, sometimes 100° Fahr. Heat tempered by the sea.

*Arcot*,—high temperature, 110° in the shade, sometimes 130° Fahr. Few sudden vicissitudes; storms infrequent.

*Salem*,—fluctuating climate—in January, 58 to 82°; March, 66 to 95°; May, 75 to 96°.

*Trichinopoly*,—has a steady high temperature, a cloudless sky, dry and close atmosphere, with much glare and intense radiation of heat.

*Vizagapatam*,—on the coast is hot, moist, and relaxing; inland equally sultry, but drier.

*Bellary* is characterised by great aridity; rain, 12 to 26 inches; therm. falls in January to 55 or 50°; thunder-storms frequent in summer months.

*Cuddapah*,—average max. temperature for several years (in the shade), 98°; minn., 65°; mean, 81°: mean temperature during monsoon, 77°; max., 89°.

*Madura*,—on the hills mild and genial in summer; therm. seldom below 50° or above 75°; in the plains, reaching 115° and even 130°.

*Travancore*,—owing to proximity of mountains, humid but not oppressive.

*Mysoor*,—table-land cool, dry, and healthy; at Bangalore (3,000 ft. high), therm. range from 56 to 82°. The monsoons which deluge the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, have their force broken by the Ghauts on either side, and genial showers preserve the Mysoorean verdure throughout the year.

*Neilgherries*,—the climate resembles that of the intertropical plateaux of America; at Ootacamund (height 7,300 ft.), mean temperature rather above that of London, but ann. range very small; not sufficient sunshine to bring the finer European fruits to perfection, but corn and vegetables thrive. Lower down the vales enjoy an Italian clime; at Coimbatoor (height 4,483 ft.), during the cold season, max., 59°; minn., 31°; in April, average 65°; May, 64° Fahr.; there are no sultry nights, a blanket being acceptable as bed-covering in all seasons. In the higher regions, the air beyond the zone of clouds and mists is clear and dry, as evidenced by the great distance within which sound is heard, and by the buoyancy of the human frame.

*Coorg* is a bracing mountain region. Daily range, 2 to 6°; ann., 50 to 80° Fahr.; annual rain, at Mercara (4,500 ft.), 119 inches; in June, about 40 inches.

*Malabar coast*,—warm but agreeable; therm. 68 to 88° Fahr.; ann. rain, 120 to 130 inches.

*Canara and the Concans*,—beneath the Ghauts are not, tropically speaking, unhealthy, except where marsh and jungle prevail, when malaria is produced.

*Bombay*,—tropical heat diminished by sea-breezes.

*Broach*,—December to March, cool; average rain, 33 inches.

In *Guzerat*, which is the hottest part of W. India, the westerly winds are burning in May, June, and July; temperature high for nine months; average fall of rain, 30 inches.

*Mahratta* country,—near the Ghauts the clouds are attracted from the Indian Ocean, and a profusion of rain falls for three or four weeks without intermission, but often not extending 30 m. to the E. or S. The *Deccan* table-land is salubrious; at Sattara, mean ann. temperature, 66°. Even in September I enjoyed the air of Poona, as a great relief from the sultry heat of Southern China. Ann. range of therm., 37 to 94°; fall of rain, light and uncertain—22 to 30 inches; among the Ghauts, 300 inches. Proceeding westward towards the Ganges, and northward through *Central India* plateau, there is a modified temperature (at Meerut, therm. falls to 32° Fahr.), with occasional hot winds, which prevail as far as Sinde and the Punjab. Sinde is dry and sultry; at Kurachee, 6 or 8 inches rain; at Hydrabad, 2 inches; at Larkhana, farther north, there was no rain for three years. Mean max. temperature of six hottest months, 98° in the shade.

*Punjab*,—more temperate than Upper Gangetic plain; from November to April, climate fine; summer heat, intense; hot winds blow with great violence, and frequent dust-storms in May and June render the air almost unbreathable. Rains commence in July; August and September, sickly months. The Great Desert to the S. of the Punjab has a comparatively low temperature; at Bickaneer, in winter, ponds are frozen over in February; but in summer the heat is very great; therm. 110 to 120° in the shade.

*Candeish* has a luxurious climate like that of Malwa.

*Upper Assam* has a delightful temperature; the heat bearable, and the cold never intolerable. Mean temperature of four hottest months, about 80°; of winter, 57°; mean ann., 67°; heavy rains, which commence in March and continue to October. The quantity which falls is unequal; at Gowhatty, it is about 80; at Chirra Poonjee, 200; and in the Cossya country, 500 to 600 inches = 50 ft. At this latter place there fell in 1850, no less than 502 inches = 42 ft.; in August, 1841, there were 264 inches = 22 ft., in five successive days—30 inches every 24 hours. [Let it be remembered that the *annual* fall in London is 27; in Edinburgh, 24; in Glasgow, 32 inches.] The eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, to the Straits of Malacca, is more genial and agreeable than that of the Coromandel coast: the greatest heat is in April; therm., at Mergui, 100°; the monsoon is mild, but violent to the northward.

*Lower Assam and Arracan* are similar to Bengal.

This rapid sketch will indicate the variety of climates in India; but it is in the loftier adjoining regions that the greatest extremes exist.

*The Himalaya and Hindoo-Koosh* slopes and valleys exhibit a very varied temperature, and corresponding diversity of products, from the loftiest forest trees to the stunted lichens and mosses, when the last trace of vegetable life disappears as effectually as it does at the Arctic or Antarctic Poles, snow being equally perpetual at an elevation of four to five miles (20,840 to 25,000 ft.) above the sea, as at the extreme northern and southern parts of our globe. On the southern, or Indo-Gangetic side of the Himalaya, which rises like a wall from the sub-Himalaya, the snow-line commences at 12,000 to 13,000 ft. on some of the spurs or buttresses; on the northern side of the same range,—table-land of Tibet 10,000 ft. above the sea; the snow-line commences at 16,000 ft., but in some places is not found at 20,000 ft. On the southern slope cultivation ceases at 10,000 ft.; but on the northern side, cultivation extends to 14,000 ft., where birch-trees flourish; the limit of furze-bushes is at 17,000 ft. Vegetation, to some extent, indicates the more or less severity of this mountain clime: the *Deodar* has its favourite abode at 7,000 to 12,000 ft.—attains a circumference of 30 ft., and of great stature, and the wood will last, exposed to the weather, for 400 years. Various species of magnificent pines have a range of 5,000 to 12,000 ft.; the arboraceous rhododendron, every branchlet terminated by a gorgeous bunch of crimson flowers, spreads at 5,000 to 8,000 ft.; the horse-chesnut and yew commence at 6,000 ft., and end at 10,000 ft.; the oak flourishes at 7,000 to 8,000 ft.; maple, at 10,000 to 11,000 ft.; ash, poplar, willow, rose, cytisus, at 12,000; elm, at 7,000 to 10,000; birch commences at 10,000, ceases on S. slope at 13,000 ft.; on N. side fine forests of this tree at 14,000 ft. Juniper met with occasionally at latter-named height; the grape attains great excellence at Koonawur, 8,000 ft., but does not ripen beyond 9,000 ft.; the currant thrives at 8,000 and 9,000 ft.; apricot, at 11,000 ft.; gooseberry and raspberry, at 10,000 to 12,000 ft.

The decrement of heat in proportion to latitude and elevation is, as yet, imperfectly ascertained. Dr. Hooker* allows one degree of Fahrenheit's thermometer for every degree of latitude and every 300 ft. of ascent above the sea; at Calcutta, in 22° 34′, the mean ann. temperature is about 79°; that of Darjeeling, in Sikhim, 27° 2′; 7,450 ft. above Calcutta, is 53°, about 26° *below* the heat of Calcutta. The decrease of temperature with elevation is much less in summer than in winter: in January, 1° = 250 ft., between 7,000 and 13,000 ft.; in July, 1° = 400 ft.; the decrement also less by day than by night. The decremental proportions of heat to height is roughly indicated by this skilful meteorologist—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1° = 300 ft. | at elevation | 1,000 to 8,000 ft. |
| 1° = 320 ft. | „ | 8,000 to 10,000 ft. |
| 1° = 350 ft. | „ | 10,000 to 14,000 ft. |
| 1° = 400 ft. | „ | 14,000 to 18,000 ft. |

This must be effected by aspect and slope of elevation; by quantity of rain falling, and permeability of soil to moisture; by amount of cloud and sunshine, exposure of surface, absence of trees, undulation of the land, terrestrial radiation, and other local influences.

Within the tropics, in the northern hemisphere, the limits of perpetual congetation is 16,000 to 17,000 ft. above the sea; in lat. 30°, 14,000 ft.; in 40°, 10,000 ft.; in 50°, 6,000 ft.; in 60°, 5,000 ft.; in 70°, 1,000 ft.; and in 80° and further north, at the sea-level. In the southern hemisphere, Georgia, which is in lat. 56°, exhibits perpetual frost.

At Kumaon, winter rigour is moderated by great solar radiation, and somewhat tempered by contiguous snow-capped mountains, whence a diurnal current of air sets in as regularly as a sea-breeze on a tropical shore, and with a nearly equally invigorating effect. Snow commences to fall at the end of September, and continues until the beginning of April. During the absence of snow for five months, the mercury ranges at sunrise, 40 to 55°; at mid-day, 65 to 75° in the shade—90 to 110° Fahr. in the sun. The heat of course diminishes as height increases, except during the cold season. At Almora town, in 29° 30′, 5,400 ft. elevation, the therm. before

* In his valuable work, *Himalayan Journals*, ii., 404.

sunrise is always lowest in the valleys, and the frost more intense than on the hills of 7,000 ft. elevation, while at noon the sun is more powerful; extreme range in 24 hours, sometimes from 18 to 51° Fahr. Snow does not fall equally in every season; the natives say the greatest fall is every third year. On the Ghagor range, between Almora and the plains, snow remains so late as the month of May. At Mussoorie, 6,000 to 7,000 ft. high, the mean ann. heat is only 57° Fahr.; indeed, at 4,000 ft. hot winds cease, and vegetation assumes an European character. Annual fall of rain at Almora, 40 to 50 inches.

The northernmost part of Nepaul valley, between 27 and 28°, and elevation of 4,000 ft., has a climate somewhat similar to that of the southern parts of Europe. In winter a hoar-frost commonly covers the ground, occasionally for three or four months, freezing the standing pools and tanks, but not severe enough to arrest the flow of rivers. In summer noon, the mercury stands at 80 to 87° Fahr. The seasons are very nearly like those of Upper Hindoostan; the rains set in earlier, and from the S.E. are usually very copious, and break up about October, causing excessive inundations in some places from the mountain torrents. In a few hours, the inhabitants, by ascending the sides of the enclosing mountains, may exchange a Bengal heat for a Siberian winter.

At Darjeeling the atmosphere is relatively more humid than at Calcutta; the belt of sandy and grassy land, at the foot of the Himalaya, only 300 ft. higher than in Calcutta, and 3½° N. of that city, is, during the spring months, March and April, 6 or 7° colder; and though there is absolutely less moisture in the air, it is relatively more humid; this is reversed after the rains commence. The south wind, which brings all the moisture from the Bay of Bengal, discharges annually 60 to 80 inches of rain in traversing 200 m. of land; but the temperature is higher in advancing north-west from the Bay of Bengal: which may be caused from the absence of any great elevation in the Gangetic valley and plain, and its being walled in to the northward by the Himalaya mountains.

Elevation causes in Afghanistan a corresponding diversity of climate: at Cabool, which is considered to be very salubrious, and 6,396 ft. above the sea, the air is warmer in summer and colder in winter than that of England; and the diurnal therm. range is great, amounting to 40°. June, July, and August are the hottest; December, January, and February the coldest months,—the mercury falling several degrees below zero Fahr.; but the sun possesses sufficient power at mid-day to melt the surface of the snow, which, however, is again frozen at night. The seasons are very regular; the sky is unclouded, the air bright and clear, with scarcely any rain; in November a few showers are followed by snow; and from the middle of March till the 1st of May, there is incessant rain, which melts the snow rapidly, and causes a sudden transition from winter to summer (with but little spring), when thunder and hail-storms occur; earthquakes are not unfrequent during winter in the immediate vicinity of the lofty ranges, but are said to be unknown at Candahar. Prevailing winds, N.N.W. and W.; E. seldom; winter, calm; variable at breaking up of the season.*

*Cashmere* valley, by its elevation (5,000 ft.), has a cool climate; in winter the celebrated lake is slightly frozen over, and the ground covered with snow to the depth of 2 ft.; hottest months, July and August, therm. 80 to 85° at noon, when the air is sometimes oppressive from want of circulation.

But it is in the loftier regions that the peculiarities caused by altitude are most observable: at—

*Bussahir*,—the climate varies from that of the intertropical at Rampoor, 3,260 ft.† above the sea, to that of the region of perpetual congelation: in parts bordering on the table-land of Tartary the air is at one season characterised by aridity greater than that of the most scorching parts of the torrid zone. In October, and later in the year, when the winds blow with the greatest violence, woodwork shrinks and warps, and leather and paper curl up as if held to a fire; the human body exposed to those arid winds in a few minutes show the surface collapsed, and if long left in this condition life becomes extinct. Vegetation with difficulty struggles against their effects. Gerard found tracts exposed to them to have a most desolate and dreary aspect; not a single tree, or blade of green grass, was distinguishable for near 30 m., the ground being covered with a very prickly plant, which greatly resembled furze in its withered state. This shrub was almost black, seeming as if burnt; and the leaves were so much parched from the arid winds of Tartary, that they might be ground to powder by rubbing them between the hands. Those winds are generally as violent as hurricanes, rendering it difficult for the traveller to keep his feet. The uniform reports of the inhabitants represent the year as continual sunshine, except during March and April, when there are some showers, and a few clouds hang about the highest mountains; but a heavy fall of rain or snow is almost unknown. The excessive cold and aridity on the most elevated summits cause the snow to be there so light, loose, and powdery, that it is continually swept like smoke through the air by the tempestuous winds. The limit of perpetual congelation in Bussahir ascends to the northward.

The direct rays of the sun are extremely hot at great elevations: insomuch, that Jacquemont found the stones on the ground on the table-land of Tartary, at an elevation of 15,000 or 16,000 ft., become so hot in sunshine, as to be nearly unbearable by the hand; at an elevation of 18,000 ft., Gerard found the rays of the sun so oppressive that he was obliged to wrap his face in a blanket.

At *Bulti* or *Little Tibet* the atmosphere is very clear and dry. But though rain is almost unknown, snow falls, and lies from the depth of 1 to 2 ft. The cold in the elevated parts is intense in winter; on the high and unsheltered table-land of Deotsuh, it at that season totally precludes the existence of animal life. The heat in the lower parts in summer is considerable, the therm.‡ ranging from 70 to 90° in the shade at noon.

At *Ladakh* the climate is characterised by cold and excessive aridity. The snow-line is so usually high in Spiti and Ruphsu, at the south-eastern extremity of Ladakh, as to show the utter futility of attempting to theorise respecting the so-called isothermal lines, in the present scanty and imperfect state of our information as to the data from

* Notes of observations, 1st April, 1838, to 31st March, 1840, in Afghanistan.—(*Calcutta Jour. Nat. Hist.*

† The Choora district (valley of the Pabur, 4,800 feet) is a beautiful and fertile tract, with a delightful climate.

‡ Thornton's *Gazetteer: Afghanistan, &c.*, vol. i., p. 120.

which they should be determined. Gerard says, respecting Spiti, in lat. 32°, that the marginal limit of the snow, which, upon the sides of Chimborazo, occurs at 15,700 ft., is scarcely permanent in Thibet at 19,000, and upon the southward aspect has no well-defined boundary at 21,000 ft.; and one summit, 22,000 ft. high, was seen by him to be free of snow on the last day in August. This absence of snow probably results, in part, from the very small quantity of moisture kept suspended in the highly rarefied atmosphere, in part from the intense heat of the direct rays of the sun, the latter cause being in some degree dependent on the former. "Wherever we go," observes Gerard, "we find the sun's rays oppressive." In one instance, in the beginning of September, at an elevation of 15,500 ft., a thermometer, resting upon the rocks, marked 158°; in another, at 14,500 ft., the instrument, placed on sand, marked 130°; and in a small tent, at an elevation of 13,000 ft., it indicated 110°. These phenomena he attributed to the rarefaction and tenuity of the atmosphere, from elevation and the absence of moisture,—circumstances which allow of such immediate radiation of heat, that at the same moment there will be a difference of more than 100° between places only a few hundred yards asunder, occasioned by the one receiving, and the other being excluded, from the direct rays of the sun. At Ruphsu, at the elevation of 16,000 ft., it freezes every night, even at Midsummer; but the heat of the day so far countervails the cold of night, that the Lake Chamorereil is free from ice during the summer months. At Le, having an elevation of about 10,000 ft., frosts, with snow and sleet, commence early in September and continue until May; the therm. from the middle of December to February, ranges from 10 to 20°; even in June, the rivulets are often, at night, coated with ice. Moorcroft, during his Himalayan travels, found the therm., when exposed to the sun's rays at mid-day in July, to range from 134 to 144°. The atmosphere is in general dry in all parts of the country.

In the works of Gerard, Lloyd, Moorcroft, Vigue, Jacquemont, and Hooker, useful details are given on the meteorology of these lofty regions.

The climate of India is not inimical to the European constitution: that of Bengal and other low districts is very trying, especially to those who do not follow a strictly temperate course in all things; but there are many instances of Englishmen living for a quarter of a century at Calcutta, and on returning to England, enjoying another quarter of a century of existence, preserving, to old age, a vigorous mental and bodily frame.* In the hot and moist parts of India, abdominal diseases,—in the warm and dry, hepatic action or congestion prevail. Exposure at night, especially to malaria or the effluvia arising from intense heat and decomposing vegetable and animal matter, causes a bilious remittent (popularly called jungle fever), which operates as a poison on the human system, and becomes rapidly fatal if not counteracted by mercury or some other poison, or unless the morbific matter be expelled, and the patient have strength of frame to survive the fever.

The direct rays of a nearly vertical sun, and even those also of the moon, cause affections of the brain which are frequently fatal; and when not so, require removal to the temperate zone for their relief. The establishment of sanataria at elevated and healthy positions, has proved a great benefit to Anglo-Indians, who at Darjeeling, Simla, Landour, Mussoorie, Mount Aboo, the Neilgherries, and other places, are enabled to enjoy a European temperature and exercise,—to check the drain on the system from the cutaneous pores being always open,—to brace the fibres and tone the nerves, which become gradually relaxed by the long continuance of a high temperature. As India becomes more clear and cultivated, and facilities for locomotion by railroads and steam-boats are augmented, the health of Europeans will improve, and their progeny will derive a proportionate benefit: but it is doubtful whether there is any part of the country where a European colony would *permanently* thrive, so as to preserve for successive generations the stamina and energy of the northern races.

The diseases that prevail among the Indians vary with locality: low, continued fever is most prevalent in flat, and rheumatism in moist regions. Leprosy and other skin disorders are numerous among the poorest classes. *Elephantiasis*, or swelling of the legs; *berri-berri*, or enlargement of the spleen; torpidity of the liver, weakness of the lungs, and ophthalmia, are common to all ranks and places: goitre is found among the hill tribes; cholera and influenza sometimes decimate large masses of the people. Numerous maladies, engendered by early and excessive sensuality, exist among rich and poor, and medical or chirurgical skill are consequently everywhere in great request. The inhabitants of India, generally speaking, except in the more elevated districts, have not the robust frames or well-wearing constitutions which result from an improved social state, or from the barbarism which is as yet free from the vices and defects of an imperfect civilisation: the inhabitants of the torrid zone do not enjoy a longevity equal to those who dwell in the temperate climates of the earth.

* Mr. W. C. Blaquiere, for a long period police magistrate at Calcutta, died there in 1854, æt. 95: he arrived at Bengal in 1774.

Geology.—It will require many more years of scientific research before an accurate geological map can be laid down for India.* Immense tracts covered with impenetrable forests,—the few Europeans in the country occupied with military and civil governmental duties,—the lassitude of mind and body which, sooner or later, oppresses the most energetic,—and the malaria which inevitably destroys those who attempt to investigate the crust of the earth, overrun with jungle, or immersed in swamp;—these, and other obstacles render the prosecution of this science a matter of extreme difficulty. All that can be attempted in a work of this nature is to collate the best known data, and arrange them in outline, for reference and future systematic exposition.†

Rereprcsentatives of all the series found in Europe and other parts of the world, are traceable in India. Mr. Carter has industriously noted the observations of various investigators; and the following summary is partly abstracted from his compilation:—

Older Metamorphic Strata.—*Gneiss, Mica Schiste, Chlorite Schiste, Hornblende Schiste, Quartz Rock, Micaceous Slate, Talcose Slate, Clay Slate, Granular Limestone.*

*Gneiss.*—Most general and abundant,—occurring in different parts of the Himalaya; Oodeypoor; near Baroda; Zillah Bahar; Rajmahal hills; Phoonda Ghaut; Northern Circars; and more or less throughout "peninsula" (? Deccan) to the Palghaut, and probably to Cape Comorin: it is frequently veined by granite, contains in most places specular iron ore: beds of garnets common everywhere; corundum in southern India, and beryl in Mysoor. Composition varied in texture, compactness, and with more or less mica; colour—speckled, black, brown, reddish gray to white; sometimes tinted green where chlorite replaces mica: when very fine-grained and decomposing, gneiss bears a close resemblance to fine-grained sandstone.

*Mica Schiste.*—Southern Mahratta country, and western extremities of Vindhya range, passes into micaceous slate at the Phoonda Ghaut: veined with quartz, but no granite: being associated with gneiss and hornblende schistes, they pass into each other.

*Chlorite Schiste.*—Southern Mahratta country: it also contains garnets.

*Hornblende Schiste*, forms the sides of the Neilgherries, where it is from five to seven miles in breadth: garnets found in it. Southern Mahratta country, Salem; and often passes into mica schiste on the Malabar coast.

*Quartz Rock.*—Hills between Delhi and Alwur, and between Ajmere and Oodeypoor; mountains around Deybur Lake, Chittoor, and at the western part of the Vindhya range, with mica slate; southern Mahratta country; more or less in the granitic plains of Hydrabad, and in the *droogs* of Mysoor. The rock is compact and granular in the Ajmere mountains; and of a red, violet, gray, or brown colour; brilliantly white in the Mahratta country. Mica is frequently disseminated throughout the rock in large masses; talc and chlorite, occasionally.

*Micaceous Slate and Chlorite Slate.*—Both at the Phoonda Ghaut; and the latter in the Mahratta country. The micaceous occurs in the Indo-Gangetic chain, Koonawur; and in the Soolumbur range, Oodeypoor.

*Clay Slate*, appears to be of great thickness, and considerable extent, viz., from the Arravulli range, the lower part of which is composed of this formation; thence to Oodeypoor, *viâ* the Soolumbur range, across the Durgawud valley to Malwa, on the Kistnah; southern Mahratta country, Nellore; and in the Eastern Ghauts at Jungamanipenta, a ferruginous clay-slate overlies the trap at Mahabulishwar. In the Arravulli it is massive, compact, and of a dark blue colour. The Soolumbur range is almost entirely composed of this and chlorite slates. Micaceous passes into clay-slate at the Phoonda, and, farther south, the Saltoor passes (Western Ghauts.) This also occurs at the Carrackpoor hills (Bahar), where the clay-slate is about twenty miles wide, and extends in the direction of the strata.‡

Plutonic Rocks.—*Granite, Diorite or Greenstone.*

*Granite.*—Himalaya; Ajmere and around Jeypoor, traversing the mountains in veins and dykes; the Arravulli range consists chiefly of granite, resting on slate; Mount Aboo; from Balmeer across the sands to Nuggur Parkur; the Gir; Girnar; between Oodeypoor and Malwa, are all varieties: it extends more or less southward to the Nerbudda; on that river between Mundela and Amarkantak, Jubbulpoor, Kalleenjur, Zillah Bahar, Carrackpoor hills; in Bhagulpore and Monghyr districts; near Baitool; Nagpore territory; Cuttack; Orissa; Northern Circars; Hydrabad; between the Kistnah and Godavery; Gooty; Neilgherries; Malabar coast at Vingorla; Coromandel; between Madras and Pondicherry; ending at Cape Comorin. The granitic rocks vary in structure and composition, as they do in colour: thus there are *syenitic*, *pegmatitic*, and *protogenic.* It is gray at Ramteak in Nagpoor, red generally in

* The late eminent geologist, J. B. Greenough, has made an excellent beginning by his large map on this subject, and by the voluminous materials he collected.

† See a valuable *Summary of the Geology of India, between the Ganges, the Indus, and Cape Comorin;* by H. J. Carter, Asst. Surg. Bombay Establishment, Aug., 1853: reprinted from Journal of Bombay British Asiatic Society, p. 156.

‡ In the neighbourhood of Calcutta a series of boring experiments to find water, were carried on at intervals between 1804 and 1833; the results were—artificial soil at surface; next, as follows: a light blue or gray-coloured sandy clay, becoming gradually darker from decayed vegetable matter, until it passes at 30 ft. deep into a 2 ft. stratum of black peat, apparently formed by the *debris* of Sunderbund vegetation, which was once the delta of the Ganges; below the peat a black clay, and in this and the gray clay immediately above the peat, logs and branches of yellow and red wood, found in a more or less decayed state. In one instance only bones were discovered, at 28 ft. deep. Under blue clays, at 50 to 70 ft. deep, *kunkur* and *bagiri* (apparently small land shells, as seen in Upper India.) At 70 ft. a seam of loose reddish sand,—75 to 125 ft. beds of yellow clay predominate, frequently stiff and pure like potter's clay, but generally mixed with sand and mica: horizontal strata of kunkur pass through it, resembling exactly those found at Midnapoor. Below 128 ft. a more sandy yellow clay prevails, which gradually changes to a gray, loose sand, becoming coarser in quality to the lowest depth yet reached (176 ft.), where it contains angular fragments, as large as peas, of quartz and felspar.

the Deccan, but at Vencatigherry (Mysoor), and at Vingorla, gray: in the Neilgherries it is syenitic.

*Greenstone.*—Hazarecbagh, Mahratta country, Mysoor, Nellore, Chinglepnt, Madras, Trichinopoly, Salem, in the granitic plains of Hydrabad; and extensively throughout Southern India. In the Deccan the dykes may be traced continuously for twenty miles; about Hydrabad they are from 100 to 300 feet broad; about four miles from Dhonee, between Gooty and Kurnool, there is one 150 feet high, and 200 feet broad, passing through a range of sandstone and limestone mountains.

SILURIAN ROCKS.—*Greywacke.*—Ghiddore, Rajmahal hills; Kumaon. It is a quartzoze sandstone; yellow colour, resinous lustre, and compact splintery fracture.

*Transition or Cambrian Gneiss*, is of great extent in Bhagulpore district, composing two-thirds of the country between the Curruckpore and Rajmahal hills, and the greater portion of the southern ridges of the latter group. It consists of quartz, more or less, hornblende, felspar, mica, and garnet pebbles.

OOLITIC.—*Limestone.*—Cutch; near Neemuch, Malwa; Bundelcund; on the river Sone; Firozabad, on the Bheema; Kuladgee, in the southern Mahratta country; on the Kistnah; and as far south as Cuddapah. Though its principal characters are its uniform lithographic texture, solidity, conchoidal smooth fracture, and hardness,—dendritic surface, smoky gray colour, passing into dark smoky blue; and parallel thin stratification,—it differs when departing from its general composition, just as the shales differ which interlaminate it, the coal strata, and the sandstone, as being more or less argillaceous, bituminous, or quartziferous; of different degrees of hardness, coarseness, and friability of structure; and of all kinds of colours, streaked and variegated. It is occasionally veined, and interlined with jasper and light-coloured cherts, which, near Cuddapah, give it a rough appearance; also contains drusy cavities, calcedonies, and cornelian, north of Nagpoor: in the bed of the Nerbudda between Lamaita and Beragurh, near Jubbulpoor, of a snow-white colour, and traversed by chlorite schiste. It is frequently denuded of its overlying sandstone and shales in Southern India, and in this state is not uncommonly covered by trap, as near Ferozabad on the Bheema.

Thickness, 310 feet near Kurnool; 10 to 30 feet on the Bheema, with strata from 2 inches to 2 feet thick. In the part of the Himalaya examined by Captain Strachey, the secondary limestones and shales were several thousand feet in thickness, the upper portion being in some places almost made up of fragments of shells.

If the white crystalline marble generally of India is allowed to be metamorphic strata, this limestone exists in the Girnar rock of Kattywar; the lithographic form in Cutch, and between Neemuch and Chittore; the white marble about Oodeypoor, and northwards in the neighbourhood of Nusseerabad, Jeypoor, Bessona, and Alwar; a narrow strip about 150 m. long in Bundelcund; again about Bidjyghur and Rhotasghur on the Sone; white marble in the bed of the Nerbudda, near Jubbulpoor; in the hills north-east of Nagpoor; near the junction of the Godavery and Prenheta rivers; thence along the Godavery more or less to Rajahmundry; Sholapoor district; on the Bheema; of every variety of colour, and greatly disturbed and broken up about Kaludgee, in the southern Mahratta country; along the Kistnah, from Kurnool to Amarawattee; and more or less over the triangular area formed by the latter place, Gooty, and the Tripetty hills. Chunam, an argillaceous limestone, used for building in Bengal, Bahar, Benares, &c.;* occurs in nodules in the alluvium, which, at Calcutta, is 500 to 600 feet thick. Near Benares, it contains fragments of freshwater shells. South of Madras, a dark clay abounds in marine shells, used in preference for lime-burning to those on the beach, as beeing freer from salt.

*Sandstone,*—appears to be composed of very fine grains of quartz, and more or less mica, united together by an argillaceous material. It exists in Cutch; in the Panna range, Bundelcund; the Kymore hills; Ceded Districts; in lat 18°, 15 m. west of the Godavery; on the banks of the Kistnah; plains of the Carnatic, and the districts watered by the Pennar river. It is present in the sub-Himalaya range, and in the Rajmahal hills. All the towns on the Jumna, from Delhi to Allahabad, appear to be built of this sandstone. The plains of Beekaneer, Joudpore, and Jessulmere, are covered with the loose sand of this formation. It borders on the northern and western sides of the great trappean tract of Malwa, and forms the north-eastern boundary of the Western India volcanic district.

Its thickness varies, either from original inequality, or subsequent denudation. Its greatest depth, at present known, is in the eastern part of the Kymore range, where it is 700 feet at Bidjighur; and 1,300 feet at Rhotasghur; at the scarps of the waterfalls over the Panna range, it does not exceed 360 or 400 feet; from 300 to 400 feet is its thickness near Ryelcherroo and Sundrogam, in the Ceded Districts. Its greatest height above the sea is on the banks of the Kistnah, 3,000 feet. Organic remains are very abundant in this formation. It has been ascertained that the great trap deposit of the Western Ghauts, rests on a sandstone containing vegetable remains, chiefly ferns.

VOLCANIC ROCKS.†—*Trap.*—The largest tract is on the western side of India, and extends continuously from the basin of the Malpurba to Neemuch in Malwa; and from Balsar, about 20 m. south of the mouth of the Taptee, to Nagpoor. This is probably the most remarkable trap-formation existing on

* The British Residency at Hydrabad (Deccan) is a specimen; the Corinthian columns, &c., being executed in white chunam.

† Volcanic fires are said by the natives to exist among the loftier peaks of the Hindoo-Koosh and the Himalayan ranges, but earthquakes are of rare occurrence. A severe one was, however, experienced throughout a large extent of country on 26th August, 1833,—vibration from N.E. to S.W., with three principal shocks: first at 6·30 P.M.; second, 11·30 P.M.; and third, at five minutes to midnight. It was most severely felt at and near Katmandoo, where about 320 persons perished: the trembling of the earth commenced gradually, and then travelled with the rapidity of lightning towards the westward; it increased in violence until the houses seemed shaken from their foundations,—large-sized trees bent in all directions; the earth heaved fearfully; and while the air was perfectly calm, an awful noise burst forth as if from an hundred cannon. Probably in India, as in Australia, subterranean igneous action, which was formerly very violent, is now almost quiescent, or finds its vent through mighty chimneys at a height of four or five miles above the sea. The Lunar Lake, 40 m. from Saulna, is a vast crater 500 ft. deep, and nearly 5 m. round the margin; its waters are green and bitter, supersaturated with alkaline carbonate, and containing silex and some iron in solution: the mud is black, and abounds with sulphuretted hydrogen; the water is, nevertheless, pure and void of smell.

the surface of the globe; its breadth is about 335 m. N. to S.; length, about 350 m. E. to W.; and covers an area of from 200,000 to 250,000 sq. m.* Another portion extends from Jubbulpoor to Amarkantak, thence south-westerly towards Nagpoor. It constitutes the core of the Western Ghauts, and predominates in the Mahadeo and Sautpoora mountains.

Its two grand geological features along the Ghauts, where it has attained the highest elevation, are flat summits and regular stratification. Fourteen beds have been numbered in Malwa, the lowest and largest of which is 300 feet thick. These are equally numerous, if not more so, along the Ghauts, but the scarps are of much greater magnitude. Besides its stratification, it is in many places columnar; as in the beds of the Nerbudda and Chumbul; and the hill-fort of Singhur presents a surface of pentagonal divisions.

Wherever the effusions exist to any great extent, they appear to be composed of *laterite* above, then *basalt*, and afterwards *trappite* and *amygdaloid*.

*Basalt.*—There are two kinds of this rock; a dark blue-black, and a brown-black. Both are semi-crystalline. Their structure is massive, stratified, columnar, or prismoidal. Dark blue is the basalt of Bombay Island, brown-black that of the Deccan.

To this general description, I may add what I have been enabled to glean of the specific structure of some of the principal positions:—

*Himalayas.*—Formations primary: the first strata, which is towards the plain, consists of limestone, lying on clay-slate, and crowned by slate, greywacke, or sandstone. Beyond the limestone tract, gneiss, clay-slate, and other schistose rocks occur; granite arises in the mountains near the snowy ranges. The peaks are generally composed of schistose rocks, but veined by granite to a great elevation. Kamet, however, is an exception, appearing to consist of granite alone. Greenstone dykes rise through and intersect the regular rocks. Strata fractured in all directions; slate, as if crushed, and the limestone broken into masses. The soil is principally accumulated on the northern side.

The formation of the Indo-Gangetic chain, in Koonawur, is mostly gneiss and mica-slate; in some places, pure mica. On the left bank of the Sutlej, granite prevails, forming the Raldang peaks. Further north, it becomes largely intermixed with mica-slate; to the north-east changes into secondary limestone, and schistose rocks, abounding in marine exuviæ.† In Kumaon, the Himalayas are composed of crystalline gneiss, veined by granite; the range forming the north-eastern boundary, is believed to be of recent formation. The mountainous tract south of the principal chain in Nepaul consists of limestone, hornstone, and conglomerate. The Sewalik (the most southerly and lowest range of the Himalayan system) is of alluvial formation, consisting of beds of clay, sandstone with mica, conglomerate cemented by calcareous matter, gravel, and rolled stones of various rocks. The supposition is, that it is the *debris* of the Himalaya, subsequently upheaved by an earthquake. The geology of the Sewalik is characterised by the occurrence of quantities of fossil remains.

*Punjab.*—Near the north-east frontier, in the vicinity of the Himalaya, is an extensive tract of rocks and deposits of recent formation; limestone, sandstone, gypsum, argillaceous slate; occasionally veins of quartz.

*The Salt-range.*—Greywacke, limestone, sandstone, and red tenaceous clay, with deposits of chloride of sodium, or common salt.

*The Sufied-Koh* is *primary*, consisting of granite, quartz, mica, gneiss, slate, and primary limestone.

*The Suliman* mountains are of *recent* formations, principally sandstone and secondary limestone, abounding in marine exuviæ.

*Central India.*—Arravulli range, generally primitive, consisting of granite, quartz, and gneiss. Formation along banks of upper course of Nerbudda, trappean; lower down, at Jubbulpoor, granitic; at Bhera Ghur, channel contracted between *white* cliffs of magnesian limestone; at the junction of the Towah, there is a ledge of *black* limestone: at, and near Kal Bhyru, slate of various sorts; basaltic rocks scattered over channel. Ranges enclosing Nemaur, banks of rivers, and eminences in the valley, basaltic. Saugor and Nerbudda territory; eastern part, towards Amarkantak, generally sandstone; from here it extends westward, forming the table-land bounding Nerbudda valley on the north, and is intermixed with marl, slate, and limestone. The volcanic tract commences about lon. 79°, and extends to about the town of Saugor, which is situate on its highest part. This (trap), with that of sandstone, further east, may be considered to belong to the Vindhya; and the former to the Mahadeo and Sautpoora ranges. In some places, primitive rocks appear through the overlying bed. The Bindyachal hills are of horizontally-stratified sandstone; Panna hills, sandstone, intermixed with schiste and quartz; and, to the west, overlaid by limestone.

*Western Ghauts.*—The great core is of primary formation, inclosed by alternating strata of more recent origin. These have been broken up by prodigious outbursts of volcanic rocks; and from Mahabulishwar northward, the overlying rock is exclusively of the trap formation; behind Malabar they are of primitive trap, in many places overlaid by immense masses of laterite, or iron-clay. The Vurragherry or Pulnai hills (Madura) are gneiss, stratified with quartz; in some places precipices of granite.

*Nagpoor.*—North-western and western part, vol-

* The rock in which the Ellora caves are excavated is said to be a basaltic trap, which, from its green tinge and its different stages from hardness to disintegration, is supposed by the natives to be full of vegetable matter, in a greater or less advance to putrefaction: the crumbling rock affords a natural green colour, which is ground up and employed in painting on wet chunam (lime plaster.)

† Dr. Gerard found some extensive tracts of shell formation 15,000 ft. above the sea. The principal shells comprised cockles, mussels, and pearl-fish; nummulites and long cylindrical productions. These shells, of which many were converted into carb. of lime, some crystallised like marble, were lying upon the high land in a bed of granite, and pulverised state: the adjacent rocks composed of shell limestone, the large blocks composed of a multitude of shells of different sizes, imbedded in a mass of calcareous tufa. Four classes of shell formation were distinguished; one in particular, a freshwater bivalve, resembling the *unio*, which exists in great abundance at the foot of the lower hills and throughout the Dooab. In the Neermal hills, N. of the Godavery, on the road from Hydrabad to Nagpoor, many very perfect fossil shells, mostly bivalves, and evidently marine, have been discovered imbedded in a volcanic rock, together with the head and vertebræ of a fish: the formations around rest everywhere on granite; and there are several hot-springs holding lime in solution. Univalves and bivalves, particularly buccinum, ammonites, and mussels, abound in Malwa.

canic, principally basalt and trap. This terminates at the city of Nagpoor, and the primitive, mostly granite and gneiss, rises to the surface.

*Mysoor.*—The *droogs*, huge isolated rocks, scattered over the surface; vary in elevation from 1,000 to 1,500 feet; bases seldom exceeding 2 m. in circumference; generally composed of granite, gneiss, quartz, and hornblende; in many places overlaid by laterite.

SOIL,—mainly determined by the geological character of each district, except in the deltas, or on the banks of rivers, as in the Punjab, where an alluvium is accumulated. The land in Lower Bengal is of inexhaustible fertility, owing partly to the various salts and earthy limestone with which the deposits from the numerous rivers are continually impregnated: it is generally of a light sandy appearance. The alluvium of Scinde is a stiff clay; also that of Tanjore, Sumbulpore, and Cuttack, by the disintegration of granitic rocks. A nitrous (saltpetre) soil is general in Bahar; in the vicinity of Mirzapoor town, it is strongly impregnated with saline particles; and at many places in Vizagapatam. The *regur*, or cotton ground, which extends over a large part of Central India, and of the Deccan, is supposed to be formed by a disintegration of trap rocks; it slowly absorbs,* and long retains moisture; and it has produced, in yearly succession, for centuries, the most exhausting crops. It spreads over the table-lands of the Ceded Districts and Mysoor, flanks the Neilgherry and Salem hills, and pervades the Deccan, but has not been observed in the Concans. It is a fine, black, argillaceous mould, containing, in its lower parts, nodules, and pebbly alluvium. *Kunkur* (a calcareous conglomerate)† fills up the cavities and fissures of the beds beneath it; and angular fragments of the neighbouring rocks are scattered over its surface. It contains no fossils. In some parts it is from 20 to 40 feet thick. *Kunkur* is common in the north-western provinces, the rocks often advancing into the channel of the Jumna, and obstructing the navigation. In the western part of Muttra district, it is mixed with sand: in Oude, some patches of this rock, which undergo abrasion very slowly, stand 70 or 80 feet above the neighbouring country, which, consisting of softer materials, has been washed away by the agency of water. Its depth, in the eastern part of Meerut district, is from one to 20 feet. In the Dooab, between the Ganges and Jumna, and in many parts of the N.W. provinces, there is a light rich loam, which produces excellent wheat; at Ghazeepore, a light clay, with more or less sand, is favourable for sugar and for roses. As the Ganges is ascended before reaching Ghazeepore, the soil becomes more granitic, and is then succeeded by a gravel of burnt clay, argite, and cinders, resembling what is seen in basaltic countries. Assam, which has been found so well adapted for the culture of tea, has for the most part a black loam reposing on a gray, sandy clay; in some places the surface is of a light yellow clayey texture. The soil usually found in the vicinity of basaltic mountains is of a black colour, mixed with sand. Disintegrated granite, where felspar predominates, yields much clay.

A sandy soil exists in the centres of the *Dooabs*, of the Punjab; more or less in Paniput, Rhotuck, and Hurriana districts: Jeypoor, Machery, and Rajpootana; and in some parts of Scinde; in Mysoor, a brown and rather sandy earth prevails; Trichinopoly is arid and sandy; and near Tavoy town, on the E. side of the Bay of Bengal, there is a large plain, covered with sand.

The soil of Nagpoor, in some tracts, is a black, heavy loam, loaded with vegetable matter; red loam is found in Salem and in Mergui.

Tinnevelly has been found well suited for the cotton plant, and the substance in which it delights looks like a mixture of lime, rubbish, and yellowish brickdust, intermixed with nodules of *Kunkur*.‡ A chymical analysis of three of the best cotton soils in these districts, gives the following result:§—

| Cotton Soils. | Vegetable matter. | Saline and Extractive. | Iron. | | | Carb. lime. | Magnesia. | Alumina. | Silex. | Water and loss. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Protox. | Deutox. | Tritox. | | | | | | |
| Bundelcund | 2·00 | 0·33 | — | 7·75 | — | 11·90 | trace | 3·10 | 74·0 | 1·00 | No peat or lignite; nothing soluble in cold water; silex in fine powder; kunkur in the gravel. |
| Coimbatore | 2·30 | traces | 4·00 | — | — | 7·50 | trace | 2·80 | 82·80 | 0·60 | Gravel, mostly silex, with some felspar, but no kunkur. |
| Tinnevelly . | 0·15 | 0·20. | — | — | 2·88 | 19·50 | 0·15 | 2·00 | 74·00 | 1·12 | Gravel, almost wholly kunkur; some carb. iron; half the soil of gravel. |

Guzerat is generally termed the Garden of Western India. With the exception of Kattywar, and to the eastward of Broach, it is one extensive plain, comprising many different soils; the chief varieties being the black or cotton soil, and the *gorat*, or light grain-producing soil.|| The former is chiefly confined to Broach and part of Surat N. of the Taptee; the latter prevails throughout Baroda, Kaira, and part

* All the soils of India have, in general, a powerful absorbing quality; hence their fertile properties.

† *Kunkur.*—A calcareous concretion, stratified and in mammillated masses of all sizes, which contains 50 to 80 per cent. of carbonate of lime, some magnesia, iron, and alumina: these nodules are interspersed in large quantities throughout extensive tracts of the alluvial and secondary formations, and are ascribed to the action of calcareous springs, which are of frequent occurrence.

‡ It is curious to note, in different countries, how plants seem to vary in their feeding: thus, at Singapore, the best cotton soil *apparently* consists of large coarse grains of white sand, mixed with something like rough charcoal-dust, and with fragments of vegetables and mosses of all sorts. A somewhat similar substance, mingled with shells and decayed vegetable matter, is the favourite *habitat* of the Sea Island cotton of Georgia, U. S.

§ See an interesting *Essay on the Agriculture of Hindoostan*, by G. W. Johnston.

|| *See* Mackay's valuable *Report on Western India*, p. 41.

of Ahmedabad, becoming more mixed with sand to the northward; black soil abounds to the westward of the Gulf, and in many of the Kattywar valleys. The numerous vegetable products of India attest the variety of soils which exist there.

MINERALS.—Various metals have been produced and wrought in India from the earliest ages: the geological character of the different districts indicates their presence. So far as we have yet ascertained, their distribution is as follows:—

*Iron.*—Ladakh.—Mines in the north-eastern part of the Punjab,* and in almost every part of Kumaon, where the requisite smelting processes are performed; though on a small scale, and in a rude and inefficient manner. Mairwarra; in veins, and of good quality, believed to be inexhaustible. Rajmahal; in gneiss. Lalgang, 16 miles south-west of Mirzapoor city. Kuppudgode hills; in schistes, quartz, and gneiss: on the north-east side, one stratum of iron, 60 feet thick. Ramghur—hills abounding in iron, though not of the best quality. Hazareebagh, in gneiss—flinty brown colour, pitchy lustre, and splintery fracture; 20 feet thick. Various parts of Palamow district; at Singra in inexhaustible quantities. Eastern part of Nagpoor territory. Mine of good quality at Tendukhera, near Jubbulpoor (were the navigation of the Nerbudda available, this would prove a most useful article of export for railways.) Western extremity of Vindhya; in gneiss. Southern Mahratta country; in quartz: micaceous and magnetic iron-ore occur in the same district; in clay-slate. In all the mountains of the Western Ghauts; in Malabar; in veins, beds, or masses, in the laterite (here extensively smelted.) Salem, southern part (yields 60 per cent. of the metal fit for castings.) Nellore district. In many places in Masulipatam. Rajahmundry; in sandstone hills. Vizagapatam. Abundant in many parts of Orissa. Tenasserim provinces; occurs in beds, veins, and in rocks. Between the Saluen and Gyne rivers, it is found in sandstone hills. Most abundant between Ye and Tavoy, approximating the sea-coast; the best is at a short distance north of Tavoy town: it is there in two forms—common magnetic iron-ore; and massive, in granular concretions, crystallized, splendent, metallic, highly magnetic, and with polarity. The ore would furnish from 74 to 80 per cent. raw iron. In various places the process of smelting is rudely performed by the natives, but they produce a metal which will bear comparison with the best Swedish or British iron.†

*Tin.*—Oodeypoor,—mines productive. On the banks of the Barakur, near Palamow; in gneiss. Tenasserim provinces. Tavoy, rich in tin-ore; generally found at the foot of mountains, or in hills: Pakshan river; soil in which the grains are buried, yields 8 or 10 feet of metal; at Tavoy, 7 feet: of superior quality in the vicinity of Mergui town.

*Lead.*—Ladakh. Koonawur. Ajmere; in quartz rocks. Mairwarra. Eastern part of Nagpoor. In the vicinity of Hazareebagh. Eastern Ghauts at Jungamanipenta; in clay-slate—mines here. Amherst province. Fine granular galena obtained in clay-slate, and clay limestone on the Touser, near the Dehra-Doon.

*Copper.*—Ladakh. Koonawur, in the valley of the Pabur. Kumaon, near Pokree; but these mines are almost inaccessible, and the vicinity affords no adequate supply of fuel for smelting: others at Dohnpur,‡ Dhobri, Gangoli, Sira, Khori, and Shor Gurang. Mairwarra. Oodeypoor; abundant,—it supplies the currency. Southern Mahratta country, in quartz; also in a talcose form. Vencatigherry, North Arcot. Nellore district.§ Sullivan's and Callagkiank Islands, in the Mergui Archipelago. This metal is most probably extensively distributed, and of a rich quality.

*Silver.*—In the tin mines of Oodeypoor. In the lead mine, near Hazareebagh, and other places.

*Gold.*—Sands of Shy-yok, Tibet. Ditto Chenab, Huroo, and Swan rivers, Punjab. Ditto Aluknunda, Kumaon. Throughout the tract of country W. of the Neilgherries, amid the rivers and watercourses, draining 2,000 sq. m., this coveted metal abounds; even the river stones, when pounded, yield a rich product: it is usually obtained in small nuggets. In the iron sand of the streams running from the Kuppudgode hills, and from the adjoining Saltoor range. Sumbulpoor; in the detrius of rocks. In moderate quantities in several places in the eastern part of Nagpoor. Many of the streams descending from the Ghauts into Malabar; and in Wynaad. Gold-dust in Mysoor.‖ In the Assam rivers it is plentiful: near Gowhatty 1,000 men used to be employed in collecting ore for the state. Various parts of Tenasserim provinces, but in small quantities. The geological structure of India indicates an abundance of the precious metals.

*Coal.*—The carboniferous deposits of the *oolitic series* in Bengal, west of the Ganges and Hooghly, consist of coal, shale, and sandstone, but no limestone, and they appear chiefly to occupy the depressions of the granitic and metamorphic rocks which form this part of India, becoming exposed in the banks or beds of watercourses or rivers which have passed through them, or in escarpments which have

* Colonel Steinbach says that the mineral wealth of the Punjab is considerable; that mines of gold, copper, iron, plumbago, and lead abound, and that "properly worked they would yield an enormous revenue."

† The natives of Cutch make steel chain-armour, sabres, and various sharp edge tools from their iron; the horse-shoes are excellent—the metal being more malleable, and not so likely to break as the English iron.

‡ The gray ore found in Dohnpur affords 30 to 50 per cent. of copper; it is associated with malachite, and contained in a compact red-coloured dolomite: hence mining operations can be carried on without timbering or masonry.

§ Mines discovered by Dr. Heyne, near Wangapadu. "A footpath, paved with stones, led up the hill to the place which was shown me as one of the mines. It is situated two-thirds up the hill, and might be about 400 ft. above the village (Wangapadu.) An open gallery cut into the rock, demonstrated that it had been formerly worked; and as the stones, which lay in abundance near it, were all tinged or overlaid with mountain green, there could be no doubt that the ore extracted had been copper."—(Heyne, *Tracts on India*, p. 112.)

‖ In excavating the disintegrating granite in the vicinity of Bangalore, to ascertain the extent to which the decomposing influence of the atmosphere will affect the solid rock (viz., 30 to 35 ft.), the contents of soil were frequently auriferous. In blasting sienite at Chinapatam, 40 m. from Bangalore, on the road to Seringapatam, Lieutenant Baird Smith, B.E., observed considerable quantities of gold disseminated in small particles over the fractured surfaces. At Wynaad this metal was obtained from rich yellow earth in sufficient quantity to employ a number of labourers and to yield some returo.

been produced by upheaval of the rocks on which they were deposited. The coal occurs in strata from an inch or less to 9 or 10 feet thickness, interstratified with shale and sandstone; the whole possessing a dark black or blue colour, of a greater or less intensity. At Burdwan its character is slaty: the genera of plants are partly English, some Australian, some peculiar. The depth at the Curhurbalee field, situated 60 miles south of the Ganges, near Surajgurrah, is from 50 to 100 feet. Proceeding westerly, towards Palamow district, which contains many valuable and extensive fields, and where several shafts have been sunk, it has been seen about 16 m. from Chergerh, in Singrowla; at the confluence of the Sone and Tipan, about 30 m. E. from Sohajpoor. Near Jeria, in Pachete district. Hills in Ramghur, abounding in coal. Jubbulpoor, 30 m. S. from Hoosungabad; in Shahpoor in the same neighbourhood; and abundantly along the valley of the Nerbudda. Traces of it are said to exist in the diamond sandstone north-west of Nagpoor, and it has been found in the Mahadeo mountains. In the Punjab, at Mukkud, on the left bank of the Indus, and in the localities of Joa, Meealee, and Nummul. The extremes of this coal formation, so far as have yet been discovered in India, are:—the confluence of the Godavery and Prenheta in the south, in lat. 19°, and the Salt range in about 33° N.; Cutch in the west, and Burdwan in the east; and detached in Silhet, Pegu (recently found of excellent quality), and the Tenasserim provinces (plentiful, and possessing good properties.) There are many other places, no doubt, in the country between Bengal and Berar, where this valuable mineral exists; traces of it have been observed in Orissa, but it has not yet been found available for use; it is not improbable that it extends across the delta of the Ganges to Silhet, distant 300 miles. It also occurs extensively in the grits bounding the southern slope of the Himalaya: it has been questioned whether this is the older coal, or only lignite associated with nagelflue,—where the Teesta issues from the plain, its strata is highly inclined, and it bears all the other characters of the older formation. Analysis of Indian coal found in different parts, and near the surface, gave the following results:—Chirra Poonjee, slaty kind: specific gravity, 1·497; containing volatile matter, 36; carbon, 41; and a copious white ash, 23 = 100. Nerbudda (near Fatehpoor), near the surface,—volatile matter, 10·5; water, 3·5; charcoal, 20; earthy residue (red), 64 = 100. Cossyah hills: specific gravity, 1·275; volatile matter or gas, 38·5; carbon or coke, 60·7; earthy impurities, 0·8 = 100 —(ash very small.) Hurdwar: specific gravity, 1·968; volatile matter, 35·4; carbon, 50; ferruginous ash, 14·6 = 100. Arracan: specific gravity, 1·308; volatile matter, 66·4; carbon, 33; ash, 0·6 = 100. Cutch: charcoal, 70; bitumen, 20; sulphur, 5; iron, 3; calcareous earths, 2.

*Sulphur.*—Mouths of Godavery, and at Condapilly, on the Kistnah. Sulphate of alumina obtained from the aluminous rocks of Nepaul; used by the natives to cure fresh wounds or bruises: yields on analysis—sulphate of alumina, 95; peroxyde of iron, 3; silex, 1: loss, 1. Sulphate of iron is procured in the Behar hills, and used by the Patna dyers: it yields sulphate of iron, 39; peroxyde of iron, 36; magnesia, 23: loss, 2 = 100.

*Diamonds.*—Sumbulpoor has been celebrated for the finest diamonds in the world; they are found in the bed of the Mahanuddy. Mines were formerly worked at Wyraghur, Nagpoor; Malavilly, in Masulipatam (near Ellore); and at Panna, in Bundlecund. Mr. H. W. Voysey described, in 1824, the diamond mines of the *Nulla Mulla* mountains, north of the Kistnah,* which were formerly extensively worked.†

*Rubies.*—Sumbulpoor; in the detrius of rocks.

*Pearls.*—Gulf of Manaar, near Cape Comorin, and on the coast of many of the islands in the Mergui Archipelago.

Muriat of soda (common salt) is found in rock and liquid form at various places. A salt lake, 20 m. long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ broad, is situated in lat. 26° 53′, long. 74° 57′; it supplies a great portion of the neighbouring country with salt after the drains are dried up. A salt lake in Berar contains in 100 parts,—muriat of soda, 20; muriat of lime, 10; muriat of magnesia, 6. Towards the sources of the Indus, salt lakes exist at 16,000 ft. above the sea. There are extensive salt mines in the *Salt range* of the Punjab. Natron and soda lakes are said to exist in the Himalaya.

Cornelian is found and worked in different places: the principal mines are situated at the foot of the western extremity of the Rajpeepla hills, close to the town of Ruttunpoor; the soil in which the cornelians are imbedded consists chiefly of quartz sand—reddened by iron, and a little clay. Agates abound in Western India: at one part of Cutch the sides of the hills (of amygdaloid)) are covered with heaps of rock crystal, as if cart loads had been purposely thrown there, and in many parts of the great trappean district the surface is strewed with a profusion of agatoid flints, onyx, hollow spheroids of quartz, crystals, and zoolitic minerals. There are evidences of several extinct volcanoes in Cutch.

This is but an imperfect sketch of the minerals of India: doubtless, there are many more places where metals exist; but during the anarchy and warfare which prevailed prior to British supremacy, the very knowledge of their locality has been lost. At no distant day this subterranean wealth will be developed; and probably, when the gold-fields of Australia are exhausted, those of India may be profitably worked.

* These mountains are bounded on all sides by granite, that everywhere appears to pass under it, and to form its basis: some detached portions have only the upper third of their summits of sandstone and quartz, the basis or remaining two-thirds being of granite. Deep ravines are not infrequent. The diamond is procured only in the sandstone breccia, which is found under a compact rock, composed of a beautiful mixture of red and yellow jasper, quartz, chalcedony, and hornstone, of various colours, cemented together by a quartz paste: it passes into a pudding-stone of rounded pebbles of quartz, hornstone, &c., cemented by an argillo-calcareous earth of a loose friable texture, in which the diamonds are most frequently found. The breccia is seen at depths varying from 5 to 50 feet, and is about 2 feet in thickness; immediately *above* it lies a stratum of pudding-stone, composed of quartz and hornstone pebbles, cemented by calcareous clay and grains of sand. The miners are of opinion that the diamond is always growing, and that the chips and small pieces rejected ultimately increase to large diamonds.—*Trans. A. S. Bengal*, vol. xiv., p. 120.

† The diamonds of Golconda have obtained great celebrity throughout the world, but they were merely cut and polished there, having been generally found at Parteall, in a detached portion of the Nizam's dominions, near the southern frontier, in lat. 16° 40′, long. 80° 28′.

## CHAPTER III.

POPULATION—NUMBERS—DISTRIBUTION—DENSITY TO AREA—PROPORTION OF HINDOOS TO MOHAMMEDANS—VARIETIES OF RACE—DIVERSE LANGUAGES—ABORIGINES—SLAVERY—PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

From remote antiquity India has been densely peopled; but, as previously observed (p. 13), we know nothing certain of its indigenous inhabitants,—of accessions derived from immigration, or from successful invasions by sea and land,—of the progressive natural increase,—or of the circumstances which influence, through many generations, the ebb and flow of the tide of population.* There is direct testimony, however, that before the Christian era the country was thickly inhabited by a civilised people, dwelling in a well-cultivated territory, divided into numerous flourishing states, with independent governments, united in federal alliance, and capable of bringing into the field armies of several hundred thousand men.

For more than a thousand years after the Greek invasion, we have no knowledge of what was taking place among the population of India, and but a scanty notice, in the eighth century, of the Arab incursions of the regions bordering on the Indus. Even the marauding forays of Mahmood the Ghaznevide, in the eleventh century, afford no internal evidence of the state of the people, save that derived from a record of their magnificent cities, stately edifices, immense temples, lucrative trade, and vast accumulations of wealth; the Hindoos were probably then in a more advanced state of social life, though less warlike than during the Alexandrine period: they had gradually occupied the whole of India with a greatly augmented population, and possessed a general knowledge of the arts, conveniences, and luxuries of life.

During the desolating period of Moslem forays, and of Mogul rule, there appears to have been a continued diminution of men and of wealth, which Akber in vain essayed to check by some equitable laws. We have sufficient indirect and collateral evidence to show that whole districts were depopulated, that famines frequently occurred, and that exaction, oppression, and misgovernment produced their wonted results in the deterioration of the country. No census, or any trustworthy attempt at ascertaining the numbers of their subjects, was made by the more enlightened Mogul sovereigns, even when all their energies were directed to the acquisition of new dominions.

The English, until the last few years, have been as remiss in this respect as their predecessors in power. An idea prevailed that a census would be viewed suspiciously as the prelude to a capitation tax, or some other exaction or interference with domestic affairs. In Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which we have had under control for nearly a century, no nearer approximation has yet been made to ascertain the number of our subjects, than the clumsy and inaccurate contrivance of roughly ascer-

* It is not improbable that some of the early immigrants were offshoots of the colonists who are said to have passed from Greece into Egypt, thence travelled eastward, forming settlements on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris; and ultimately reached the Indus and Ganges. In craniological and facial characteristics, many Hindoos present a striking similitude to the ancient Greek, modified by climate, food, and habits; and in several architectural structures, of which ruins are still extant, there is considerable resemblance to the ancient buildings of Egypt, and those erected on the Babylonian plains. Bryant is of opinion that Chaldea was the parent country of the Hindoos; Vans Kennedey traces the Sanscrit language to Mesopotamia; H. H. Wilson deems that the Hindoos connected with the *Rig Veda* were from a northern site, as in that work the worshipper on more than one occasion, when soliciting long life, asks for an hundred winters, which the Professor thinks would not have been desired by the natives of a warm climate. This is not conclusive. In Britain man frequently dates his age from the number of summers he has seen. There can, however, be little doubt that many of the early invaders of India were of the type of Japhet,—some of them acquainted with maritime commerce, and all comparatively more civilised than the *indigènes* who were driven towards the southward and eastward, and to mountain and jungle fastnesses. When this occurred it is impossible to determine. General Briggs says that the *Vedas* were written in India at the period when Joshua led the Israelites over Jordan into Canaan. The date when Menu, the lawgiver, lived has not been ascertained. Whatever the period, the Hindoos had not then occupied the country farther south than the 23rd degree, as Menu describes the people beyond as "barbarians, living in forests, and speaking an unknown language." Remote annals are lost in legends and traditions; and the chronology of Hindooism is an absurdity, except on the principle of cutting off the ciphers attached to the apocryphal figures.

taining the houses and huts in a village or district, and then supposing a fixed number of mouths in each house (say five or six.) The fallacy of such estimates is now admitted, and rulers are beginning to see the value of a correct and full census, taken at stated intervals, in order to show the rates of increase or decrease, and to note the causes thereof. I believe that the Anglo-Indian government have no reason to apprehend unpleasing disclosures if a decennial census be adopted for all the territories under their sway: the natural fecundity of the Hindoos would lead to an augmentation where peace and the elements of animal sustenance exist; and a satisfactory proof would be afforded of the beneficence of our administration, by the multiplication of human life. With these prefatory remarks, I proceed to show briefly all that is at present known on the subject.

At pp. 3 to 11 of this volume will be found the returns collected by the indefatigable Edward Thornton, head of the statistical department of the East India House, with remarks thereon at p. 2. Evidently there must be erroneous estimates somewhere, otherwise there would not be so great a disproportion of mouths to each square mile, as appears between the British territories (157) and the other states (74)—say 105,000,000 on 666,000 sq. m., and 53,000,000 on 717,000 sq. m. Estimating the entire area, as above, at 1,380,000 sq. m., and the population thereon at 158,000,000, would give 114 to each sq. m. Viewing India as including the entire region, from the Suliman on the west, to the Youmadoung mountains on the east, and from Cape Comorin to Peshawur, and estimating the area at 1,500,000 sq. m., and the number of inhabitants to each sq. m. at 130, would show a population of 195,000,000; which is probably not far from the truth.

The Chinese census shows 367,632,907 mouths on an area of 1,297,999 sq. m., or 283 to each sq. m.* In England the density is 333; Wales, 134; Ireland, 200; Scotland, 100.† India, with its fertile soil, a climate adapted to its inhabitants, and with an industrious and comparatively civilised people, might well sustain 250 mouths to each sq. m., or 375,000,000 on 1,500,000 sq. m. of area.‡

The following table, framed from various public returns and estimates, is the nearest approximation to accuracy of the population of each district under complete British rule; it shows (excluding Pegu) a total of about 120,000,000 (119,630,098) persons on an area of 829,084 sq. m., or 146 to each sq. m.:—

* There have been several censuses of China, of which we have little reason to doubt the accuracy: that of 1753, showed 102,328,258; that of 1792, 307,467,200; that of 1812, 361,221,900. In some districts, along river banks, the density is very great; such as Kangsoo (Nankin)—774 to the sq. m.: in others the density varies from 515 down to 51. (*See* vol. i., p. 29, of my report on China to her Majesty's government, in 1847.)

† *See* Preface (p. xv.) to my Australian volume, new issue, in 1855, for density of population in different European states.

‡ In illustration of this remark, the following statement, derived from the Commissioners' Report on the Punjab,—of the population of Jullundhur Zillah, situated between the rivers Sutlej and Beas,—is subjoined, with the note appended by the census officer, Mr. R. Temple, 25th of October, 1851:—

| Pergunnahs. | Hindoo. | | Mussulmen. | | Total. | | Grand Total. | Total Area in Acres. | Area in sq. miles of 640 Acres each. | Number of inhabitants per sq. mile. | Number of Acres to each Person. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Agricultural. | Non-Agricultural. | Agricultural. | Non-Agricultural. | Agricultural. | Non-Agricultural. | | | | | |
| Philor . . . | 41,997 | 38,591 | 20,442 | 19,211 | 62,439 | 57,802 | 120,241 | 187,001 | 299 | 412 | 1·52 |
| Jullundhur . | 48,967 | 49,652 | 46,049 | 50,568 | 95,016 | 100,220 | 195,236 | 250,397 | 391 | 499 | 1·25 |
| Rahoon. . . | 42,739 | 47,201 | 25,145 | 19,027 | 67,884 | 66,228 | 134,112 | 199,472 | 312 | 430 | 1·48 |
| Nakodur . . | 28,787 | 19,349 | 44,085 | 26,181 | 72,872 | 45,530 | 118,402 | 225,031 | 351 | 337 | 1·80 |
| Total . . | 162,490 | 154,793 | 135,721 | 114,987 | 298,211 | 269,780 | 567,991 | 861,901 | 1,346 | 422 | 1·55 |

*Note.*—This return certainly shows a considerable density of population. It may of course be expected that a small and fertile tract like this, which contains no forest, waste, or hill, should be more thickly peopled than an extensive region like the North-Western Provinces, which embraces every variety of plain and mountain, of cultivation and jungle; we find therefore that in the provinces we have 322 inhabitants per square mile, while here we have one-fourth more, or 422; the population of this district proportionately exceeds that of twenty-two out of thirty-one districts of the North-Western Provinces, and is less than that of nine. It also exceeds the average population of any one out of the six divisions. It about equals that of the districts of Agra, Muttra, Furruckabad, and Cawnpoor, but is inferior in density to the populous vicinities of Delhi or Benares, and to the fertile districts of Juanpoor, Azeemgurh, and Ghazeepoor. The comparative excess of Indian over European population has become so notorious, that it is superfluous to comment on the fact, that the population averages of this district exceed those of the most highly peopled countries of Europe.

*British Territories in Continental India—Area, Chief Towns, and Position.*

| Provinces, Districts, &c. | Area in Square Miles. | Population | Principal Town. | Position of Town. | | Date of Acquisition. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Lat. N. | Long. E. | |
| BENGAL PROVINCE:— | | | | | | |
| Calcutta, and 24 Pergunnas | 1,186 | 701,132 | Calcutta | 22° 34′ | 88° 26′ | 1700 & 1757 |
| Hooghly | 2,089 | 1,520,840 | Hooghly | 22 55 | 88 23 | 1757 & 1765 |
| Nuddea | 2,942 | 298,736 | Kishnugur | 23 24 | 88 28 | 1765 |
| Jessore | 3,512 | 381,744 | Jessore | 23 9 | 89 11 | " |
| Backergunge and Shabazpore | 3,794 | 733,800 | Burrisol | 22 33 | 90 22 | " |
| Dacca | 1,960 | 600,000 | Dacca | 23 43 | 90 25 | " |
| Tipperah and Bulloah | 4,850 | 1,406,950 | Tipperah | 23 28 | 91 10 | " |
| Chittagong | 2,560 | 1,000,000 | Chittagong | 22 20 | 91 55 | " |
| Sylhet and Jyntea | 8,424 | 380,000 | Sylhet | 24 54 | 91 50 | 1835 |
| Mymensing | 4,712 | 1,487,000 | Sowara | 24 41 | 90 [illegible] | 1765 |
| Rajeshaye | 2,084 | 671,000 | Rampoor | 24 33 | 88 38 | " |
| Moorshedabad | 1,856 | 1,045,000 | Berhampore | 24 12 | 88 18 | " |
| Beebhoom | 4,730 | 1,040,876 | Sooree | 23 53 | 87 31 | " |
| Dinagepoor | 3,820 | 1,200,000 | Dinagepoor | 25 34 | 88 38 | " |
| Rungpoor | 4,130 | 2,559,000 | Rungpoor | 25 40 | 89 16 | " |
| Burdwan | 2,224 | 1,854,152 | Burdwan | 23 12 | 87 56 | 1760 |
| Baraset | 1,424 | 522,000 | Baraset | 22 43 | 88 33 | " |
| Bancoorah | 1,476 | 480,000 | Bancoorah | 23 14 | 87 6 | 1760 |
| Bhagulpore | 5,806 | 2,000.000 | Bhagulpore | 25 11 | 87 0 | 1765 |
| Monghyr | 2,558 | 800,000 | Monghyr | 25 19 | 86 30 | " |
| Maldah | 1.000 | 431,000 | Maldah | 25 2 | 88 11 | " |
| Bagoorah | 2,160 | 900,000 | Bagoorah | 24 50 | 89 25 | " |
| Pubna | 2,606 | 600,000 | Pubna | 24 0 | 89 12 | " |
| Purneah | 5,878 | 1,600,000 | Purneah | 25 46 | 87 34 | " |
| Fureedpore, Deccan, and Jelalpore | 2,052 | 855,000 | Fureedpore | 23 36 | 89 50 | " |
| Darjeeling | 834 | 30,882 | Darjeeling | 27 2 | 88 19 | 1835 & 1850 |
| Singhbhoom | 2,944 | 200,000 | Chaibassa | 22 36 | 85 44 | 1765 |
| Maunbhoom | 5,652 | 772,340 | Pachete | 23 36 | 86 50 | " |
| SOUTH WEST FRONTIER:— | | | | | | |
| Chota Nagpore | 5,308 | 482,900 | Lohadugga | 23 6 | 84 46 | 1818 |
| Palamow | 3,468 | | Palamow | 23 50 | 84 1 | " |
| BAHAR PROVINCE:— | | | | | | |
| Ramghur | 8,524 | 372,216 | Ramghur | 24 0 | 85 24 | 1765 |
| Behar | 5,694 | 2,500,000 | Gyah | 24 43 | 85 2 | " |
| Patna | 1,828 | 1,200,000 | Patna | 25 53 | 85 16 | " |
| Shahabad | 3,721 | 1,600,000 | Arrah | 25 31 | 84 43 | 1775 |
| Tirhoot | 7,402 | 2,400,000 | Mozufferpoor | 26 6 | 85 28 | 1765 |
| Sarun and Chumparun | 2,560 | 1,700,000 | Sarun or Chupra | 25 45 | 85 48 | " |
| Sumbhulpoor | 4,693 | 800,000 | Sumbhulpoor | 21 29 | 84 0 | 1850 |
| ORISSA PROVINCE:— | | | | | | |
| Midnapore and Hidgellee | 5,029 | 666,328 | Midnapore | 22 25 | 87 23 | 1760 |
| Cuttack and Pooree. | 4,829 | 1,000,000 | Cuttack | 20 28 | 85 55 | 1803 |
| Balasore | 1,876 | 556,395 | Balasore | 21 30 | 87 0 | " |
| Koordah | 930 | 571,160 | Koordah | 20 10 | 85 43 | " |
| MADRAS PRESIDENCY:— | | | | | | |
| Ganjam | 6,400 | 926,930 | Ganjam | 19 24 | 85 7 | 1765 |
| Vizagapatam | 7,650 | 1,254,272 | Vizagapatam | 17 41 | 83 21 | " |
| Rajamundry | 6,050 | 1,012,036 | Rajamundry | 17 0 | 81 50 | " |
| Masulipatam | 5,000 | 520,866 | Masulipatam | 16 10 | 81 12 | 1759 |
| Guntoor | 4,960 | 569,968 | Guntoor | 16 20 | 80 30 | 1788 |
| Bellary | 13,056 | 1,229,599 | Bellary | 15 9 | 76 59 | 1800 |
| Cuddapah | 12,970 | 1,451,921 | Cuddapah | 14 28 | 78 52 | " |
| North Arcot | 6,800 | 1,485,873 | Chittoor | 13 12 | 79 9 | 1751 |
| South Arcot | 7,610 | 1,006,005 | Cuddalore | 11 42 | 79 50 | " |
| Chingleput and Madras | 3,050 | 1,283,462 | Madras | 13 6 | 80 21 | 1765 |
| Salem | 8,200 | 1,195,367 | Salem | 11 39 | 78 14 | 1792 |
| Coimbatore | 8,280 | 1,153,862 | Coimbatore | 11 0 | 77 2 | 1799 |
| Trichinopoly | 3,000 | 709,196 | Trichinopoly | 10 48 | 78 46 | 1801 |
| Tanjore | 3,900 | 1,676,068 | Tanjore | 10 48 | 79 11 | 1799 |
| Madura | 10,700 | 1,756.791 | Madura | 9 55 | 78 10 | 1801 |
| Tinnivelly | 5,700 | 1,269,216 | Tinnivelly | 8 44 | 77 44 | 1801 |
| Malabar | 6,060 | 1,514,909 | Calicut | 11 15 | 75 50 | 1792 |
| Canara | 7,720 | 1,056,333 | Mangalore | 12 52 | 74 54 | 1799 |
| Nellore | 7,930 | 935,690 | Nellore | 14 27 | 80 2 | 1801 |
| Kurnool | 3,243 | 273,190 | Kurnool | 15 50 | 78 5 | 1838 |
| Coorg | 1,420 | 65,437 in 1836 | Merkara | 12 27 | 75 48 | 1834 |
| BOMBAY PRESIDENCY:— | | | | | | |
| Concan, North | 5,477 | 815,849 | Tannah | 18 57 | 72 53 | 1818 |
| " South | 3,964 | 665,238 | Rutnagheriah | 17 0 | 73 20 | " |
| Bombay Island | 18 | 566,119 | Bombay | 18 57 | 72 52 | 1661 |
| Dharwar | 3,837 | 754,385 | Dharwar | 15 28 | 75 4 | 1818 |
| Poona | 5,298 | 666.006 | Poona | 18 31 | 73 53 | " |
| Kandeish | 9,311 | 778,112 | Malligaum | 20 32 | 74 30 | " |
| Surat | 1,629 | 492,684 | Surat | 21 9 | 72 51 | 1759 |
| Broach | 1,319 | 290,984 | Broach | 21 42 | 73 2 | 1803 |
| Ahmednuggur | 9,931 | 995,585 | Ahmednuggur | 19 6 | 74 46 | 1817 |
| Sholapore | 4,991 | 675,115 | Sholapore | 17 40 | 76 0 | 1818 |
| Belgaum | 5,405 | 1,025,882 | Belgaum | 15 50 | 74 36 | 1817 |

*British Territories in Continental India—Area, Chief Towns, and Position.*

| Provinces, Districts, &c. | Area in Square Miles. | Population. | Principal Town. | Position of Town. Lat. N. | Position of Town. Long. E. | Date of Acquisition. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BOMBAY PRESIDENCY—*continued.* | | | | | | |
| Kaira | 1,869 | 580,631 | Kaira | 22° 43' | 72° 40' | 1803 |
| Ahmedabad and Nassik | 9,931 | 995,585 | Ahmedabad | 23 0 | 72 36 | 1818 |
| Sattara | 10,222 | 1,005,771 | Sattara | 17 40 | 74 3 | 1848 |
| BERAR PROVINCE:— | | | | | | |
| Deogur above the Ghauts | | | Chindwara | 22 3 | 78 58 | 1854 |
| „ below the Ghauts | | | Nagpore | 21 10 | 79 10 | „ |
| Wein-Gunga | 76,432 | 4,650,000 | Bundara | 21 11 | 79 41 | „ |
| Choteesgurh | | | Ryepore | 21 11 | 81 40 | „ |
| Chandarpoor | | | Chandah | 19 57 | 79 23 | „ |
| NERBUDDA DISTRICTS:— | | | | | | |
| Saugor | 1,857 | 305,594 | Saugor | 23 50 | 78 49 | 1818 |
| Jubbulpoor | 6,237 | 442,771 | Jubbulpoor | 23 10 | 80 1 | „ |
| Hoosungabad | 1,916 | 242,641 | Hoosungabad | 22 44 | 77 44 | „ |
| Seuni | 1,459 | 227,070 | Seuni | 22 1 | 79 40 | „ |
| Dumoh | 2,428 | 363,584 | Dumoh | 23 49 | 79 30 | „ |
| Nursingpoor | 501 | 254,486 | Nursingpoor | 24 0 | 79 28 | „ |
| Baitool | 990 | 93,441 | Baitool | 21 50 | 77 58 | „ |
| AGRA PRES., OR N.W. PROV.:— | | | | | | |
| Benares | 995 | 851,757 | Benares | 25 17 | 83 4 | 1775 |
| Ghazeepore | 2,181 | 1,596,324 | Ghazeepore | 25 32 | 83 39 | „ |
| Azimghur | 2,516 | 1,653,251 | Azimghur | 26 0 | 83 14 | 1801 |
| Goruckpoor | 7,340 | 3,087,874 | Goruckpoor | 26 42 | 83 24 | „ |
| Jounpoor | 1,552 | 1,143,749 | Jounpoor | 25 44 | 82 45 | 1775 |
| Allahabad | 2,788 | 1,379,788 | Allahabad | 25 26 | 81 45 | 1801 |
| Banda | 3,009 | 743,872 | Banda | 25 27 | 80 23 | 1803 |
| Futtehpore | 1,583 | 679,787 | Futtehpore | 25 57 | 80 54 | 1801 |
| Cawnpore | 2,348 | 1,174,556 | Cawnpore | 26 29 | 80 25 | „ |
| Etawah | 1,677 | 610,965 | Etawah | 26 46 | 79 5 | „ |
| Furruckabad | 2,122 | 1,064,607 | Furruckabad | 27 24 | 79 40 | „ |
| Shajehanpoor | 2,308 | 986,096 | Shajehanpoor | 27 52 | 79 58 | „ |
| Allyghur | 2,153 | 1,134,565 | Allyghur | 27 56 | 78 8 | 1817 |
| Bareilly | 3,119 | 1,378,268 | Bareilly | 28 23 | 79 29 | 1801 |
| Moradabad | 2,698 | 1,138,461 | Moradabad | 28 50 | 78 51 | „ |
| Agra | 1,864 | 1,001,961 | Agra | 27 10 | 78 5 | 1803 |
| Delhi | 789 | 435,744 | Delhi | 28 38 | 77 19 | „ |
| Saharunpoor | 2,162 | 801,325 | Saharunpoor | 29 58 | 77 36 | 1803 |
| Paniput | 1,269 | 389,085 | Paniput | 29 23 | 77 2 | „ |
| Hissar | 3,294 | 330,852 | Hissar | 29 8 | 75 50 | „ |
| Rohtuk | 1,340 | 377,013 | Rohtuk | 28 54 | 76 38 | „ |
| Goorgaon | 1,939 | 662,486 | Goorgaon | 28 28 | 77 5 | „ |
| Mozuffernuggur | 1,646 | 672,861 | Mozuffernuggur | 23 28 | 77 45 | 1836 |
| Meerut | 2,200 | 1,135,072 | Meerut | 28 59 | 77 46 | „ |
| Boolundshuhur | 1,823 | 778,342 | Burrun | 28 24 | 77 56 | 1803 |
| Bijnore | 1,900 | 695,521 | Bijnore | 29 22 | 78 11 | 1802 |
| Budaon | 2,401 | 1,019,161 | Budaon | 28 2 | 79 11 | „ |
| Muttra | 1,613 | 862,909 | Muttra | 27 30 | 77 45 | 1803 |
| Mynpoory | 2,020 | 832,714 | Mynpoory | 27 14 | 97 4 | „ |
| Humeerpoor | 2,241 | 548,604 | Humeerpoor | 25 58 | 80 14 | 1802 |
| Mirzapoor | 5,152 | 1,104,315 | Mirzapoor | 25 6 | 82 38 | 1801 |
| Jaloun | 1,873 | 176,297 | Jaloun | 26 9 | 74 24 | „ |
| Ajmere | 2,029 | 224,891 | Ajmere | 26 29 | 74 43 | 1817 |
| Mairwarra | 282 | 37,715 | Nyanugga | 26 6 | 74 25 | „ |
| CIS SUTLEJ:— | | | | | | |
| Umballah | 293 | 67,134 | Umballah | 30 24 | 76 49 | 1847 |
| Loodianah | 725 | 120,898 | Loodianah | 30 55 | 75 54 | „ |
| Kythul and Ladwa | 1,538 | 164,805 | Kythul | 29 49 | 76 28 | 1843 |
| Ferozepore | 97 | 16,890 | Ferozepore | 30 55 | 75 55 | 1835 |
| Seik States | 1,906 | 249,686 | Patialah | 30 20 | 76 25 | „ |
| PUNJAB:— | | | | | | |
| Jhelum | 13,959 | 1,116,035 | Jhelum | 32 56 | 73 47 | 1849 |
| Lahore | 13,428 | 2,470,817 | Lahore | 31 36 | 74 21 | „ |
| Leia | 30,000 | 1,500,000 | Leia | 30 57 | 71 4 | „ |
| Mooltan | 14,900 | 500,000 | Mooltan | 30 12 | 71 30 | „ |
| Jullunder | 1,324 | 569,722 | Jullunder | 31 21 | 75 31 | 1846 |
| Peshawur | 4,836 | about 850,000 | Peshawur | 34 71 | 71 38 | 1849 |
| Kangra | | | Kangra | 32 5 | 76 18 | „ |
| SCINDE PROVINCE:— | | | | | | |
| Kurrachee | 16,000 | 185,550 | Kurrachee | 24 56 | 67 3 | 1843 |
| Shikarpoor | 6,120 | 350,401 | Shikarpoor | 28 1 | 68 39 | „ |
| Hydrabad | 30,000 | 551,811 | Hydrabad | 25 12 | 69 29 | „ |
| ULTRA-GANGETIC DISTRICTS:— | | | | | | |
| Arracan | 15,104 | 321,522 | Akyab | 20 10 | 92 54 | 1826 |
| Assam, Lower | 8,948 | 710,000 | Gowhatty | 26 9 | 91 45 | „ |
| Assam, Upper | 12,857 | 260,000 | Seebpore | 27 0 | 94 40 | „ |
| Goalpara | 3,506 | 400,000 | Goalpara | 26 8 | 90 40 | 1765 |
| Cossya Hills | 729 | 10,935 | Chirra Ponjee | 25 14 | 91 45 | 1826 |
| Cachar | 4,000 | 60,000 | Silchar | 24 49 | 92 50 | 1830 |
| Tenasserim, Mergui, Ye, &c. | 29,168 | 115,431 | Mergui | 12 27 | 98 42 | 1826 |
| Pegu Province | 25,000 | 550,000 | Prome | 17 40 | 96 17 | 1853 |

A more recent return (28th July, 1855) from the East India House, gives the population of India thus:—

*British States.*—Bengal, &c., 59,966,284; N. W. Provinces, 30,872,766; Madras, 22,301,697; Bombay, 11,109,067; Eastern settlements, 202,540: total, 124,452,354.

*Native States.*—Bengal, 38,259,862; Madras, 4,752,975; Bombay, 4,460,370: total, 47,473,207.

*Foreign States.* — French settlements, 171,217; Portuguese ditto, not known. Grand total, 172,096,778.*

The varying degree of density of population to area forbids reliance being placed on any mere "estimates," or "approximations to actual amount." Thus in Bengal, Behar, and Cuttack, the number of mouths to each square mile is stated to be—in Jessore, 359; Moorshedabad, 394; Bhagulpoor, 318; Patna, 506; Cuttack, 220; Dacca, 193; Chittagong, 324: average of all, 324.† These are high ratios; but the soil is fertile, and the inhabitants very numerous along the banks of rivers. In Assam, on the N.E. frontier of Bengal, and along the rich valley of the Brahmapootra, the density is placed at only 32 to the square mile; in Arracan, at 21; Tenasserim provinces, at 4; on the S.W. frontier (Chota Nagpoor, &c.), at 85; in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, at 109; in the non-regulation provinces, Kumaon, Ajmeer, &c., at 44.

The census of the Madras Presidency (*see Appendix*) shows, on an area of 138,279 sq. m., a population of 22,281,527, or 161 persons to each sq. m. In some districts the inhabitants are much more thinly scattered: for instance, at Kurnool, 84; at Bellary, 94; at Masulipatam, 104; the highest is the rich district of Tanjore, with 430 to each sq. m. Madras has a much less density than the British N. W. Provinces, which, according to the return of 1852–'3, shows the following results:‡—

| Districts. | Square M. | Population. | Mouths to each sq. m. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agra . . . . | 9,298 | 4,373,156 | 465 |
| Allahabad . . | 11,971 | 4,526,607 | 378 |
| Benares . . . | 19,737 | 9,437,270 | 478 |
| Delhi . . . . | 8,633 | 2,195,180 | 254 |
| Meerut . . . | 9,985 | 4,522,165 | 453 |
| Rohilcund . . | 12,428 | 5,217,507 | 419 |
| Total . . . | 72,052 | 30,271,885 | 420 |

By the two full censuses of Madras and the N. W. Provinces, we gain at last a fair estimate of the small number of Mohammedans, as compared with the Hindoos, in India: the Madras census of 1850–'1, shows, on a total of 21,581,572, that the *adult* Hindoos numbered 13,246,509; Mohammedan adults and others, 1,185,654: the *children*—Hindoos, 6,655,216; Mohammedans and others, 594,193: total census (exclusive of Madras city and suburbs, containing 700,000)—

| Class. | Males. | Females. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hindoos . . . | 10,194,098 | 9,707,627 | 19,901,725 |
| Mohammedans and others. | 852,978 | 826,869 | 1,679,847 |
| Total . . . | 11,047,076 | 10,534,496 | 21,581,572 |

The proportion of Moslems to Hindoos in Southern India, is as one to ten.

The N. W. Provinces return, in 1852–'3, shows—

| Class. | Males. | Females. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hindoos . . . | 13,803,645 | 11,920,464 | 25,724,109 |
| Mohammedans and others. | 2,376,891 | 2,170,880 | 4,547,771 |
| Total . . . | 16,180,536 | 14,091,344 | 30,271,880 |

* The sum of 124,452,354 is a higher figure than the Anglo-Indian subjects of the British crown have hitherto been rated, and is probably the result of a more accurate numbering of the people: thus, until a census now (July, 1855) in progress was made of the Punjab, the population was, as usual, under-estimated. According to the *Lahore Chronicle* of 30th of May, 1855, the returns then received show for Lahore, 3,458,322; Jhelum, 1,762,488; Cis-Sutlej, 2,313,969: which are higher figures than those given from the Parliamentary Papers, at previous page. The enumerations made up to May last, for the Punjab, gave 10,765,478; and it was supposed that the grand total, when completed, would be about eleven million and a-half, or nearly four million more than the official document previously given for the Punjab and Cis-Sutlej states. In my first work on India, twenty years ago, I assumed the population under British jurisdiction to be about one hundred million, which some considered an exaggeration; the above augmentation of twenty-four million is accounted for by the addition of new states, such as the Punjab. I have little doubt that an accurate census will show a larger aggregate than 124,000,000.

† I obtained in India, in 1830, "a census," or rather estimate of these districts, showing an aggregate of area in sq. m., 153,792; villages, 154,268; houses, 7,781,240; mouths, 39,957,561: or about one village to each sq. m. of 640 acres, five houses to each village, five and a-half persons to each house, and 259 mouths to each sq. m. (*See* my first *History of the British Colonies*, vol. i., Asia; 2nd edition, p. 166: published in 1835.)

‡ As regards the censuses of Madras and the N.W. Provinces, I have seen no details given of the means adopted to ensure an accurate enumeration in a single day; they must, I think, be considered as "near approximations" to truth: they appear to be the best yet obtained.

Delhi, Agra, and the adjacent provinces, have for several centuries been the strongholds of the Moslems; yet even here their numbers (including "other" denominations not Hindoos) is only four million to twenty-five million. In 1830, I estimated the total Mohammedan population of India at fifteen million, and recent investigations justify this estimate.

A census of Agra and its suburbs (excluding inmates of bungalows round about the city, and the domestics attached thereto, about 3,000 in number, and also the inhabitants of bazaars and villages in military cantonments) was made in 1844–'45, after seven months' careful examination: the result showed a population of 103,572, with an excess of 8,245 Hindoos over Mohammedans, in this a former seat of Moslem rule; the grand total of houses was 15,327.

A census, in 1829, of Moorshedabad city and district, the head-quarters of the former Mohammedan ruler of Bengal, showed—Hindoos, 555,310; Mussulmen, 412,816 = 968,126: proportion of sexes—*Hindoo*, males, 286,148; females, 269,162: Mussulmen, males, 216,878; females, 196,344: number of houses, Hindoo, 123,495; Mussulmen, 84,734. Allahabad city census in 1831-'2, gave—of Hindoos, 44,116; Mussulmen, 20,669. Allahabad district—Hindoos, 554,206; Mussulmen, 161,209; in the city, the Hindoos were in the proportion of two to one; in the district, of more than three to one.

The population of Calcutta has been a matter of wide estimate, and is in proof of the past neglect of statistical inquiries: in July, 1789, the inhabitants of the Anglo-Indian metropolis were *guessed* at 400,000; at the commencement of the present century, about one million; in 1815, at half a million; in 1837, an imperfect census gave a quarter of a million (229,714); and in 1850, a more complete census showed nearly half a million (413,182), comprising only those residing within the City Proper, bounded by the Mahratta ditch, or limits of the supreme court: the dense population of the suburbs, probably exceeding half a million, are not stated; nor, I believe, the floating mass of people who pass into and out of Calcutta daily; viz., 72,425, of whom 10,936 cross the river diurnally in ferries.

| Resume of Censuses. | 1850. | 1837. |
|---|---|---|
| | Males. | Females. |
| Europeans | 6,233 | 6,479 |
| Eurasians (mixed blood) | 4,615 | 4,746 |
| Armenians | 892 | 636 |
| Chinese | 847 | 362 |
| Asiatics and low castes | 15,342 | 21,096 |
| Hindoos | 274,335 | 137,651 |
| Mohammedans | 110,918 | 58,744 |
| Total | 413,182 | 229,714 |

It is usual to speak of India as if it were inhabited by a single race: such is not the case; the people are more varied in language, appearance, and manners, than those of Europe.* About twenty languages are extensively spoken; viz., (1.) *Hindoostanee*, in pretty general use, particularly in the N.W. Provinces, and usually by Mussulmen† throughout India; (2.) *Bengallee*, in the lower parts of the Gangetic and Brahmapootra plains; (3.) *Punjabee* or Seik, in the upper portion of the Indies; (4.) *Sindhee*, in Cis-Sutlej states and Sinde; (5.) *Tamul*, around Madras and down to the coast of Cape Comorin; (6.) *Canarese* or Karnata, in Mysoor and Coorg; (7.) *Malyalim*, in Travancore and Cochin; (8.) *Teloogoo* or Telinga, at Hydrabad (Deccan), and eastward to coast of Bengal Bay; (9.) *Oorya*, in Orissa; (10.) *Cole* and *Gond*, in Berar; (11.) *Mahratta*, in Maharashtra; (12.) *Hindee*, in Rajpootana and Malwa; (13.) *Guzerattee*, in Guzerat; (14.) *Cutchee*, in Cutch; (15.) *Cashmerian*, in Cashmere; (16.) *Nepaulese*, in Nepaul; (17.) *Bhote*, in Bootan; (18.) *Assamese*, Up. Assam; (19.) *Burmese*, in Arracan and Pegu; (20.) *Brahooi*, or Beloochee, in Beloochistan; Persian and Arabic sparingly, and numerous dialects in different localities.

In Bengal and Orissa the majority of the people do not eat meat, and the abstinence is ascribed to a religious precept forbidding the destruction of life: but almost every Hindoo eats fish; several consume kid flesh (especially when sacrificed and offered to idols),

* Principal languages: English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, German, Russ, Polish, Turkish, Greek, Dutch, Danish, Swede, Norwegian, Finn = 15.

† This tongue was formed as a medium of colloquial intercourse in 1555, by the Emperor Akber, out of *Hindee*, the primitive language of the Hindoos, and Arabic and Persian, which were used by the Mohammedan conquerors: the character adopted is sometimes the Deva Nagri (Sanscrit), but more generally the Arabic alphabet. Although the great majority of the people of India are usually termed Hindoos as regards creed, there is as slight a bond of union among them on that account as there is among the professing Christians in Europe, and as much diversity in reference to practices supposed to be connected with their religious faith

and also birds. Numerous Brahmins and Rajpoots of the highest castes, in N. and W. India, partake of goat, deer, and wild boar; while they abhor the domestic sheep and swine: others who use the jungle cock, (similar to our game-cock), would deem the touch of barn-door poultry pollution. Some classes feed on descriptions of provender which are rejected by others: at Bikaneer, all the Hindoos profess an abhorrence of fish; at Kumaon, they will masticate the short-tailed sheep of the hills, but not the long-tailed one of the plains; people will buy baked bread, but would lose caste if they touched boiled rice cooked by these very bakers: an earthen pot is polluted past redemption if touched by an inferior caste; a metal one suffers no such deterioration: some tribes allow a man to smoke through his hands from the bowl (*chillum*) which contains the tobacco, but would not suffer the same person to touch that part of the *hookah* which contains the water. Other instances of diversity might be multiplied. Even the religious holidays of Bengal are different from those observed in the N. W. Provinces. The barbarous ceremonies of Juggernaut, and the abominations of the Churruk Poojah (where men submit themselves to be swung in the air, with hooks fastened through their loins), are unknown in N. and W. India. In some parts, female infanticide is or was wont to be almost universal; in others it is held in just abhorrence: in some districts, polygamy prevails; in others polyandria—one woman being married to all the brothers of a family, in order to retain property among them;—*here* the marriage of a daughter is a great expense,—*there* a source of profit, as the husband buys his bride, and has the right to sell her, and even to mortgage her for a definite time as security for a debt.

Independent of the division of the Hindoos into castes—Brahmins, Cashtriya, Vaisyas, and Soodras,—and the subdivision of society into numerous hereditary classes, there are other diversities, arising probably from origin of race, and the peculiarities engendered during a long course of time by climate and food: thus the brave Rajpoot and the bold Mahratta are decided antagonists; but both view, with something of contempt, the peaceful, subtle, rice-feeding* Bengallee, whose cleanly, simple habits are outraged by the gross-feeding, dirty Mughs of Arracan, who object not to a dish of stewed rats or snakes, or even to a slice of a putrefying elephant. The Coromandel men have features and modes of thought distinct from those of the Malabar coast; while inhabitants of the Kattywar peninsula differ essentially from both. The dwellers on the cool and dry hills and plateaux, present a marked contrast to those who reside in the hot and humid plains and valleys; and the aborigines, such as the Gonds of Berar, present no similarity whatever to the fine mould and beautifully-chiselled head and face, arched nose, and olive hue, of the pure Hindoo, or to the large-boned, massive frame, and manly cast of the hard-featured, genuine Moslem.

The variety of races in India are so decided, that an experienced officer will at once say whether a soldier belongs to the respective departments of the army of Bengal, of Madras, or Bombay; and further, whether a Hindoo is from Rajpootana, from Oude, from the Deccan, from the coast, or elsewhere.†

With regard to the Mohammedans, irrespective of their local aversions, they are divided into two sects—Soonee and Shea,—who abhor each other as cordially as the members of the Latin and Greek church do, or as the Romanists and Orangemen of Ireland, and are equally ready to fight and slay on a theological point of dispute. Then, besides these two leading divisions of the population, there are several million persons under the denominations of Jains or Buddhists, who consume no animal food or fermented beverage; Seiks, who eat the flesh of the cow, and drink ardent spirits; Parsees or Guebers (erroneously termed "fire-worshippers"), Latin, Protestant, Nestorians, or Syriac and Armenian Christians, —Jews,‡ and a mixed race sprung from the

* A comparatively small portion of the Hindoo population live on rice; the majority eat wheat and other grain, as also various species of pulse.

† In Calcutta, where a variety of races, or, as they may more properly be termed *nations*, are collected, the peculiarities of each are readily ascertainable, and their antagonisms quickly manifested. Among twenty persons in my service at one time in Bengal, there were (excepting four Balasore palanquin-bearers, a tribe bearing a high repute for honesty), not two of the same race; consequently much mutual distrust, frequent quarrels, bickering, and fighting.

‡ Stavorinus adverts, in 1775—'78, to the colony of Jews at Cochin, who, he says, "although most of them are nearly as black as the native Malabars, they yet retain, both men and women, those characteristic features which distinguished this singular people from all other nations of the earth."—

marital union of all—some of one creed, some of another: added to these are the *Eurasians*, born of European fathers and Indian mothers; a rapidly increasing class, probably destined, at some future day, to exercise an important influence in the East.

Before passing from the subject of the numbers and variety of the people, I would wish to draw public attention to a large and most interesting section of them, to whom reference has been made previously, as the aborigines of India. They are scattered over every part of the country, generally in the hilly districts; and although speaking different dialects,* and of varying appearance, manners, and customs, they are considered by General Briggs and Mr. Hodgson (who have studied their peculiarities) as having their origin from a common stock. Of their number throughout India we know nothing; they must amount to several million human beings, whose character is thus summed up:—"The man of the ancient race scorns an untruth, and seldom denies the commission even of a crime that he may have perpetrated, though it lead to death: he is true to his promise; hospitable and faithful to his guest, devoted to his superiors, and always ready to sacrifice his own life in the service of his chief; he is reckless of danger, and knows no fear."† It may be added, that he considers himself justified in levying "black mail" on all from whom he can obtain it, on the ground that he has been deprived of his possession of the soil by the more civilised race who have usurped the territory. The aborigines are distinguished from the Hindoos by several marked customs: they have no castes; eat beef and all sorts of animal food; drink, on every possible occasion, intoxicating beverages (no ceremony, civil or religious, is deemed complete without such drink); have no aversion to the shedding of blood; atone for the sins of the dead by the sacrifice of a victim; widows marry and do not burn; they are ignorant of reading or writing, and usually live by the chase and by pastoral pursuits. Some tribes take their designation from the country they inhabit: Gonds, in Gondwana; Koles or Kolis, in Kolywara; Mirs or Mairs, in Mairmara; Bheels or Bhils, in Bhilwara and Bhilwan; Benjees, in Bengal, &c. Other tribes, such as the Todawurs of the Neilgherries, have designations of which the origin is unknown.

The men are nearly naked; the women wear a cloth wrapper round the waist, carried over the left shoulder and under the right arm; they live mostly in conical thatched hovels, apart from the dwellings of the Hindoos, by whom they are treated as outcasts, and have no valuables but asses and dogs. As watchmen and thief-takers they are of great use, from their fidelity, sacred regard for truth, and the skill evinced in following a foot-track: they are entrusted with the care of private property to a large amount, and convey the public revenue to the chief towns of districts—a duty which they perform with scrupulous care and punctuality.

An unseen deity is worshipped; prayers are offered to avert famine and disease, and for preservation from wild beasts and venomous reptiles: to propitiate the favour

(*Voyages to East Indies*, vol. iii., p. 226.) They had then "a very beautiful and authentic copy of the Pentateuch," but know not when or where they derived it. Their own statement is, that they are of the posterity of the ten tribes carried away into captivity by Shalmaneser, and who, after being liberated from their Assyrian bonds, came hither, where they have from time immemorial constituted a small but isolated community, and enjoyed for a series of ages valuable privileges, including the exercise of their religion without restraint. Their houses, in a separate town, are built of stone, plastered white on the outside, and they have three synagogues; most of them are employed in trade, and some are very wealthy. How these Jews became black is not known; but according to Stavorinus, when they purchase a slave he is immediately circumcised, manumitted, and received into the community as a fellow Israelite. By intermarriages with such converts, the colour, in process of time, may have become perfectly dark, while the peculiar physiognomy was perpetuated in the race of mixed blood, as I have noticed is generally the case with the descendants, by male fathers, of the English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese. There is a colony of white Jews at Mattacherry, or *the Jews' town*, a suburb of Cochin; they regard the black Jews as an inferior caste: the former say that they came to Cranganore after the destruction of the second temple, and that they have a plate of brass in their possession since the year A.D. 490, which records the grant of land and privileges conceded to them by the king of that part of India: a copy of it is now in the public library at Cambridge. By discord and meddling in the disputes of the natives, the Cranganore Jews brought destruction on themselves at the hands of an Indian king, who destroyed their strongholds, palaces, and houses, slew many, and carried others into captivity. The Jews have a never-ceasing communication with their brethren throughout the East. For fuller details of these white and black Israelites, *see* Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. i., 464.

* They seem to be connected with the Tamul and other languages of Southern India, and have no affinity with the Sanscrit.

† *Lectures on the Aboriginal Race of India*; by Lt.-General Briggs: 1852, p. 13.

or appease the anger of the object of adoration, living sacrifices (in some cases human beings) are deemed essential; and the blood of the victim is retained in small vessels by the votaries. All social and religious ceremonies are accompanied by feasting, drinking, and dancing; the latter performed, sometimes, by several hundred women (their hair highly ornamented with flowers) grouped in concentric circles, each laying hold with one hand on her neighbour's cincture or waist, and beating time with the heels on the ground. In figure they are well made and sinewy; rather low in stature; face large or flat, and wide; eyes black and piercing; nose-bridge depressed, nostrils expanded, mouth protruding, lips large, little or no beard: altogether presenting a marked contrast to the Apollo-like form of the genuine Hindoo.*

Several benevolent governmental servants have undertaken the civilisation of different tribes, and by kindness and tact effected considerable improvement in their habits and condition. When disciplined, they make brave and obedient soldiers, are proud of the consideration of their European officers, to whom they become ardently attached, and are ready to follow them abroad, on board ship, or wherever they go. The aborigines of the Carnatic formed the leading sepoys of Clive and Coote; and at the great battle of Plassy they helped to lay the foundation of the Anglo-Indian empire.† The *Bengies*, who are found in all parts of the Gangetic plain, when serving in the Mohammedan armies, claimed as *indigenes* the honour of leading storming parties. In the defence of Jellalabad, under the gallant Sir R. Sale, the *Pariahs* (out castes, or low castes, as the aborigines are termed) evinced the most indomitable courage and perseverance, as they have done at Ava, or wherever employed in the pioneer and engineer corps. These hitherto neglected races may be turned to beneficial uses. The tribe termed *Ramoosees*, or foresters, became the active and indefatigable infantry, who enabled Sevajee to conquer from the Moguls the numerous hill forts which formed the basis of the Mahratta dominion. The *Bheels* have long been celebrated in Western India annals, and their deeds recorded by Malcolm, Tod, &c.: as a local militia, they rendered good service in Candeish. The *Southals* of Bhagulpoor, reclaimed by the noble-minded civilian Cleveland, have now one of the finest regiments of the British army, recruited from their once despised class. The *Mairs* of Mewar are selected to guard the palace and treasury of the Rajpoot rajah, and form the only escort attendant on the princesses when they go abroad. Hyder Ali had such confidence in the *Bedars* of Canara, that a body of 200 spearmen ran beside him, whether on horseback or in his palanquin, and guarded his tent at night.

Slavery in India.—During the early Hindoo sway, the aborigines were, as far as practicable, reduced to servitude; those who could not find refuge in the hills and jungles, were made *adscripti glebæ*, and transferred as predial slaves with the land. Under Moslem rule, this unhappy class was augmented by another set of victims of man's rapacity. Persons unable to pay the government taxes were sold into servitude; others who were reduced to extreme poverty voluntarily surrendered themselves as bondsmen, either for life or for a term of years, to obtain the means of existence: in many cases the children of the poor were bought by the wealthy for servants or for sensual purposes. Eunuchs and others employed in the harems and as attendants, were imported from Africa and other places. Hence slavery, domestic and predial, now exists in almost every part of India. Our government, even during the administration of Warren Hastings, were aware of the fact; but it was deemed politic not to interfere, for the same reasons that induced the long toleration of widow-burning and infanticide.

In 1830, I applied to Mr. Wilberforce on the subject, and urged the anti-slavery society to investigate the matter; but he considered it then most advisable to give all his attention to the West Indies. Evidence adduced before the East India parliamentary committee, in 1832, disclosed a dreadful state of human suffering among East Indian slaves, which was confirmed by subsequent investigations, when it was ascertained that the Anglo-Indian government were large

* Some of the gipsy tribe of the aborigines whom I saw in the Deccan, were like their European brethren of the same class, and the women equally handsome: in the form of their encampment—asses, carts, and dogs—the tribe might have been considered a recent migration from Devonshire. Some gipsies, whose location I visited in China, presented similar characteristics.

† My authority for these statements is Lt.-general Briggs.

slaveholders in right of lands held in actual possession. Parliament, in 1834-'35, began to discuss the matter, and several eminent civil servants of the E. I. Cy. exerted themselves to elucidate the evils of this nefarious system. In December, 1838, I laid before the Marquis Wellesley a plan for the gradual but effectual abolition of slavery in India: it was highly approved by his lordship, who urged the adoption thereof on the Indian authorities. Some part of the plan* was adopted: the government relinquished their right to slaves on escheated lands; reports were called for from the collectors and other public officers; and, on the 7th of April, 1843, an act (No. 5) was passed by the President of India in council, which declared as follows:—

"I. That no public officer shall, in execution of any decree or order of court, or for the enforcement of any demand of rent or revenue, sell or cause to be sold any person, or the right to the compulsory labour or services of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery.

"II. That no rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another as a slave shall be enforced by any civil or criminal court or magistrate within the territories of the E. I. Cy.

"III. That no person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property, or prevented from taking possession thereof, on the ground that such person, or that the person from whom the property may have been derived, was a slave.

"IV. That any act which would be a penal offence if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery."

Much, however, still remains to be done, until slavery be as effectually extinguished in the *East* as it has happily and beneficially been in the *West* India possessions of the British crown. There is no difficulty among the Hindoo population, as slavery is not a question of *caste;* and with regard to Mohammedan laws, a Christian government cannot be expected to recognise that which is repugnant to the first principles of humanity. We know nothing certain of the number of slaves in Hindoostan; the estimates made are but guess-work: in Malabar,† Canara, Coorg, Tinnevelly, and other parts of Southern India, the estimates are from a half to one million; for Bengal, or the N. W. Provinces, we have no estimates. In fact, we know not whether there be *one* or *ten* million slaves under the British government in Asia.

---

The foregoing illustrations sufficiently indicate that there is no homogenity of population in India, no bond of union,—no feeling of patriotism, arising from similarity of origin, language, creed, or caste,—no common sentiment, founded on historic or traditional associations: there is therefore more security for the preservation of British authority; but there is greater difficulty in ameliorating the social condition of the mass of the people, which was deteriorated under Moslem tyranny, and is still, as compared to some past period, at a low ebb.

The discussion of this theme is beyond my appointed limits, and I can only offer a few passing observations. The Hindoos speak of having experienced three ages,—1. Gold and silver; 2. Copper and brass; 3. Earth and wood,—which form the component parts of their domestic utensils; but when these ages commenced and ended, there are no means of ascertaining.‡ Ere Tyre became a place for fishermen to dry their nets, the Hindoo-Phœnician commerce had an Asiatic renown: the spices of India were sought in the time of Solomon; the gossamer muslins of Dacca, the

* My chief recommendations were—(1.) A committee of inquiry. (2.) A registry in each collectorate of male and female slaves, agrestic and domestic. (3.) District magistrates to report on the laws and customs in force. (4.) All children born after a certain date to be declared free. (5.) Slaves to have the same protection of the law as freemen; their evidence equally receivable in a court of justice. (6.) Ill-treatment to be followed by manumission. (7.) Masters no power to punish. (8.) Wife and children not to be separated. (9.) Slaves on government lands to be at once freed. (10.) No voluntary sale of individuals or of their children to be lawful. (11.) Transfers of slaves only in their respective districts. (12.) Slaves to be entitled to acquire and possess property, and to purchase manumission: magistrate to arbitrate in cases of disputed price. (13.) Magistrate to attend to the condition and complaints of slaves, to pass summary judgment, and to report his proceedings annually to government, who were to send out queries, and call for reports on the nature and extent of slavery in each district, from the officers entrusted with supervisionment.

† Mr. Peggs and others estimate the number of slaves, in Malabar alone, at 147,000; in Canara, Coorg, Wynaad, Cochin, and Travancore, at 254,000; in Tinnevelly, 324,000; Trichinopoly, 10,000; Arcot, 20,000; Assam, 11,300; Surat, 3,000. According to Buchanan, the number must be very large in Behar and in Bengal: and all authorities describe their condition as truly miserable;—stunted, squalid, and treated with far less care than the beasts of the field.

‡ The third age is still extant, as illustrated by the earthen water and cooking pots—*chatty*.

beautiful shawls of Cashmere, and the brocaded silks of Delhi, adorned the proudest beauties at the courts of the Cæsars, when the barbarians of Britain were painted savages. Embossed and filigree metals,—elaborate carvings in ivory, ebony, and sandalwood; brilliant dyed chintzes; diamonds, uniquely set pearls, and precious stones; embroidered velvets and carpets; highly wrought steel; excellent porcelain, and perfect naval architecture,—were for ages the admiration of civilised mankind: and before London was known in history, India was the richest trading mart of the earth. Ruined cities, such as *Gour,* the ancient capital of Bengal, which covered an area of seventeen miles,—*Beejapoor,* with its million of inhabited houses; *Mandoo,* with a wall twenty-eight miles in circuit; *Rajmahal,* the dwelling-place of an hundred kings; Palebothra and Canouj,—indicated a large urban class, who required to be fed by a proportionately numerous agrestic population. Hundreds of cave temples,* equal in interior-size and architectural beauty to the noblest cathedrals of Europe, attest the depth of religious feeling among the worshippers; while gorgeous ceremonials and sensuous luxuries indicate the highest stage of Pagan refinement: but all afford a melancholy contrast to the poverty which now pervades the mass of the people, and to the dull intellectuality and idolatrous routine that at present extends over social life.†

An extensive study of Indian records leads to the conclusion that the decay of Hindoostan dates from the period of Mohammedan incursions and conquests. Afghan, Tartar, Patan, Mogul, Persian, Arab, and other Moslem adventurers, here found the richest spoil and the most fertile field: swarming like locusts, and equally ravenous, successive hordes crossed the frontiers, slew all who opposed, and, by their tyranny and sensuality, pauperised and demoralised all whom they subjected to their sway. Hence entire regions became desolate, and famines frequent in the inhabited parts. One of these afflictions, prolonged from 1640 to 1655, was felt throughout India, but principally in Bengal and in the Deccan; another occurred in 1661, when Aurungzebe was endeavouring to collect fifty per cent. of the produce of the land: other famines, resulting from poverty and exactions (not, as is alleged, from unpropitious seasons), occurred at different times, followed as usual by sicknesses, and swept off millions of the inhabitants.

Then the fierce and long-continued struggles of the Rajpoot, Mahratta, and other Hindoo races in refusing to bow their necks to Islamite yoke; the frequent rebellions in distant provinces necessitating the maintenance of large armies for the support of imperial power at Delhi; the internecine contests between several Mogul viceroys for the extension of dominion; and the desolations of the Carnatic and of Southern India by those Moslem scourges Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo, must each and all, together with other collateral circumstances which cannot here be examined, have contributed to the rapid decay and impoverishment of the people of India, in a manner not dissimilar to the destruction and demoralisation of the Greeks, and the desolation of the fair regions of Asia Minor by the Turks.‡ That the Moguls have left traces behind

* Such as those of Karli, Ellora, Elephanta, &c. Dr. Buist, of Bombay, in his eloquent advocacy of the claims of India, says—"These have been hewn out in the absence of gunpowder, and, fashioned without natural adjunct or addition of masonry into their present form, covered with rich and elaborate structures by the hand of man. The caves are grouped together so as to furnish places of worship, halls of instruction, and domiciles for the professors and their pupils, exactly on the plan of the universities which came into existence in Europe *two thousand years after* those of India were forgotten; indicating an amount of civilisation and demand for knowledge in the East twenty-four centuries ago."—(*Notes on India:* London, 1853, p. 10.) The number of temples in India is as yet imperfectly ascertained. Mount Aboo, 5,000 feet high, is covered and surmounted by these singular structures.

† *See* Dr. Buist's *Notes on India.*

‡ The desolating effect of Moslem sway over the fairest portion of Eastern Europe for nearly 400 years, notwithstanding the influences of surrounding civilisation, and with an active, intelligent, impressive character in the millions of Greeks subject to its sway, proves the incapability of Mohammedanism for that progressive improvement in society which pre-eminently marks Christianity as the true religion adapted for man. The Turks for three centuries lived among, yet apart, from the Greeks; during their intolerant rule, there was no social intercourse between the dominant and subject races; and, in matters of dispute, all law or justice was set aside, as the word or oath of a Christian was not recognised in their legal tribunals. The taxes levied were enormous; in the local country, where resistance to fiscal oppression was impossible, four-fifths of his produce was exacted from the agriculturist, independent of minor plunderings, of "presents," forced tribute to each new pasha or provincial governor, and of endless extortions by his satellites, which was required from all who had accumulated any wealth. As in India during the Mogul sway, so in Greece: there was no security for life, honour, and property; the virtue of woman, the labour of the peasant, the skill

them of some great works is undoubtedly true, but they were the work of Hindoo artificers, and such as conquerors exact from slaves;—palaces and fortresses, mosques and mausoleums, canals and tanks—the latter indispensable for the production of territorial revenue, which would fail without irrigation of the land: but the Mohammedans took as little root in India as the Romans did in Britain; and their power crumbled to pieces of its own accord, leaving the sceptre which Baber, Akber, and Aurungzebe had wielded by military force, to be scrambled for by the strongest arm. We found the people of Bengal and of the Carnatic impoverished and oppressed; the oppression has been removed, but the poverty is as yet only slightly mitigated. On this topic I hope to offer, at the concluding section (if space permit), some points for consideration.

of the artisan, were all at the mercy of sensual, barbarous, and cruel tyrants, from the sultan at Constantinople to the janissary in the smallest village; the whip and the bastinado, the sword and the rope, were the prime instruments of Turkish rule. As financiers and penmen, the Greeks, like the Hindoos, were entrusted sometimes with high offices, which the Mohammedans were incapable of executing. The Hindoos, especially the Mahrattas, made several attempts to destroy Moslem sway, but there was no effectual combination. The Greeks were successful by their union in 1821. After seven years of secret organisation, they commenced their efforts for independence. Instead of being met by any concessions, Gregory, the patriarch of their church,—although he had, at the bidding of the sultan, excommunicated and anathematised the strugglers for liberty, and released the *Philikoi* (members of the Secret Society) from their oath,—was seized on Easter eve, dragged ignominiously through the streets of Constantinople, and then strangled at the door of the church in which he recently officiated; the body was left hanging three days to be pelted at and made the jest of the populace, then cast into the Bosphorus. Three suffragan archbishops were hanged by a black executioner at different parts of the city, and many hundreds of the clergy were massacred by the populace. Then began a series of atrocities which ought to have caused the entire expulsion of the barbarians from Europe. Throughout every part of the wide-spread Turkish dominions there was an indiscriminate slaughter of the Christians; savage brigands from Anatolia and Kurdistan were brought across the Bosphorus, under a firman calling on all true Mohammedans for defence: a few wealthy Greek merchants, fearing what was coming, fled to Odessa, but for the mass of their countrymen there was no refuge or hope of escape; houses were broken open, and the inmates torn from their hiding-places and carried to slaughter; every Christian seen in the streets was instantly slain as if he were a mad dog; "the European ships in the harbour, and the houses of the foreign consuls were thronged by the unhappy Christians, but their asylum was disregarded; and the decks of British and French *merchant vessels* were deluged with the blood of those whom their captains had vainly endeavoured to protect. In a few days 10,000 Christians perished in that one city; the remnant of the Greek population there was scattered to the four winds of heaven; they wandered as beggars through the streets of Odessa, or starved in the ditches of the Byzantine suburbs."—(*See* London *Times*, 5th October, 1853.) In Adrianople and Smyrna the streets were smeared with blood; and from the Danube to the Nile, wherever the Moslem held sway, the life of a Christian was not worth one hour's purchase. Within the short space of a few weeks, in the year 1821, it is estimated that 40,000 Christians were slain; and during six years' struggle for life and liberty, at least 100,000 perished. Perhaps of all the massacres, the fiendish character of the followers of the false prophet is best exemplified by that which took place in the beautiful and fertile island of Scio, of which an account is given in the columns of the *Annual Register*, 1822–'3. Suffice it to say, that a population which at the beginning of the year numbered 120,000, was in the month of July reduced to 900, and even these were in danger of perishing from the pestilence which ensued on the fearful slaughter of their countrymen. How many such scenes may have been acted in Hindoostan there were none to record. During the debates in parliament, pending the war between Russia and England, fearful illustrations were produced of the cruelty, oppression, exaction, and remorseless spirit which characterise the Mohammedans even at the present day. The consequences of Turkish rule, and the condition of a Christian village after an Osmanli invasion, are thus stated by Mr. Layard:—"Their church was in ruins; around were the charred remains of the burnt cottages, and the neglected orchards overgrown with weeds. A body of Turkish troops had lately visited the village, and had destroyed the little that had been restored since the Turkish invasion. The same taxes had been collected three times—and even four times over. The relations of those who had run away to escape from these exactions had been compelled to pay for the fugitives. The chief had been thrown, with his arms tied behind his back, on a heap of burning straw, and compelled to disclose where a little money that had been saved by the villagers had been buried."—(*Times*, 14th March, 1851.) On the 4th July, 1853, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe wrote to his government that he was necessitated of late, and indeed for some years back, to bring to the knowledge of the Porte atrocious acts of cruelty, rapine, and murder, for which no effectual redress was provided. Doubtless there are many high-minded, trustworthy, and amiable men among the disciples of the Crescent. Asiatic travellers can record numerous instances of good offices received from Moslems—whether designated as Turks, Arabs, Persians, or Hindoos. Under the Anglo-Indian government, there are thousands of Mohammedans as "true to their salt," as brave and kindly in their nature, as those of any other form of religion: but for civil government, the creed of the Koran is utterly unfit; indeed, Mohammed never designed it for aught but military power and despotic sway, which naturally corrupts the minds of those who long use these means to preserve their dominion,—to keep men morally and politically in bondage,—instead of fitting them in this world, by freedom and the exercise of their faculties, for an eternity of happiness.

# CHAPTER IV.

## RELIGION—CHRISTIAN MISSIONS—EDUCATION—THE PRESS—AND CRIME.

INDIA exemplifies the truth of the assertion,* that religion is inseparable from the nature of man: the savage and the sage alike frame some system of theological belief,—some mode of communicating with the Deity,—some link of spiritual connexion between the created and the Creator;† but every attempt to invest humanity with the attributes of Divinity has ended in the deification of stocks and stones,‡—in the concoction of monstrous frauds, and in the practice of the grossest sensuality, which corrupt alike the souls and the bodies of the worshippers.

In Hindoostan the principle of a universal religion is illustrated in every conceivable form, from abstract Monotheism to complex Pantheism,—from the worship of the sun, as the representative of celestial power, to the rudely-carved image which a Brahmin is supposed to endue with sentient existence,—from the sacrificial offering of fruit and flowers, to the immolation of human victims: here, also, we see this natural feeling taken advantage of by artful men to construct Brahminical and Buddhistical rituals, which, embracing every stage of life, and involving monotonous routine, completely subjugate the mass to a dominant priesthood, who claim peculiar sanctity, and use their assumed prerogatives for the retention of the mass of their fellow-beings in a state of moral degradation and of intellectual darkness.

Yet, amidst this corruption and blindness, some rays of truth are still acknowledged—such as a supreme First Cause,§ with his triune attributes of omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence;|| creation, preservation, destruction; the immortality of the soul, individual responsibility, atonement for sin, resurrection to judgment, heaven and hell; and a belief in unseen beings pervading space, and seeking to obtain a directing influence over probationary creatures for good or for evil.¶ But these cardinal points are mingled with pernicious doctrines, supersti-

* *See* Preface to second edition of my *Analysis of the Bible with reference to the Social Duty of Man.*

† From the highest to the lowest link in the chain which connects in one genus every variety of the human race, all believe in a spiritual power that is superior to man,—in an invisible world, and in a resurrection after death: this is manifested by dread of an unseen good or evil deity,—by a persuasion of the existence of fairies or ghosts,—by the sepulture of the body,—and by placing in the grave things deemed necessary in another stage of existence.

‡ The Rev. William Arthur, in his admirable work, *A Mission to Mysoor*, refers to the arguments he was in the habit of having with Brahmins, and says—"They frequently took strong ground in favour of idolatry, urging that the human mind is so unstable, that it cannot be fixed on any spiritual object without some appeal to the senses; that, therefore, to worship by mere mental effort, without external aid, is impossible; but that, by placing an image before the eye, they can fix the mind on it, and say, '*Thou art God;*' and by this means form a conception, and then worship." It was probably this idea that unhappily induced the early Christian church to admit images, pictures, and representations of holy men, into places of public worship; though it is not so easy to account for the introduction of Maryolatry. The necessity of engaging the usually wandering mind by some visual object is, I believe, the plea used by Romanists and Greeks for the frequent elevation of the crucifix; and it is quite possible that many pious persons deem its presence essential: the danger is not in the crucifix, or the figure of the Redeemer thereon, but in the representation degenerating into formalism. On the other hand, it is to be feared that many professing protestants have few ideas of vital Christianity, and consider its solemn duties fulfilled by an hebdomadal public worship.

§ Thus acknowledged in one of the Hindoo prayers:—"We bow to Him whose glory is the perpetual theme of every speech;—Him first, Him last,—the Supreme Lord of the boundless world;—who is primeval Light, who is without His like,—indivisible and infinite,—the origin of all existing things, movable or stationary."

|| The Hindoo expression means *all-pervasive.*

¶ The Hindoos believe the Deity to be in everything, and they typify Him in accordance with their imaginations. *Brahm* or *Brihm* is supposed to have had three incarnations, viz., Brahma, the *Creator;* Vishnu, the *Preserver;* Siva, the *Destroyer*:—who have become incarnate at different times and in various forms, for many objects. To these are added innumerable inferior gods, presiding over earth, air, and water, and whatever may be therein. Temples and shrines are erected to a multitude of deities, to whom homage or worship is tendered, and tribute or offerings made. The Pagan deities, in every country and in all ages, have more or less an affinity to each other; they refer, generally, to the powers of nature, and to the wants or civilising appliances of man; but they all merge into, or centre in, one Supreme Being: thus there was an intimate relation between the Greek and Indian mythology. The Brahminical and the Magian faith had many points of union: the sun was the ostensible representation of Divine power; the fire-altar of both may be traced to that of the Hebrews; and the idolatry of the calf, cow, or bull, have all a common origin. Ferishta states that, during the era of Roostum, when Soorya, a Hindoo, reigned over Hindoostan, a Brahmin persuaded the king "to set up idols; and from that period the Hindoos became idolaters, before which they, like the Persians, worshipped the sun and stars."—(Vol. i., p. 68.) The Mythrae religion at one time existed in all the countries between the Bosphorus and the Indus; vestiges are still seen at Persepolis, at Bamian, and in various parts of India. In all Pagan systems there is a vagueness with reference to the Deity; for it is only through the Saviour that God can be known. With regard to the soul, it is thus negatively described by the author of the great Hindoo work, entitled *Mahabarat*:—"Some regard the soul as a wonder; others hear of it with astonishment; but no one knoweth it: the weapon divideth it not, the fire burneth it not, the water corrupteth it not, the wind dryeth it not away; for it is indivisible, inconsumable, incorruptible: it is eternal, universal, permanent, immovable; it is invisible, inconceivable, and unalterable." The shastras, or "sacred" books, contain also many remarkable and even sublime passages; but their character



Engraved by J. Cochran.

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

OB. 1794.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL SPENCER.

tious observances, cruel rites, and carnal indulgences; hence the pure, merciful, and loving* character of God is unknown, the innately sinful nature of man imperfectly understood, the positive necessity of a Redeemer unappreciated, and the urgent want of a Sanctifier unfelt.

It is not therefore surprising, that in the yearnings of the spirit for a higher, holier enjoyment than this world can afford, that sincere devotees in India, as in other countries and in every age, devoid of the light of Christianity, deem suicide a virtue;† torture of the body a substitute for penance of the soul;‡ ablution sufficient for purification; solitude the only mode of avoiding temptation; offerings to idols an atonement for sin; pilgrimages to saintly shrines a means of obtaining peace or rest; the maintenance of perpetual fire the highest privilege; contemplation of God the nearest approximation to communion; and human sacrifice a propitiation of Divine wrath.§

With such creeds and such worship, perpetuated for centuries, the votaries, both priests and laymen, must necessarily be sunk to a depth of degradation from whence no mere human efforts can elevate them, and which the untiring perseverance of Christianism, with the guidance of the Spirit, can only hope to meliorate in the existing generation.

Among the numerous creeds which pervade India, the most prominent are Hindooism, or worshippers of Brahm;‖ Buddhists, devoted to Buddh;¶ Parsees, disciples of Zoroaster;** Moslems,†† followers of

is well summed up by the Rev. William Arthur, who has attentively studied the subject. This Christian writer says —"Taking those books as a whole, no works of our most shameless authors are so unblushing or so deleterious: the *Sama Veda* treats drunkenness as a celestial pastime; all the gods are represented as playing at will with truth, honour, chastity, natural affection, and every virtue, running for sport into the vilest excesses, and consecrating by their example all hateful deeds. Falsehood, if with a pious motive, has a direct sanction. Menu declares that 'a giver of false evidence from a pious motive, even though he know the truth, shall not lose a seat in heaven: such evidence men call divine speech.' Vishnu has often preserved the gods by the most wicked impostures. Lies flow familiarly from divine lips, and thus lose all dis-repute in mortal eyes. The amours of the gods are so detailed as to corrupt all who read and admire them; while they argue, on the part of the writers, a horrible familiarity with every variety of debauch. In the lofty poetry of the sacred books are musically sung expressions of a coarseness that would be spurned from the vilest ballad. Part of the retinue of every temple consists of priestesses, who are the only educated women in the country, and whose profession it is to corrupt the public morals. In some of the temples, excesses are at certain times openly committed which would be concealed even in our lowest dens of vice."—(Arthur's *Mission to Mysoor*, p. 489. London: Hamilton, Paternoster-row.) Such is the system; and this is but a faint shadowing of its fearful wickedness, against which Christianity has to contend. Simple aboriginal tribes have an indefinite notion of an Almighty superintending providence. Thus the Todawar of the Neilgherries, on first seeing the sun daily, or a lamp, uses the following prayer, with his face turned to the sky:— "Oh! thou the Creator of this and of all worlds—the greatest of the great, who art with us as well in these mountains as in the wilderness,—who keepest the wreaths that adorn our heads from fading, and who guardest the foot from the thorn—God among a hundred—may we be prosperous." They believe that the soul, after death, goes to the *Om-nor* (large country), about which they have scarcely an idea; they sacrifice living animals, and burn them on a rude altar: the dead are buried in a dark, secluded valley. A blood sacrifice is deemed essential by all these tribes, to procure remission from sin. The relative antiquity of Brahminism and Buddhism,—their common origin and separation,—their points of unity or dissonance,—and the various other forms of religion in India, are subjects beyond my limits in this work.

* The only love that I can find recognised in reference to the Deity, is similar to that acknowledged by the Greeks: hence Sir William Jones thus apostrophises the Hindoo Cameo or Kama Deva (Cupid):—

"Where'er thy seat, whate'er thy name,
Earth, sea, and sky, thy reign proclaim:
Wreathy smiles and rosy treasures,
Are thy purest, sweetest pleasures;
All animals to thee their tribute bring,
And hail thee universal king!"

I quote from memory this beautiful version of Indian stanzas.

† *See* section on crime for the number of suicides committed annually at Madras.

‡ The self-inflicted torture which Hindoo fanatics undergo, with a view to the remission of sin, and to obtain the favour of their deity, is revolting; but it indicates strong feelings on the subject. Among them may be mentioned:—standing for years on the legs, which become swollen and putrefying masses of corruption; keeping an arm erect until the muscles of the *humerus* are attenuated and the joint anchylosed (fixed in the socket); lying on a bed of spikes until the smooth skin is converted into a series of indurated nodules; turning the head over the shoulders, and gazing at the sky, so that, when fixed in that posture, the twist of the gullet prevents aught but liquids passing into the stomach; crawling like reptiles, or rolling as a hedgehog along the earth for years; swinging before a slow fire, or hanging with the head downwards, suspended over fierce flames; piercing the tongue with spits; inserting an iron rod in the eye-socket, from which a lamp is hung; burying up to the neck in the ground; clenching the fist until the nails grow through the back of the hand; fasting for forty or the greatest practicable number of days; gazing at the sun with four fires around, until blindness ensues. These are some of the practices of the Yogis or Sanyases, and other devotees.

§ The Ganges is considered sacred by the orthodox Hindoos, and its waters everywhere, from their source in the Himalaya to their exit in the Bay of Bengal, are regarded with peculiar sanctity. It is supposed that, at the moment of dissolution, a person placed therein will have all his transgressions obliterated. Should a Hindoo be far distant, the Brahmins enjoin that he should think intensely of the Ganges at the hour of death, and he will not fail of his reward. To die within sight of the stream is pronounced to be holy; to die besmeared with its mud, and partly immersed in the river, holier still; even to be drowned in it by accident, is supposed to secure eternal happiness. Until the close of the 18th century, the Brahmins, taking advantage of this superstitious idea, persuaded tens of thousands of Hindoos to assemble in January annually on the island of Gunga Saugor, at the sea mouth of the Ganges, to perform obsequies for the good of their deceased ancestors, and to induce many hundred children to be cast living into the torrent by their parents, as a means of atonement for the sin of their souls. Lord Wellesley abolished this wickedness.—(*Baptist Mission*, vol. i., p. 111.) Among some aboriginal tribes, a child is not unfrequently slain when the agricultural season is commencing, and the fields sprinkled with the blood of the innocent, to propitiate the earth god, in the expectation of procuring thereby an abundant harvest.

‖ For a description of Hindooism, *see* Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, in 7 vols. 8vo; Ward's *Mythology of the Hindoos*, 4 vols. 4to; Moor's *Hindoo Pantheon;* Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindoos;* Vans Kennedy's *Researches;* various volumes of the Asiatic Society; the *Asiatic Journal* of London; and the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris.

¶ For Buddhism, *see* the works of Upham and Hardy.

** *See* the *Zendavesta*, or code of Zoroaster.

†† *See* Sale's *Koran;* and Taylor's *Mohammedanism.*

Mohammed; Seiks, attached to Nanik;* Gonds, Koles, Bheels, Sonthals, Puharees, and other aboriginal tribes, distinct from all the preceding; Jews (white and black), Syriac, Armenian, and Latin Christians; representatives of the churches of England, Denmark, and Germany; Scotch Presbyterian, Baptist, Wesleyan, Congregational, and North American missions.† Each persuasion or sect would require one or more volumes for elucidation: all that is practicable, is a very brief description of the rise and progress of protestant missions in Hindoostan.

Christianity prevailed to some extent in India from an early date; but we have no certain knowledge of its introduction under the denomination of Syriac, or any other church.‡

The Portuguese, soon after their arrival, attempted the conversion of the Hindoos, with whom they were brought in contact, to the Romish form of Christianity, by jesuitism and the inquisition; and necessarily failed, as they did in China and in Japan. The Dutch, engrossed with commerce, made little or no attempt to extend the Calvinistic creed; the French were equally indifferent; but the King of Denmark, in the spirit of Lutheranism, encouraged, in 1706, the Tranquebar missionaries in their meritorious efforts to preach the gospel of Christ to the natives in the vernacular tongue; and for more than a century many devoted men, including Ziegenbalg, Schwartz, Gericke, Schultze, and others, laboured patiently in the south of India for the extension of the Divine mission of truth and peace; but failed, by permitting the intermingling of heathen customs with the purity of life which admits of no such toleration. The British church§ and government for many years made no response to appeals on behalf of Christianity. The latter was not merely negative or apathetic; it became positive and active, in resistance to the landing of missionaries in the territories under its control; and when, at the close of the 18th century, the Danish and other continental churches had almost retired in despair from the field, and the Baptists (under the leadership of Carey and Thomas) sought to occupy some of the abandoned ground, they and their able coadjutors, Marshman and Ward, were compelled to seek an asylum at the Danish settlement of Serampore, on the banks of the Hooghly, 15 m. above Calcutta.‖

* This reformer, at the beginning of the 16th century, attempted to construct in the Punjab a pure and peaceful system of religion out of the best elements of Hindooism and Mohammedanism: his followers (the Seiks) became devastating conquerors; and infanticide and other abominable crimes still fearfully prevail among this warlike race.

† *See* Hough's valuable *History of Christianity in India*, 4 vols. 8vo, 1839; Cox's *History of Baptist Missions*, 2 vols.; Pearson's *Lives of Dr. Claudius Buchanan* (2 vols.) and of *Schwartz*, 2 vols. 8vo; Arthur's graphic *Mission to the Mysoor*, 1 vol.; Duff on *India Missions*; Hoole's *Missions to South of India*; Pegg's *Orissa*, 1 vol.; *Memoir of W. Carey*; *Life of Judson*; and other interesting missionary works.

‡ Thomas Herbert, author of *Some Yeares Travels into divers parts of Asia and Afrique* (published in London in 1638, and who began his voyaging in 1626), speaks of there being Christians in many places; and refers especially to several maritime towns in Malabar. He says—"The Christians in these parts differ in some things from us, and from the Papacie yet retaine many principles of the orthodox and catholic doctrine: their churches are low, and but poorly furnished; their vassalage will reach no further, whether from their subjection, or that (so the temples of their bodies bee replenisht with vertue) the excellency of buildings conferre not holinesse I know not: neat they are, sweetly kept; matted, without seats, and instead of images have some select and usefull texts of holy writ obviously writ or painted. They assemble and haste to church each Lord's day with great alacrity: at their entering they shut their eyes, and contemplate the holiness of the place, the exercise they; come about, and their own unworthinesse: as they kneele they look towards the altar or table near which the bishop or priest is seated, whom they salute with a low and humble reverence, who returns his blessing by the uplifting of his hands and eyes: at a set houre they begin prayers, above two houres seldom continuing: first they have a short generall confession, which they follow the priest in, and assent in an unanim amen: then follows an exposition of some part or text of holy Scripture, during which their attention, dejected lookes, and silence, is admirable; they sing an hymne," &c. Herbert then proceeds to observe that they have the Old and New Testaments; they baptize commonly at the fortieth day, if the parents do not sooner desire it; they observe two days' strict preparation for the holy communion, eating no flesh, and having no revelry; in the church they confess their sins and demerits with great reluctance: after the arrival of the Portuguese they shaved their heads. The clergy marry but once, the laity twice; no divorce, save for adultery. Lent begins in spring, is strictly observed for forty days; they "affect justice, peace, truth, humility, obedience," &c. When dead, the bodies are placed in the grave looking west towards Jerusalem, and they "believe no purgatory." St. Thomas is their acknowledged tutelar saint and patron.—(Lib. iii., on East Indian Christians, p. 304-'5.)

§ The E. I. Cy's. charter of 1698 directed ministers of religion to be placed in each "garrison and superior factory," and a "decent and convenient place to be set apart for divine service only:" the ministers were to learn the Portuguese and the native languages, "the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the said company, or of their agents, in the protestant religion." By the charter of 1698, the company were required to employ a chaplain on board of every ship of 500 tons' burthen. This regulation was evaded by hiring vessels, nominally rated at 499 tons, but which were in reality, by building measurement, 600 to 650 tons.—(Milburn, i., p. lvi.) Some clergymen of the Church of England were sent out to India from time to time; but with a few exceptions (whose honoured deeds are recorded by Hough in his *History of Christianity in India*), such men as Dr. Claudius Buchanan, Dr. Kerr, David Brown, Corrie, and Henry Martyn, had not many imitators: they "performed duty" on the sabbath; looked after money and other matters during the week; and, at the termination of their routine official life, returned to Europe with fortunes ranging from £20,000 to £50,000 each. Kiernander, the Danish missionary, mentions, in 1793, three of these misnamed ministers of the gospel (Blanshard, Owen, and Johnston), then about to return to England with fortunes of 500,000, 350,000, and 200,000 rupees each; which (Mr. Kaye observes) shows, according to their period of service, "an annual average saving of £2,500."—(*Hist. of Admn. of E. I. Cy.*, p. 630.)

‖ During its early career the E. I. Cy. paid some attention to religion, and a church was built at Madras; but as commerce and politics soon absorbed all attention, the ministrations of religion were forgotten, and not inaptly typified by the fate of the church erected at Calcutta by pious merchants and seamen, who were freemasons, about the year 1716, when the E. I. Cy. allowed the young merchants £50 a-year "for their pains in reading prayers and a sermon on a Sunday." In October, 1737, a destructive hurricane, accompanied by a violent earthquake, swept over Bengal, and among damages, it is recorded that "the high and magnificent steeple of the English church sunk into the ground without breaking."—(*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1738.) Christianity certainly about this time sank out of sight in India, without being broken or destroyed, and it is now rising into pre-

The Marquis Wellesley gave encouragement to devout missionaries of every Christian persuasion;* but during the administrations of Lord Minto and of the Marquis of Hastings, there was direct opposition to the ministers of the Cross, who were obliged to proceed from England to the United States, and sail in an American vessel to their destination. Some were prohibited landing on British ground, others were obliged to re-embark; ships were refused a port entrance if they had a missionary on board, as they were deemed more dangerous than the plague or the invasion of a French army: and the governor of Serampore, when desired by the Calcutta authorities to expel Drs. Carey, Marshman, and others, nobly replied,—they might compel him to pull down the flag of the Danish king, but he would not refuse a refuge and a home to those whose sole object was the temporal and spiritual welfare of their fellow-beings. Despite the most powerful official discountenance, the missionary cause ultimately triumphed. The Church of England became an effective auxiliary. Calcutta, in 1814, was made the see of a bishop, under Dr. Middleton; and his amiable successor (Heber) removed many prejudices, and paved the way for a general recognition of the necessity and duty of affording to the people of India the means of becoming acquainted with the precepts of Christianity. The thin edge of the wedge being thus fairly inserted in the stronghold of idolatry, the force of truth drove it home; point by point, step by step, the government were fairly beaten from positions which became untenable. It was tardily admitted that some missionaries were good men, and did not intend or desire to overthrow the dominion of England in the East; next it was soon acknowledged that they had a direct and immediate interest in upholding the authorities, as the most effectual security for the prosecution of their pious labours. Soon after the government ceased to dismiss civil and military servants because they had become Christians; then came the public avowal, that all the Europeans in India had not left their religion at the Cape of Good Hope, on their passage from England, to be resumed on their return; but that they still retained a spark of the living faith, and ought no longer to be ashamed to celebrate its rites.† When

eminence by the aid of that very E. I. Cy. who, a century ago, were so indifferent, and half a century since, so hostile to its introduction or discussion in Hindoostan. In 1805, the Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, government chaplain at Calcutta, issued a *Memoir on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, both as a means of perpetuating the Christian Religion among our own Countrymen, and as a foundation for the ultimate Civilisation of the Natives.* The memoir was dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the appendix comprised a variety of instructive matter on the superstitions of the Hindoos. The work was in fact a forcible appeal to the Christians of Britain for the evangelisation of India, and was exceedingly well received by the bishops of London (Porteous), Llandaff (Watson), Durham, Exeter, St. David's, and other eminent divines. In India the memoir caused great excitement among that portion of the government who "viewed with sensitive alarm, for the security of our empire in the East, the circulation of the Word of God."—(Hough, iv., 179.) Contrasts were drawn between Hindooism and Christianity, to the prejudice of the latter, by Europeans who still professed that faith; and in November, 1807, Dr. Buchanan memorialised the governor-general (Lord Minto), on the change of policy from that which the Marquis Wellesley had pursued. Among the points complained of were—*First*, withdrawing the patronage of government from the translation of the Scriptures into the Oriental languages; *secondly*, attempting to suppress the translations; *thirdly*, suppressing the encomium of the Court of Directors of the E. I. Cy. on the character and proceedings of the venerable missionary Schwartz; and *fourthly*, restraining the Protestant missionaries in Bengal from the exercise of their functions, and establishing an *imprimatur* for theological works. Sermons which Dr. Buchanan had delivered on the Christian prophecies, he was desired by the chief secretary to transmit to government for its inspection, which he properly declined to do. In 1813 several missionaries from different societies were ordered to quit India without delay; one in particular (Mr. Johns), was told if he did not take his passage *immediately*, he would be forcibly carried on board ship. Two members of the American board of missions, on arriving at Bombay, were ordered away by Sir E. Nepean, and directed to proceed to England; they left in a coasting vessel, landed at Cochin on their way to Ceylon, and were sent back to Bombay as prisoners. Sir E. Nepean was a religious man, and ultimately obtained permission for the missionaries to remain.

* The opposition of the home authorities to the college of Fort William, which was founded by the Marquis Wellesley, had reference chiefly to the religious design of the noble founder. Dr. Claudius Buchanan pointed out that it was a mistake to consider the sole object was merely to "instruct the company's writers." Lord Wellesley's idea, as Dr. Buchanan correctly states, was "to enlighten the Oriental world, to give science, religion, and pure morals to Asia, and to confirm in it the British power and dominion." The Doctor adds—"Had the college of Fort William been cherished at home with the same ardour with which it was opposed, it might, in the period of ten years, have produced translations of the Scriptures into all the languages from the borders of the Caspian to the Sea of Japan."—(Pearson's *Life of Dr. C. Buchanan*, i., 374.)

† The Rev. M. Thomason, father of the late excellent lieutenant-governor of the N. W. Provinces, was dismissed from the governor-general's (Earl Moira) camp, in June, 1814, because he remonstrated against "the desecration of the sabbath, and other improprieties of conduct."—(Hough, iv., 383.) At Madras, a collector (civil servant of high standing) was removed from the service for distributing tracts on Christianity among the natives. In Bombay, the state of Christianity at the commencement of the present century was indeed very low; immorality was general. Governor Duncan, a kind and benevolent man, rarely attended divine service; and the late lamented Sir Charles Forbes told me, that though educated in the sabbatical strictness of the Scotch kirk, the effect of evil example on youth carried him with the stream, and that Sunday was the weekly meeting of the "Bobbery hunt" (a chase on horseback of jackals or pariah dogs), and its concomitant, drinking and other excesses. Henry Martyn, when visiting Bombay in 1811, on his way to Shiraz, speaking of the Europeans, says—"I am here amongst men who are indeed aliens to the commonwealth of Israel, and without God in the world. I hear many of those amongst whom I live bring idle objections against religion such as I have answered a hundred times." At the cantonments and revenue stations, marriages and baptisms were usually performed by military and civil servants. Many English officers never saw a church or minister of the gospel for years. Earnest representations for the erection of even small chapels were disregarded by the government, and the young cadets soon sank into drinking, debauchery, and vice. In 1807 not a Bible was to be found in the shops at Madras—it was not a saleable article; religious books were at a similar discount: the first purchasable Bible arrived in 1809. The observation of thoughtful old natives, for many years, on the English was—"Christian Man—*Devil* Man." If Charles Grant, who laboured so earnestly and effectively half a century for the introduction of Christian principles into India, were now alive, he would perceive that the above reproach

this vantage-ground was gained, other triumphs necessarily followed.* The Scriptures, which the British and Foreign Bible Society, and also the Baptists, had been engaged in translating and printing, were now openly distributed. "Toleration" was no longer conceded only to Hindooism and other idolatries; it was extended to Christianity: and the principle was urged boldly, that the state should renounce all interference in the shameful orgies of Juggurnaut and other Pagan abominations;—that the car of this idol and its obscene priests should cease to be annually decorated with scarlet cloth and tinsel, specially provided by the E. I. Cy.; and that the troops, English and Mohammedan, should no longer have their feelings outraged by being compelled to do honour to disgusting rites which were a mockery to the true and living God.†

The demoniac practice of *suttee* (widow-burning), was formidably assaulted by the missionaries and other good men. To sanction the crime of suicide was admitted to be repugnant to the character of a professing Christian government, which had already forcibly suppressed infanticide; and notwithstanding many forebodings of danger, and considerable opposition by the enemies of missionaries,‡ self-murder was, on Dec. 4, 1829, during the administration of Lord William Bentinck, suppressed throughout British India, by a prohibitory edict of the supreme government; under which all persons aiding and abetting *suttee* were liable to the penalty inflicted for culpable homicide. There was not the slightest opposition to this ordinance throughout India.§ Widow-burning, however, still continues in several provinces which are not under our immediate government.

Many other advantages accrued from the course of Christian polity now fairly begun;—the government ceased to hold slaves, and passed a decree mitigating some of the evils of the system; churches were erected at the principal civil and military stations; and chaplains were appointed for the celebration of public worship at European stations.|| In 1834, bishoprics were founded at Madras and Bombay.

to his countrymen was removed, and there would be found many co-operators in the evangelising work.

* Up to 1851 the operations of the society, as regards India, were:—Sanscrit gospels and acts, 8,200; Hindoostanee Testament (*Roman*), 31,000; Urdu Persian portions of Old Testament, Urdu Persian gospels and acts, 82,000. *Northern and Central India.*—Bengallee portions of Old Testament, Bengallee and English St. Matthew and St. John, Bengallee Testament (*Roman*), Bengallee, with English Testament (*Roman*), 130,842; Uriya Bible, 16,000; Hinduwee Old Testament, 4,000; Harrottee Testament, 1,000; Bikaneera Testament, 1,000; Moultan Testament, 1,000; Punjabee Testament, 7,000; Cashmerian Testament, 1,000; Nepaulese Testament, 1,000; Sindhee St. Matthew, 500. *Southern India*—Telinga Testament, 33,000; Canarese Bible, 10,000; Tamul Bible, 105,000; Malayalim New Testament, Malayalim Old Testament, 32,065; Tulu Testament, 400; Kunkuna Testament, 2,000; Mahratta Testament, 30,000; Guzerattee Testament, 20,100; Cutchee St. Matthew, 500.

† In August, 1836, the Bishop of Madras, the clergy of every denomination, several civil and military servants, merchants, &c., addressed a memorial to the governor of Madras, the summary of which prayed, that in accordance with the instructions laid down by the Court of Directors, 28th February, 1833, guaranteeing toleration, but affording no encouragement to Mohammedan or heathen rites—"That it be not hereafter required of any Christian servant of the state, civil or military, of any grade, to make an offering, or to be present at, or to take part in, any idolatrous or Mohammedan act of worship or religious festival. That the firing of salutes, the employment of military bands, and of the government troops in honour of idolatrous or Mohammedan processions or ceremonies, and all similar observances which infringe upon liberty of conscience, and directly 'promote the growth and popularity of the debasing superstitions of the country,' be discontinued. That such parts of Regulation VII. of 1817, as identify the government with Mohammedanism and heathenism, be rescinded, and every class of persons left, as the honourable Court of Directors have enjoined, entirely to themselves, to follow their religious duties according to the dictates of their consciences." The governor (Sir Frederick Adam) administered to the bishop and to the memorialists a sharp rebuke, saying, he did not concur in their sentiments, which he viewed with "the deepest pain and concern," as they manifested the "zeal of over-heated minds," and that the "communication" (worded in a guarded and Christian spirit) "was fraught with danger to the peace of the country, and destructive of the harmony which should prevail amongst all classes of the community."—(Parl. Papers—Commons, No. 357; 1st June, 1837; p. 5.) The E. I. Cy. and her Majesty's government thought differently: the prayer of the memorialists was ultimately granted; and the peace of India and the harmony of its people was never for a moment disturbed. But previous to the final concession. Lieutenant-general Sir T. Maitland resigned the command of the Madras army rather than be a participator in offering honours to idols by sending the troops to assist at the Hindoo celebrations. Colonel Jacob, an old artillery officer, stated before the House of Commons' committee, 4th August, 1853, when referring to the attendance of British troops at idolatrous ceremonies—"I was myself in that position at Baroda, on the occasion of the Dusserah festival, when we were waiting for six hours in the sun at the beck and bidding of the Brahmins, who announced the fortunate hour, as they apprehended, for the Guicowar to go and sacrifice a fowl to the Dusserah. The whole of the force was under arms, and the British resident attended on the same elephant with the prince. Upon the Brahmins cutting off the head of the fowl, the signal was given, and I had to fire a salute." This Christian officer adds—"Within our own presidency, under the British flag, there can be no sort of excuse whatever for forcing British officers to take part in an heathen or idolatrous procession or worship, such as the cocoa-nut offerings, annually at Surat, by the governor's agent. At Madras, when I was there some years ago, the government sanction was directly given to idolatrous practices by presenting offerings of broadcloth to the Brahmins, for them to pray to the idol deity to save the Carnatic from invasion."—(Parl. Papers—Commons; 6th August, 1853; p. 151.)

‡ The Brahmins, who had originated *suttee* to prevent their widows remarrying, declared it was a religious rite, and on this ground several English functionaries objected to its forcible suppression; but the doctrine laid down by Menu, the great Hindoo lawgiver, does not sustain the assertion. The texts referring to the subject run thus:—"A faithful wife, who wishes to attain in heaven the mansion of her husband, must do nothing unkind to him be he living or dead. Let her emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but let her not, when her husband is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue until death forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as have been devoted to one only husband."

§ I was happily enabled to be of some use in preparing the public mind for this great event by writing articles on the subject, and addressing them, when translated into different languages, to the Hindoo population.

|| Until recently the spirit under which the Anglo-Indian government was administered, was the protection and encouragement of Brahminism and Mohammedanism, and the disavowal of any connection with Christianity. Thus, as

Gradually the state, so far as is alleged to be compatible with pledged faith, ceased to interfere in the temporal concerns of idolatrous shrines; the forfeiture of property by Hindoos who had become converts to Christianity, was no longer recognised as the law; native Christians became equally eligible with their fellow-citizens to public offices. Finally, several of the highest functionaries have openly avowed, that the best means for effecting an improvement in even the physical condition of the people, is by the diffusion of Christianity; and that the mainstay for the security of British dominion in India, is the inculcation and practice of its divine precepts. Such are the glorious results of nearly half a century* spent in peaceful but unceasing efforts on behalf of truth; and I now proceed to show the means in operation for continuing the great work which has been so signally blessed in its course. The following data show the state of the Church of England establishment,† and that of the principal protestant missions in India, at the present period:—

*Tabular View of the Church Missionary Society's Operations*—1855.

| Principal Stations. | Churches, Preaching-places, &c. | Ordained Missionaries. Europeans. | Ordained Missionaries. East Indian and Native. | Lay Teachers, &c. European, Male and Female. | Lay Teachers, &c. East Indian and Country-born. | Lay Teachers, &c. Natives. Catechists & Readers. | Lay Teachers, &c. Natives. School Teachers. | Lay Teachers, &c. Total. | Grand Total of Labourers. | Native Christians. | Communicants. | Seminaries and Schools. | Scholars. Male. | Scholars. Female. | Scholars. Total. | Printing Establishments. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BOMBAY & W. INDIA | ‡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bombay . . . . | — | 5 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 16 | 22 | 64 | 12 | 22 | 1,354 | 236 | 1,590 | — |
| Nasik . . . . . | — | 3 | — | — | — | 2 | — | 2 | 5 | 78 | 17 | 5 | 177 | 16 | 193 | — |
| Junir and Malligaum . . . | — | 1 | 2 | — | — | 1 | — | 1 | 4 | 45 | 19 | 4 | 179 | — | 179 | — |
| Sinde mission . . | — | 3 | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | 5 | 14 | 4 | 2 | 34 | — | 34 | — |
| CALCUTTA & N. INDIA | ‡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Calcutta . . . . | — | 4 | — | 1 | 1 | 13 | 26 | 41 | 45 | 716 | 181 | 15 | 1,220 | 59 | 1,279 | — |
| Burdwan district . | — | 2 | — | — | 1 | 3 | 21 | 25 | 27 | 206 | 51 | 9 | 586 | 50 | 636 | — |
| Krishaghurh dist. | — | 9 | — | 3 | — | 31 | 95 | 129 | 138 | 5,069 | 465 | 62 | 3,558 | 508 | 4,066 | — |
| Bhagulpoor . . . | — | 1 | — | — | 1 | 3 | 5 | 9 | 10 | 105 | 29 | 4 | 160 | 150 | 310 | — |
| Benares . . . . | — | 5 | — | 1 | 1 | 5 | 31 | 38 | 43 | 321 | 91 | 3 | 589 | — | 589 | — |
| Jaunpoor . . . | — | 1 | — | 1 | — | 2 | 19 | 22 | 23 | 22 | 9 | 5 | 467 | 32 | 499 | — |
| Gorruckpoor . . | — | 3 | — | — | — | 5 | 14 | 19 | 22 | 217 | 30 | 3 | 100 | 117 | 217 | — |
| Jubbulpoor . . . | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | 1 | 2 | 2 | — | — | 1 | — | 6 | 6 | — |
| Agra . . . . . | — | 4 | — | 2 | 3 | 7 | 24 | 36 | 40 | 544 | 173 | 11 | 538 | 67 | 605 | — |
| Meerut . . . . | — | 3 | — | 1 | — | 6 | 7 | 14 | 17 | 247 | 99 | 7 | 226 | 17 | 243 | — |
| Himalaya . . . | — | 2 | — | — | — | 2 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 21 | 11 | 7 | 111 | 15 | 126 | — |
| Punjab mission . . | — | 3 | 1 | — | — | 3 | 3 | 6 | 10 | 50 | 20 | 2 | 45 | 7 | 52 | — |
| Peshawur . . . | — | 2 | — | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| MADRAS & S. INDIA | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Madras . . . . | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 20 | 29 | 34 | 606 | 199 | 12 | 279 | 297 | 576 | — |
| Tinnevelly dist. . | 353 | 14 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 187 | 378 | 576 | 597 | 27,920 | 3,565 | 327 | 5,131 | 3,020 | 8,151 | 1 |
| Travancore district | 25 | 9 | 2 | 2 | — | 36 | 95 | 133 | 144 | 5,007 | 1,242 | 83 | 1,802 | 442 | 2,244 | 1 |
| Teluga mission . . | 2 | 3 | 1 | — | 2 | 1 | 24 | 27 | 31 | 131 | 14 | 5 | 76 | 143 | 219 | — |
| Totals . . . | 384 | 79 | 18 | 25 | 18 | 312 | 783 | 1,138 | 1,235 | 41,373 | 6,231 | 589 | 16,632 | 5,182 | 2,1814 | 2 |

‡ No returns.

stated by the Rev. J. Lechman, in his evidence before parliament (8th August, 1853), "the government have maintained for thirty years an institution for the instruction of its Mohammedan subjects in their creed, but has not maintained any college or school for the exclusive instruction of its Christian subjects."

* The Rev. W. Mullens thus sums up the progress of missions during the present century:—"Within a few years stations were established in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and began to push outward into all the presidencies of Hindoostan. The beginnings were slow but sure. One society, then another—one missionary and then another, landed on the coast, and took up their posts on the great battle-field of idolatry. The London Missionary Society sent missionaries to Chinsurah, to Travancore, to Madras, Vizagapatam, Bellary, and to Surat. The American board, after some opposition from the government, occupied Bombay. The Church Missionary Society entered first on the old missions at Madras, Tranquebar, and Palamcottah; but soon began an altogether new field among the Syrian Christians in West Travancore. They planted a station at Agra, far in the north-west, and maintained the agency which Corrie had employed at Chunar. A native preacher began the work at Meerut, while two missionaries were stationed in Calcutta. The Baptist Missionary Society soon occupied Jessore, Chittagong, Dinagepore, and other places. The Wesleyans speedily obtained a footing in Mysoor; and to them succeeded the missionaries of the American board. North, south, east, and west, the Church of Christ was pushing forth its men and means into the land with vigour and earnestness of purpose." There is much wanting for India a *Medical Missionary Society*, similar in its working to the institution (composed of Americans and British) under this title which is now accomplishing so much good in China.

† There is a large Roman catholic establishment consisting of bishops, vicars-general, and inferior clergy, not only at Goa and Pondicherry, but also at the British stations: their number is alleged to have been, in 1853, about 303, of whom 200 were Europeans; and of these forty are British. The Roman catholic community throughout India is estimated at 690,000, exclusive of about 16,000 soldiers.

*Statement showing the Number and Expense of the Ecclesiastical Establishments under each Presidency, in the Year 1832–'33, and in 1851–'2.*

**1832–'33.**

| | |
|---|---|
| BENGAL:— | S. Rupees. |
| 1 Bishop | 43,103 |
| 1 Archdeacon | 17,241 |
| 2 Senior Chaplains | 26,724 |
| 35 Chaplains | 317,606 |
| 2 ditto (at Straits settlements) | 18,372 |
| 1 Officiating ditto | 2,871 |
| Visitation and travelling allowances, establishment, and contingencies | 54,908 |
| Total church establishment | 480,825 |
| *Scotch Kirk*— | |
| 2 Chaplains | 22,414 |
| *Roman Catholic*— | |
| Allowance to priests at Straits settlements | 5,254 |
| Total Bengal | 508,493 |
| MADRAS:— | Ms. Rupees. |
| 1 Archdeacon | 19,091 |
| 2 Senior Chaplains | 26,160 |
| 21 Chaplains, at 7,875 rupees each | 165,375 |
| Travelling allowances, establishment, and contingencies | 32,576 |
| Total church establishment | 243,202 |
| *Scotch Kirk*— | |
| 2 Chaplains | 19,635 |
| Establishment | 1,050 |
| Total Scotch Kirk | 20,685 |
| *Roman Catholic*— | |
| Allowance to priests | 5,744 |
| Total Madras { Ms. Rs. | 269,631 |
| { Sco. Rs. | 252,889 |
| BOMBAY:— | By. Rupees. |
| 1 Archdeacon | 17,778 |
| 2 Senior Chaplains | 28,560 |
| 13 Chaplains | 104,000 |
| Travelling allowances, establishment, and contingencies | 36,647 |
| Total church establishment | 186,985 |
| *Scotch Kirk*— | |
| 2 Chaplains | 20,382 |
| Establishment, &c. | 1,389 |
| Total Scotch Kirk | 21,771 |
| *Roman Catholic*— | |
| Allowance to priests | 4,440 |
| Total Bombay { By. Rs. | 213,196 |
| { Sco. Rs. | 202,158 |
| Grand Total . . . . Ss. Rupees | 963,540 |
| or £ stg. | 96,354 |

**1851–'52.**

| | |
|---|---|
| BENGAL:— | Cos. Rupees. |
| 1 Bishop | 45,977 |
| 1 Archdeacon (also a Chaplain) | 3,200 |
| 2 Senior Chaplains | 27,912 |
| 19 Chaplains, at 9,600 francs each | 1,82,400 |
| 40 Assistant Chaplains, at 6,000 francs each | 2,40,000 |
| 2 ditto ditto at 9,600 „ „ (stational in Straits settlements) | 19,200 |
| Visitation and travelling allowances, establishment, & contingencies in 1849–'50 | 47,761 |
| Total church establishment | 5,66,450 |
| *Scotch Kirk*— | |
| 2 Chaplains | 23,112 |
| Establishment | 576 |
| Total Scotch Kirk | 23,688 |
| *Roman Catholic*— | |
| Allowance to priests | 21,840 |
| Total Bengal Rs. | 6,11,978 |
| MADRAS:— | |
| 1 Bishop | 25,600 |
| 1 Archdeacon (also a Chaplain) | 3,200 |
| 2 Senior Chaplains | 26,160 |
| 9 Chaplains, at 8,400 rupees each | 75,600 |
| 18 Assistant Chaplains, at 6,000 rupees each | 1,08,000 |
| Visitation and travelling allowances, establishment, and contingencies | 50,460 |
| Total church establishment | 289,020 |
| *Scotch Kirk*— | |
| 2 Chaplains | 19,635 |
| Establishment | 1,323 |
| Total Scotch Kirk | 20,958 |
| *Roman Catholic*— | |
| Allowance to priests | 10,320 |
| Total Madras Rs. | 3,20,298 |
| BOMBAY:— | |
| 1 Bishop | 25,600 |
| 1 Archdeacon (also a Chaplain) | 3,200 |
| 2 Senior Chaplains | 26,160 |
| 5 Chaplains, at 8,400 rupees each | 42,000 |
| 16 Assistant Chaplains, at 6,000 rupees each | 96,000 |
| Visitation and travelling allowances, establishment, and contingencies | 30,127 |
| Total church establishment | 223,087 |
| *Scotch Kirk*— | |
| 2 Chaplains | 20,160 |
| Establishment | 948 |
| Total Scotch Kirk | 21,144 |
| *Roman Catholic*— | |
| Allowance to priests | 22,800 |
| Total Bombay Rs. | 2,67,031 |
| Grand Total . . . . . Cos. Rs. | 11,99,307 |
| or £ | 112,435 |

*Abstract.*

| Years. | Church Establishments. | | Scotch Kirk. | | Roman Catholic. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of Persons. | £ | No. of Persons. | £ | £ | £ |
| 1832–'33 | 82 | 88,623 | 6 | 6,246 | 1,485 | 96,354 |
| 1851–'52 | 118 | 101,114 | 6 | 6,168 | 5,153 | 112,435 |

*Tabular View of the Wesleyan Missions—1855.——The * indicates that there are no returns obtainable.*

| Principal Stations | Chapels | Preaching places. | Missionaries & Assistants. | Subordinate paid Agents. Catechists &c. | Subordinate paid Agents. Day-School Teachers. | Unpaid Agents. Sabbath School Teachers. | Unpaid Agents. Local Preachers | Accredited Church Members. | On trial for Membership. | Sabbath Schools. | Sabbath Scholars, both sexes. | Day-Schools. | Day Scholars of both sexes. | Scholars, deducting for those who attend both Sabbath and Week-day Schools. Males. | Females. | Total. | Attendants on Public Worship. | Printing Establishments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Madras | 4 | 3 | 4 | * | * | * | * | 189 | — | 3 | 205 | 4 | 250 | 170 | 80 | 250 | * | — |
| Negapatam | 2 | 6 | 2 | * | * | * | * | 14 | — | — | — | 3 | 101 | 104 | — | 101 | * | — |
| Trichinopoly | 3 | 4 | 2 | * | * | * | * | 39 | 6 | — | — | 1 | 165 | 95 | 70 | 165 | * | — |
| Bangalore | 2 | — | 4 | 2 | 13 | 4 | 4 | 143 | 6 | 1 | 64 | 2 | 682 | * | * | 682 | 210 | 1 |
| Mysoor | 1 | — | 2 | — | 3 | — | — | 6 | 2 | — | — | 1 | 150 | * | * | 150 | 34 | — |
| Goobbee and Toornkoor | 1 | — | — | 1 | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 211 | * | * | 211 | 20 | — |
| Cooughul | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 2 | — | — | 17 | — | — | — | 2 | 93 | * | * | 93 | 10 | — |
| Total | 14 | 14 | 15 | 3 | 21 | 4 | 4 | 408 | 11 | 4 | 269 | 14 | 1,655 | * | * | 1,655 | * | 1 |

*Statistics of Mission Churches, connected with the Baptist Missionary Society—1855.*

| Years. | Name of Stations. | Paid Teachers. | Unpaid Teachers. | Increase during the year. Baptized. | Restored. | Received by Dismission. | Decrease during the year. Died. | Dismissed, etc. | Exclud. | Total Members. Europeans. | Natives. | Candidates. | Attendance at Public Worship. | Day-Schools. Number. | Attendance. | Sabbath Schools. Number. | Attendance. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1808 | Calcutta. Circular Road | — | — | 2 | — | 7 | 1 | — | — | 102 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 65 |
| 1809 | Lal Bazaar | — | — | 1 | — | 2 | 2 | 6 | — | 120 | — | — | — | 2 | 100 | — | 50 |
| 1818 | Haurah | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 17 | — | — | 2 | 100 | — | 50 |
| 1822 | Colingah, South | — | — | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 73 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1839 | Intally, South Rd. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 24 | — | — | 3 | 126 | — | — |
| 1824 | Narsigdarchoke | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 20 | — | — |
| 1850 | Bishtopore | — | — | 1 | 4 | — | — | 1 | 3 | — | 43 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1829 | Khari | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 39 | — | — | 1 | 40 | — | — |
| 1830 | Lakhyantipore | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 67 | — | — | 1 | 37 | — | — |
| — | Dum Dum | — | — | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | — | 14 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1842 | Malayapur | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 9 | — | — | 1 | 40 | — | — |
| 1799 | Bengal. Serampore | — | — | 15 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 5 | — | 134 | — | — | 3 | 600 | — | — |
| 1804 | Cutwa | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | 25 | 4 | — | 1 | 12 | 1 | 7 |
| 1804 | Jessore | 6 | — | — | 6 | 3 | 3 | — | 9 | 7 | 161 | 20 | — | 5 | 267 | — | — |
| 1805 | Dinajpore | 4 | — | 3 | 2 | — | 1 | — | — | — | 20 | 3 | — | 2 | 120 | 1 | 10 |
| 1816 | Dacca | 5 | — | 15 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 58 | 9 | 122 | 5 | 40 | 2 | 20 |
| 1818 | Sewry | 5 | 2 | 1 | — | 1 | — | 5 | — | 4 | 34 | — | 50 | 4 | 150 | 2 | 12 |
| 1828 | Barisal | 10 | — | 25 | 9 | — | 4 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 241 | 12 | 740 | 11 | 239 | 3 | 110 |
| 1812 | Chittagong | — | 4 | 4 | — | — | 4 | 22 | 4 | — | 40 | 4 | 35 | 2 | 20 | 1 | 12 |
| 1816 | N. India. Monghir | 6 | — | 4 | — | — | 1 | — | 1 | 46 | 28 | 4 | 106 | 3 | 125 | 2 | 21 |
| 1817 | Benares | 22 | 2 | 5 | — | 6 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 19 | 1 | 30 | 4 | 461 | 1 | 6 |
| 1834 | Agra | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 150 | 2 | 32 |
| — | Native church | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 15 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1842 | Muttra | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 62 | — | — |
| 1849 | Chitoura | — | — | 8 | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | 45 | — | — | 5 | 140 | 2 | 48 |
| 1851 | Cawnpoor | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1853 | Bombay—Poona | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | — | 5 | — | 7 | 2 | — | 312 | — | — | — | — |

*Statistics of the London Missionary Society's Stations*—1855.

| Commenced. | Stations. | Missionaries (in addition to nearly 300 Native Agents.) | Worshippers.* | Communicants. | Schools. | Scholars. | Printing Presses. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NORTHERN INDIA:— | | | | | | |
| 1816 | Calcutta | 7 | 800 | 210 | 6 | 1,089 | — |
| 1824 | Berampore | 2 | 96 | 30 | 3 | 144 | — |
| 1819 | Benares | 4 | 59 | 20 | 7 | 524 | — |
| 1838 | Mirzapoor | 3 | 97 | 14 | 8 | 631 | 1 |
| 1850 | Almorah | 1 | — | — | 4 | 144 | — |
| 1845 | Mahi Kantha (near Baroda) | 2 | 120 | 20 | 1 | 30 | — |
| | PENINSULAR INDIA:— | | | | | | |
| 1805 | Madras | 3 | 400 | 110 | 15 | 1,404 | — |
| 1852 | Tripassore | 1 | — | 40 | 9 | 300 | — |
| 1805 | Vizagapatam | 3 | 100 | 40 | 2 | 256 | 1 |
| 1852 | Vizianajarum (including Chicacole) | 2 | — | 22 | 6 | 296 | — |
| 1822 | Cuddapah | 2 | 700 | 60 | 18 | 450 | — |
| 1820 | Belgaum | 1 | 180 | 33 | 9 | 410 | — |
| 1810 | Bellary | 4 | 154 | 55 | 11 | 351 | 1 |
| 1820 | Bangalore | 5 | — | 84 | 12 | 587 | — |
| 1827 | Salem | 1 | 287 | 44 | 7 | 213 | — |
| 1836 | Coimbatoor | 2 | 300 | 45 | 14 | 854 | — |
| | SOUTH TRAVANCORE:— | | | | | | |
| 1819 | Nagercoil | 4 | 8,247 | 601 | 93 | 3,856 | 1 |
| 1829 | Neyoor | 1 | 2,768 | 39 | 41 | 1,209 | 1 |
| 1838 | Pareychaley | 1 | 1,335 | 98 | 61 | 1,891 | — |
| 1838 | Trevandrum (including Quilon) | 1 | 1,514 | 82 | 17 | 586 | — |

* The numbers in this column represent the nominal converts; but do not include the heathen, whose numbers, by reason of the irregularity of their attendance on the public services, cannot be reported.

In the beginning of 1852, the number of native Christian churches in India (including Ceylon), was 331; of recorded members (communicants), 18,401; and of worshipping Christians, 112,191: number of missionaries (including forty-eight ordained natives), was 443, together with 698 native catechists belonging to twenty-two missionary societies, who have established 1,347 vernacular day-schools, 93 boarding, 347 day-schools for girls, 120 girls' boarding-schools, 126 superior English schools, throughout the country (*see* Mission returns.) There are eight Bible societies in India, which published, in 1850, no less than 130,000 copies of the Bible, or selections from it, in thirteen languages, and distributed 185,400 copies. There are also fifteen tract societies engaged in supplying works for native Christians—short tracts, or expositions of Bible truth, and school-books for missionary schools. The entire Bible has been translated into ten languages, the New Testament into five others, and separate gospels into four other languages; besides numerous works of Christians;—thirty, forty, and even seventy tracts, suitable for Hindoos and Mussulmen, have been prepared in the vernacular. The missionaries maintain twenty-five printing establishments. The cost of all these operations, for 1851, was £190,000, of which £33,540 was contributed by European Christians in India itself.†

This is but a very small beginning of the great work to be accomplished by philanthropists of all classes; the *Urgent Claims of India for more Christian Missions*‡ has been forcibly set forth by Mr. Muir, of the Bengal civil service: he shows that some of the fairest portions of India have no missionary; that others are supplied in the proportion of one to one million people;—a "long range of fertile, populous countries as much neglected as if they were districts of Japan."—(p. 12.) Formerly the Hindoos would not listen to the missionaries; now they attend to hear, discuss, and dispute: and, what is still better, they *buy* the books issued from the mission presses, in large quantities.§ Undoubtedly there is a great change coming over the Indian population, especially of the educated class: the little leaven is fomenting the vast mass. Idolatry cannot long stand before truth, when presented in the manner in which its Divine Founder explained it to His disciples; but the unbeliever must be born again before he can *see* God,—he must be born of water and of the Spirit before he can dwell with Him. The Hindoo is as yet only born of the earth—earthy, with every corruption of our nature in its pristine strength; he is also surrounded and entangled by the meshes of a Satanic system, from which he cannot extricate himself. It seems to be a part of the Divine scheme for man's redemption, to make his fellow-man an instrument in the work of regeneration; for thus both the giver and receiver of good are blessed. Hence, to human eyes, the operation appears slow. But we cannot penetrate the designs of Omnipotence. We cannot tell why millions of Hindoos have been left steeped in the mire of idolatry for ages, and that they should now be raised from darkness into light by a handful of men from the remote isles of the western world; all this, and much more, is a mystery: but may not this singular communion between England and India be as much for the benefit of the former as for that of the latter? May not Britain need, nearly as much as Hindoostan, not only the quickening influence which is able to save and make wise, but also the renovation of the flickering flame of celestial

† *Results of Missionary Labour in India*, by Rev. W. Mullens; reprinted from *Calcutta Review*, October, 1851. London: Dalton, Cockspur-street

‡ Published by Dalton, Cockspur-street, London.

§ These are not solely religious tracts. For instance, at the Wesleyan press in Bangalore, *Robinson Crusoe* has been printed in the vernacular language, with woodcuts: it has an extensive sale.

life, which, until the last few years, burnt dim and fitful here, and needed kindling into a bright and cheering light,—a light whose expanding, vivifying rays may, ere long, spread to the darkest and remotest corners of our globe? Be this as it may, the Anglo-Indian Christian mission is now fairly commenced; a wide and encouraging prospect is open for its meritorious labours. In a mere worldly point of view, an extension of operations is of the utmost importance. Every Hindoo or Moslem converted to the gospel of peace, is an additional security for the permanence of British power. Mere secular men ought therefore to aid this great cause. The day is past in England for attempting to rule a nation by brute force, as if men were beasts of burthen or irreclaimable maniacs. Kindness, consideration, and reasoning, are the instruments of conversion which the missionaries employ, and they are happily in accordance with the dictates and policy of government. There is therefore, in a new sense, a union between church and state in India, devoid of patronage or pecuniary relations, but based on the principle that what is good for the spiritual, must be equally good for the temporal interests of the people.

EDUCATION.—Under both the Hindoo and Moslem governments, the education of the people was, at various times, deemed a matter of public importance; many of the temples now devoted to idolatry and paphian rites, were originally schools and colleges for instruction, endowed with lands for this purpose, and conducted somewhat after the manner of the monastic institutions of Europe: but in both regions the teaching of the young fell into desuetude. The setting apart of a body of men as more sacred than their fellow-mortals,—investing them with peculiar privileges,—furnishing them in abundance with not only the necessaries, but also the luxuries of life, for which they were not required to labour,—enjoining celibacy,—and placing them under an ecclesiastical, instead of a civil law applicable to all,—was as pernicious to the scholastic system of Hindoos and Mohammedans as it was to that of the Latins: the funds allocated for the temples and mosques became appropriated solely to the use of a lazy, sensual priesthood; the minds as well as the morals of the people were neglected; and but for the village schools, sustained by each little agricultural community, and the town seminaries, supported by paying pupils, the people of Hindoostan would not even have had the primary elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic, which we found to prevail pretty general among the better classes of the community.

For a considerable period, the Anglo-Indian authorities gave no thought to the subject. In 1781, a Mohammedan madrissa (college) was established at Calcutta, under the patronage of Warren Hastings; and in 1792 a Sanscrit college was founded at Benares by Jonathan Duncan; but the main idea in connexion with these institutions—with the Hindoo college at Calcutta, founded in 1816; colleges at Agra and Delhi, in 1827; and a few seminaries in various provincial towns—was the propagation of *Oriental* literature, and the inculcation of the Hindoo and the Mohammedan religion. The extension of the English language, and of the arts and sciences, of which it might become the medium, was an innovation; and as such, dreaded by those whose opinions then ruled. A watchmaker at Calcutta, David Hare, about 1823-'4, established a British school there: he saw that the efficacy of Lord Wellesley's policy in founding the college at Fort William, as a means of incorporating the English on the Asiatic stock, was sound, and that no material improvement could take place in the mass of the people by endeavouring to communicate knowledge through twenty different tongues instead of by one, which would form a common medium of intercourse for all. The thought began to be "ventilated"—some advocating the English, some the vernacular, some both. The latter was partially adopted, as a compromise between the two former systems: but it ultimately gave way;* and now sound-thinking Indian statesmen are convinced that the foundation of education ought to be the English, whatever may be the vernacular; so that in due time it may become the ordinary dialect of about 200,000,000 in Hindoostan.

In 1813, attention was directed to the necessity of something being done towards the education of the people; and under the then charter act it was decreed that a lac of rupees (£10,000) should be annually appropriated out of the revenue of India for the "revival and improvement of literature."† It was a small sum for such an object: yet it remained unemployed for ten years; and then the accumulated funds were appropriated to the Hindoo college‡ at Calcutta, which was placed under the superintendence of government, and to such other Oriental seminaries as a Committee of Public Instruction (appointed in 1823) might recommend.

The Court of Directors early foresaw the inefficiency of mere Oriental literature as a means of improving the people. In a despatch to India, written in 1821, the Court warned the local governments thus:—"In teaching mere Hindoo or Mohammedan learning, you bind yourselves to teach a great deal of what is frivolous, not a little of what is purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility is in any way concerned." Bishop Heber also justly remarked—"The Mussulman literature very nearly resembles what the literature of Europe was before the time of Copernicus, Galileo, and Bacon. The Mussulmans take their logic from Aristotle, filtered through many successive translations and commentaries; and their metaphysical system is professedly derived from Plato. Both Mohammedans and Hindoos have the same natural philosophy, which is also that of Aristotle in zoology and botany, and Ptolemy in astronomy, for which the Hindoos have forsaken their more ancient notions of the seven seas and the six earths." The Court of Directors had to contend against the prejudices of distinguished Englishmen, who clung pertinaciously to the idea of educating the people in the Oriental tongues. Thus, in a despatch of September 29th, 1830, the Court says—"We think it highly advisable to enable and encourage a large number of natives to acquire a thorough knowledge of English, being convinced that the high tone and better spirit of European literature can produce their full effect only on those who become familiar with them in the original lan-

* The Right Honourable T. B. Macaulay deserves credit for the efforts he made in favour of the extension of the English language in India.

† Parl. Papers on India, submitted by E. I. Cy. in 1853.

‡ Of the course of education in this institution, that accurate observer the late Rammohun Ray, said—"It can only load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of no practical use; the pupils will acquire what was known 2,000 years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties." In fact, its pupils became deists and atheists.

guage. While, too, we agree that the higher branches of science may be more advantageously studied in the languages of Europe, than in translations into the Oriental tongues, it is also to be considered, that the fittest persons for translating English scientific books, or for putting their substance into a shape adapted to Asiatic students, are natives who have studied profoundly in the original works."—(Despatch, September 29th, 1830.)

These sound views were not immediately adopted by the Indian government, who absurdly persevered for several years attempting to instruct the people who attended the public seminaries by translating English literature into Sanscrit and Arabic—the one not spoken, and the other a foreign language in India. Before a Hindoo could study the best masters in English, he must waste precious time in becoming an Oriental scholar: in effect, it would be paralleled if boys in the national schools of Britain were required to learn Latin and Greek, and then study English literature from translations into these languages. The pedantry and inutility of such a system was at length exposed; and, with broader views of statesmanship, there came a recognition of the necessity of making English the classical and predominant language.

On the 7th of March, 1835, the government abandoned the Oriental scheme of education, and the comprehensive and adaptative tongue of the ruling power was gradually substituted by attaching English classes to the Hindoo and Mohammedan colleges which had been established in different cities; to these were added scholarships, with stipends attainable after a satisfactory examination, and terminable at a central college to which the school was subordinate. In October, 1844, government passed a resolution, promising preference of selection for public employment to students of distinguished ability. Model schools have been adopted in several districts; suitable books prepared; an organised system of inspection maintained;* and Christian instruction thus extended:—

*Missionary Schools in Continental India.*

| Stations. | Male. | | | | | | Female. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Vernacular Day-Schools. | | Boarding-Schools. | | English Schools. | | Day-Schools. | | Boarding-Schools. | |
| | Schools. | Boys. | Schools. | Boys. | Schools. | Boys. | Schools. | Girls. | Schools. | Girls. |
| Bengal, Orissa, and Assam | 127 | 6,369 | 21 | 761 | 22 | 6,054 | 26 | 690 | 28 | 836 |
| N. W. Provinces . . . | 55 | 3,078 | 10 | 209 | 16 | 1,207 | 8 | 213 | 11 | 208 |
| Madras Presidency . . | 852 | 61,366 | 32 | 754 | 44 | 4,156 | 222 | 6,929 | 41 | 1,101 |
| Bombay Presidency . . | 65 | 3,848 | 4 | 64 | 9 | 984 | 28 | 1,087 | 6 | 129 |
| Total . . . . | 1,099 | 74,661 | 67 | 1,788 | 91 | 12,401 | 284 | 8,919 | 86 | 2,274 |

In the parliamentary discussions relative to India, in 1852-'3, the subject of educating the people by a general system, was fully recognised as one of the most important duties of government; and accordingly, in July, 1854, an admirable despatch was forwarded to Bengal by the home authorities.† In this document the Court of Directors declare that "no subject has a stronger claim to attention than education;" and that it is "one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England. For although British influence has already, in many remarkable instances, been applied with great energy and success to uproot demoralising practices, and even crimes of a deeper dye, which for ages had prevailed among the natives of India, the good results of those efforts must, in order to be permanent, possess the further sanction of a general sympathy in the native mind, which the advance of education alone can secure. We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated 'not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust' in India, where the well-being of the people is so intimately connected with the truthfulness and ability of officers of every grade in all departments of the state. Nor, while the character of England is deeply concerned in the success of our efforts for the promotion of education, are her material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India: this knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce; and, at the same time, secure to us a larger and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour."

These are noble sentiments, worthy of England, and of incalculable benefit to India. With this preamble, the Court of Directors proceed to state the main object thus:—"We emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe; in short, of European knowledge."

Pecuniary aid is to be given to vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools. The study of law, medi-

* In September, 1845, I attended an annual examination of the Poona schools, and was agreeably surprised by the intelligence and proficiency of the pupils.

† It is understood that the preliminary draft of this valuable State Paper was drawn up by Sir Charles Wood, then president of the India Board.

cine,* and civil engineering to be encouraged; and all the higher branches of sound education. The expenditure for these great designs will be large, and can only gradually be employed: at present it amounts to about £150,000 a-year, which, it is to be hoped, will ere long be largely augmented.†

*Number of Government Educational Institutions, of Teachers and of Pupils therein, with the total Expense thereof, and the Number and Value of Scholarships in each Presidency, in the Year* 1852-'53.

| Presidency. | Nature of Institution. | Institutions. | Teachers | Pupils. | Expense. | Scholarships. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Number. | Value. |
| | | | | | £ | | £ |
| Bengal | English and native tuition | 109 | 336 | 9,116 | 51,000 | 152 | 3,137 |
| | Vernacular tuition | 36 | 36 | 1,904 | 1,192 | — | — |
| | Grants in aid to charitable and other scholastic institutions | — | — | — | 6,306 | — | — |
| N. W. Provinces | English and native tuition | 7 | 125 | 1,835 | 14,577 | 284 | 2,814 |
| | Vernacular | 8 | — | — | 5,437 | — | — |
| Madras | English and native tuition | 3 | 21 | 448 | 3,789 | — | — |
| | Vernacular | — | — | — | 766 | — | — |
| Bombay | English and native tuition | 15 | 64 | 2,492 | 17,143 (English and Vernacular) | 84 | 5,880 |
| | Vernacular | 235 | 190 | 12,384 | | | |
| Total | English and native tuition | 134 | 546 | 13,891 | — | 520 | 11,831 |
| | Vernacular | 279 | 226 | 14,288 | — | — | — |
| Grand Total | | 413 | 772 | 28,179 | 100,210 | 520 | 11,831 |

*Note.*—The above return is founded on the information received for the year 1852-'53; but as the state of education in India is at present one of transition, it is probable that considerable alteration has taken place. By the despatch to the government of India, dated the 19th July (No. 49 of 1854), a plan for the general extension of education was laid down, and when the instructions therein contained shall begin to be carried out, the changes made will be of a wide and sweeping character. For the reasons already assigned it is impossible to afford any precise information on the subject of Vernacular Schools. It is known, however, that these schools are increasing in number and improving in character. In October, 1849, sanction was given by the home authorities for the establishment of one government vernacular school in each of eight tehsildarries, or revenue divisions of the North-West Provinces, to afford a model to the native village schoolmasters. The experiment proved highly successful; the number of village indigenous schools, within the eight tehsildarries, having increased in three years, from 2,014 to 3,469; and that of the scholars therein, from 17,169 to 36,884. The plan has now been extended to the whole of the North-Western Provinces, and also to portions of Bengal and the Punjab. The expense of the measure is estimated at £60,000 per annum.

Under the present system there is an educational department at each presidency, with an official of talent, largely remunerated, at its head; qualified district inspectors report periodically on the colleges and schools supported and managed by government, and statistical returns are to be annually sent, with the reports, to England. Universities are to be established, under charter, in different parts of India, and to be managed by senates, consisting of the chancellor, vice-chancellor, and fellows of each; periodical examinations to be held in the different branches of art and science, and degrees conferred, unconnected with religious belief, on qualified persons who may be educated at the university college, or at affiliated institutions conducted by all denominations, whether Christians, Hindoos, Mohammedans, Parsees, Seiks, Buddhists, Jains, or any other religious persuasion, if found to afford the requisite

* In 1829, I laid before Lord Wm. Bentinck, then governor-general, a plan for establishing a medical and surgical college at Calcutta, and pointed out the great benefits which would accrue from such an institution. I also offered to deliver gratuitously a course of lectures on anatomy, for which there was an abundance of "subjects," the Ganges being the place of sepulture for many million Hindoos whose bodies daily floated in thousands past Calcutta. Lord Wm. Bentinck warmly commended my proposition; but subsequently informed me that he found such a decided opposition to it in the council that it would be hopeless to get the sanction of those who feared every innovation, and deemed that the Hindoos would never attend a dissecting-room. In a few years after my plan was effectively carried out by others, and it has produced the most beneficial results. Hindoos even come to England to study and qualify themselves for the position of surgeon in the service of government. I know of no branch of science so urgently needed for the people of India as that of medicine and chirurgery; and it is to be hoped that public hospitals and lecturers will be established in the large cities for the benefit of the native population. The *Friend of India* thus alludes to the good done by the establishment of medical institutions in Malwa:—"In 1847, throughout the great provinces over which the authority of the resident at Indore extends, there was not, we believe, one single dispensary. There are now nine, all supported by funds derived from sources independent of the British government, and all frequented by the people with an eagerness not always manifested in our older provinces. The nine are stationed at Indore, Oojein, Rutlan, Manpoor, Dhar, Dewas, Sillanah, and Bhopawur, the central station having two. From these establishments no less than 20,223 new patients have received medical relief, of whom about a third, or 6,465, were women and children. The number of females, in itself a sixth of the whole, deserves especial remark. No less than 2,468 surgical operations were performed; a number which appears enormous, unless very slight cases are included. When it is remembered that a few years since this vast amount of human suffering must have been unrelieved, or relieved only by the superstitious quackery of the Vedic doctors, the good which has been accomplished by Mr. Hamilton, and the energetic residency surgeon, will be readily appreciated. The whole expenses of these establishments amount to 16,032 rupees; and the receipts, chiefly from native chiefs and princes, have been a little above that sum. There appears to be no probability of any falling off; and in spite of their hereditary apathy, the neighbouring chiefs appear to be desirous of imitating a system which, under their own eyes, produces so excellent an effect."

† The reorganisation of village schools would bring instruction home to the mass of the people: they might be made industrial institutions, and combine agriculture with rustic mechanics.

course of study, and subject to the inspection, periodically, of government inspectors.

A people who have been subject, for several centuries, to a rigid political despotism, and sunk for ages in a gross system of idolatry, which, while it involved a slavish subjection to a dominant caste, encouraged the development and exercise of every sensual passion, must necessarily have both intellectual and moral faculties darkened to a degree almost surpassing belief. If it be a hopeless task to regenerate a human being, of whose originally small glimmering of soul scarcely a scintilla is left, and whose frame, diseased by debauchery, is returning to its original mire, how much more difficult must it be to raise a hundred million from the inert state in which the mass now vegetate through existence! Far easier is the task of elevating the New-Zealander or Kaffir; nay, the efforts making for the civilising of Bheels, Gonds, Mairs, Sonthals, and other aborigines in India, may be attended with earlier success than can be expected from the Hindoo, whose mind is still under the dominion of a Gooroo, or Brahmin. It is only, therefore, by great and long-sustained exertions on the part of government, aided by *all* its servants, that the literary, moral, and industrial education of the people of India can be accomplished.*

The Press.—The rise and progress in India of this potent engine of civilisation requires to be briefly noted. During the administration of Warren Hastings, the first English newspaper was established at Calcutta: it was styled *Hickey's Gazette*, and is described as a low, scurrilous, immoral publication; it soon died a natural death. In 1814, the *Government Gazette* was the only publication extant. With the increase of Anglo-Indian residents the number of newspapers augmented, and their character improved. In 1820 there were three weekly journals and one monthly periodical in Calcutta. In 1830, the number of daily, weekly, monthly, and annual periodicals issuing from the Bengal press was thirty-three. In 1834 the numbers stood thus:—*Daily*, political newspapers, four; commercial advertisers, four. *Tri-weekly*, political, two; commercial, one. *Weekly*, political, four; commercial, four. *Monthly*, general, six. *Quarterly*, reviews and Army List, four. *Annuals* and almanacs, five. In the N. W. Provinces, Agra, Delhi, Cawnpoor, and Meerut, had each an English newspaper.

At Madras there were *nine*, and at Bombay *ten* English newspapers and other periodicals; there was no stamp or advertisement duty, but postage was levied on the transmission of journals through the post-office. A registration of the name and residence of proprietors, and a lodgment of a copy with government of each issue of a publication, were required. Until Sir Charles Metcalfe, when acting governor-general in August, 1835, declared the press of India free, and its conductors subject only to the civil law, and trial by jury for libel, the government exercised a vigilant censorship, and could at any moment destroy an obnoxious journal by the deportation of its conductors to Europe (as was done in the case of the late Mr. Silk Buckingham); but since 1835, the newspaper press of India has been as free as that of England.

The native periodical press is of recent formation. During Hindoo and Moslem sway, no such thing as a newspaper with freedom of discussion existed.† Even in 1820 there were no journals in the vernacular: a few subsequently arose.‡ In 1834 there were fifteen newspapers published weekly in Bengal, some in Bengallee, others in Persian, and some with translations into English. At the same period there was in Madras one native newspaper published in Hindoostanee and in English; and in Bombay, four—in the Guzerattee, Mahratta, and Persian languages.

With the establishment of these journals, English and native, there came into operation several printing-presses for the publication of books, pamphlets, &c., which were of essential service to the spread of education and literature.

The latest data before me (1853) of the newspapers and periodicals in the English language at each presidency, show:—*Calcutta*—Daily, seven;§ bi-weekly, three; weekly, eleven; bi-monthly, five; monthly, eight; quarterly, nine; yearly, eight. This is a larger issue of periodical literature than Edinburgh, Dublin, or any city in the United Kingdom

* Government do not seem to have as yet given any attention to the highly important subject of female education. The character of the men of any country may be readily inferred by the intellectual progress and moral teaching of the women. The barbarous system of the Mohammedans is to keep the fair sex as mere sensual toys or household drudges: this cruel policy has, in some places, been adopted by the Hindoos from their Moslem conquerors; but it belongs not to their social ethics, as Menu enjoins reverence and respect; and there have been several distinguished female sovereigns and personages in Hindoostan. A London institution for promoting the education of the women of India is now in full operation, under the direction of a ladies' committee, who send out carefully-trained schoolmistresses, and superintend the working of the society at home and abroad. If the day have not arrived when girls' schools can be formed by government in India as well as in England, then to such a body as "the Society for promoting Female Education in the East," the work of educating the women of India might be temporarily entrusted by the state.

† There were *Ukhbars*, or Court Circulars, containing such scraps of official news, or *gup*, as the ruling power permitted to be made known.

‡ In 1829, in conjunction with Rammohun Roy, Dwarkanaut Tagore, Prussuna Comar Tagore, and other Hindoo gentlemen, I established in Calcutta a weekly journal, and printed it, under my own roof, in English, Bengallee, and Hindoostanee (Persian) characters, in parallel columns, with a hope of improving the tone of the native mind, and preparing it for a temperate discussion of public affairs. This journal was acknowledged to have been eminently instrumental in aiding Lord Wm. Bentinck in the abolition of *suttee*, by appeals to the humane feelings of Hindoo husbands, fathers, and brothers. When widow-burning was suppressed, attention was directed to other prevailing pernicious practices, such as duelling among Europeans, and flagellation in the army. Some very mild comments on a court-martial sentence, dated 20th July, 1829, of "*one thousand lashes on the bare back* of gunner Wm. Comerford, of the 1st company 5th battalion of Bengal artillery" (whose wife had been seduced by the captain of his company, and the seducer's life threatened by the aggrieved husband), led to the condemnation by the government of India of the journal, and its ultimate destruction, with the large property embarked therein. It is now unnecessary to advert to the injury sustained; the circumstance is mentioned as a fragment of history. The sacrifice was made for great objects, and it is seldom one is privileged to witness the beneficial results by the attainment of the end in view.

§ *Englishman, Hurkaru (Messenger), Citizen, Morning Chronicle, Evening Mail, Commercial and Shipping Gazette, Exchange Gazette.* The *Englishman* and *Hurkaru*, for instance, are of the size of the London *Times* without its supplement.

but London can exhibit. *Bombay*—Daily, three;* bi-weekly, two; weekly, five; bi-monthly, four; monthly, three; quarterly, one; half-yearly, one; annually, two; and occasionally (transactions of scientific societies), four. *Madras*—Daily and weekly, nine; bi-monthly, two; monthly, eight; quarterly, three; annual, six. Throughout different parts of India there are also English newspapers, journals, &c., viz., at Agra, four; Delhi, four; Simla, one; Lahore, one; Serampoor (*Friend of India*), one; Rangoon, one; Bangalore (bi-weekly *Herald*), one; Poona, one; Kurachee (Sinde), two. Of the native press I can find no complete returns: in Bengal it has largely increased;† as also at Bombay, where there are two daily newspapers in Guzerattee; five bi-weekly, four weekly (Marathi, Guzerattee and Persian), one bi-monthly (Marathi and English), one monthly (in Portuguese.)

The activity of printing may be judged by the number of establishments in full operation at Bombay, viz., English, seven; Guzerattee, eleven; Marathi, four; Persian, four; lithographic presses, five. In the N. W. Provinces, the number of native presses in operation during the year 1853, was forty; and the number of native newspapers issued therefrom, thirty-seven: some of these, though containing current news, supply information useful for schools, on subjects connected with geography, zoology, history (chiefly modern), education, popular errors, translations from Shakspeare, influence of the moon on animal and vegetable creation, and various scientific matters. The official report to government (19th No. of Selections) on the subject of these native presses, states—"Of the forty presses at work, five were established within the year, and four discontinued during the same period; in the same manner, five new newspapers were issued, and five old ones discontinued. The books published at the presses were 195, and the approximate number of copies of the same struck off for general use, 103,615. Two of the principal presses, viz., Gobind Pughonath's at Benares, and the Moostufaee press at Delhi, have not furnished us with the number of copies they have published of each work issued by them: for these, therefore, the lowest average, viz., 200 to each work, has been taken; but it may confidently be assumed that a far greater number of copies were struck off, more especially as the last-named press is noted for its success in the publication and sale of books." The report adverts commendingly to several of the newspapers, viz., the *Koh-i-Noor*, at Lahore; the *Noor-ool-Absar*, at Agra; the *Quiran-oos-Sadyn*, at Delhi; the *Soodhakeer*, at Benares, "which ranks very high among the native journals of these provinces." One newspaper deserves special note, owing to its patronage and source:—"Another well-conducted periodical is the *Malwa Ukhbar*, under the patronage of the Maharajah Holkar and Sir R. N. C. Hamilton, and published at Indore. The paper is edited by one of the teachers of the Indore school, and contains intelligence relative to the native neighbouring states, which have been personally visited by the editor, and with the condition and general affairs of which he would appear to be thoroughly conversant." It is to be regretted that there are no government reports on the state of the native press in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Very little foresight is needed to perceive the vast importance, political, social, and moral, which this rapid extension of printing is calculated to produce on the native mind throughout the length and breadth of Hindoostan: for weal or for woe our government is now committed to the principle of free discussion on every topic which the discursive faculties of the Asiatic may choose to examine. Some publications of a decidedly deistical and even atheistical character

* *Times*, *Gazette*, and *Courier*, each nearly equal in size to the Calcutta newspapers.

† The *Baptist Mission Press* is distinguished in Bengal above all others for the accuracy and excellency of its work; it does a large amount of business, the profits of which are all devoted to the mission. By the aid of this active society, the Scriptures have in whole or in part been translated into, and printed in, forty-four Asiatic languages, which may be thus enumerated:—

*Statistics of Translations (in the Languages of India) of the Holy Scriptures.*

| Languages or Dialects. | No. of Copies. | |
|---|---|---|
| | Wholly. | In Part. |
| Afghan | — | 3,000 |
| Armenian | — | 2,790 |
| Assamese | — | 6,509 |
| Battak (number not known.) | | |
| Beloochee ditto. | | |
| Bengallee | 3,500 | 341,655‡ / 67,060§ |
| Bhogulcundi | — | 1,000 |
| Bhikaneera | — | 1,000 |
| Bhutneera | — | 1,000 |
| Bruj | — | 6,000 |
| Burmese | — | 16,500 |
| Cashmere | — | 3,000 |
| Chinese | 6,400 | 9,100 |
| Cingalese (about) | 5,000 | 5,000 |
| Guzerattee | — | 1,000 |
| Gurwhali or Shreenagur | — | 1,000 |
| Haroti | — | 1,000 |
| Hindi | — | 76,000 |
| Hindoostanee or Urdu | — | 132,033 |
| Javanese (about) | — | 3,000 |
| Jumbu | — | 1,000 |
| Juyapura (number not known.) | | |
| Kanoj | — | 1,000 |
| Khassi | — | 500 |
| Kumaon | — | 1,000 |
| Kunkunu | — | 2,000 |
| Kusoli (number not known.) | | |
| Kurnata | — | 1,000 |
| Mahratta | — | 11,465 |
| Malay | — | 1,500 |
| Marwari | — | 1,000 |
| Mugudh | — | 1,000 |
| Multani | — | 1,000 |
| Munipura | — | 1,000 |
| Nepaulese | — | 1,000 |
| Oodeypoor (number not known.) | | |
| Oojin | — | 1,000 |
| Oriya | — | 14,000 |
| Palpa | — | 1,000 |
| Persian | — | 37,500 |
| Sanscrit | — | 71,580 |
| Sikhi | — | 5,000 |
| Sindhi (number not known.) | | |
| Telinga or Teloogoo | — | 1,000 |
| Total number of Vols. | 14,900 | 833,180 |

‡ New Testament. § Old Testament.

(Parl. Papers—Commons; 6th August, 1853; p. 165.) The *London Missionary Society* have translated the whole Bible into two languages—the Canarese and Teloogoo; aided that of the Oordoo, Guzerattee, Bengallee, Tamul, and Maliyalim. Of £63,963 annual income, £26,136 is expended in India. The *Church Missionary Society* spends in India £45,000 per annum, and has eighty-eight ordained clergymen engaged in its glorious work. The excellent Moravians are "breaking ground" in the Himalaya, and the Scotch church are effectively occupying Western India.

have already appeared.* Paine's *Age of Reason* and Volney's *Ruins of Empires*, not long since found a more ready sale than any other imported books; for, in the transition state from Paganism to Christianism, the gulf of infidelity must, it is to be feared, be passed with ruin to many souls.†

The pure Hindoo mind, generally speaking, resembles very much that of the ancient Greek: it is logical, yet fond of romance—acute in perception, but wanting in profundity; delighting in subtleties, and eager for disputation; more vain than proud,—prone to exaggeration,—given to fine sentiments rather than to noble actions,‡—with a keener relish for the beautiful than the true,—physically brave, but morally pusillanimous,—superstitious, impulsive, ardent in love, bitter in hatred,—of vivid thoughts, bright imaginings, and lofty aspirations. With such a people, whose natural character has been subdued by centuries of despotism, great results may be produced by example and precept. If left unguided, the bias of fallen man must lead to evil; but with the powerful engine of the printing-press, government may exercise a permanent influence for good. There is no time to be lost: the school inspectors, European and native, now being appointed over every district, may become efficient instruments for the guidance of the native press in the inculcation of truth, the discussion of political economy, and the diffusion of virtuous principles.

Crime.—For want of regular returns and a uniform system, it is not possible at present to show the extent of crime among the population generally; the nature of offences peculiar to the Hindoos or to the Mohammedans; the increase or decrease for several years; or the ratio that it bears to the number of inhabitants: such statistics would be very valuable, and might be obtained. Some returns prepared for the judicial department of the Madras government, furnishes useful details for the year 1850. It appears, that among a population of 22,281,527, there were in one year 167,063 alleged cases of assault,§ 2,308 of cattle-stealing, 9,135 of theft, and 5,424 of various other offences: total, 183,930 cases of crime, for which summonses were granted by the district magistrates. The *village* police cases included 11,087 charged with petty assault, and 1,585 of petty theft.

The offences against the person in the Madras Presidency, show that the Hindoo is not the peaceable person that he is generally represented.‖ The murders in 1850 were 275; homicide, 87; wounding with intent to kill, 25; assault with wounding, 412; rape, 75: total, 864. The offences against property in the same year, were:—Robbery, with aggravating circumstances, 486; robbery, without ditto, 828; housebreaking, 5,959; theft, 2,350; cattle-stealing, killing, or wounding, 922; arson, 377; embezzlement and fraud, 205: total, 11,127. Forgery, 86;¶ perjury or subornation, 11; various, 1,742: total, 1,839. This is a heavy catalogue of *known* crime, which, it is to be feared, forms but a small proportion of the amount actually perpetrated.

The crime of murder varies in different districts:—Malabar, 32 cases; Canara, 30; Cuddapah, 24; Salem, 23; Bellary, 20; in Gangam, Rajahmundry, N. Arcot, Coimbatoor, Madura, and Tinnevelly, the number of cases ranged from 12 to 16. The number of persons charged, in 1850, with abuse of authority as police-officers (principally peons, or constables and village police servants), was 1,410, which indicates grievous maladministration among the lowest officials.** In proportion to the population of the whole presidency, the number of persons summoned for petty offences was one in eighty-three inhabitants, and the crimes and misdemeanours one in 1,000.

* I obtained in 1845, at Bombay, one atheistical book, written by a Parsee, in reply to the Scotch missionaries, which was of such a blasphemous character that I burnt the work to prevent its falling into the hands of any young person in England.

† One of the ablest newspapers published in India, termed the *Calcutta Inquirer*, was edited by a Hindoo named Khrishna Mohun Bannajee, a man of brilliant abilities, perfectly well acquainted with the English language, which he wielded with great power against the government as a thorough "radical:" his infidelity was for a time complete. About the year 1834 he became acquainted with the missionaries; his scepticism was shaken, and he soon embraced Christianity—ceased to oppose government, "sounded the alarm to his countrymen and the authorities on the danger of imparting a merely intellectual education, as inevitably leading a large mass of the population into hostility to the British rule; and declared his entire conviction, both politically and morally, that the government would do well not to exclude Christianity from their schools."—(*See* valuable evidence of Colonel Jacob, of the artillery, before parliament, 4th August, 1853.) While in India, I invited the presence of many young Hindoo gentlemen to my chambers in the evening, and usually had large *soirees:* they quoted Shakspeare, Byron, and other popular works with remarkable memory, but almost invariably scoffed at the Bible and all religion; they had kicked away the crutches of Hindooism, and received no substitute; hence they stumbled through dark and fearful regions of atheism.

‡ There are many exceptions to this, especially in Rajpoot annals; and the devotion of the Hindoo sepoy to his European officer, has often been exhibited by the sacrifice of life to save that of his commander; but heroism is not, in the present age, the characteristic of the mass of the people.

§ Of this number but 46,381 were punished. The disproportion of persons punished to those summoned is a great evil. In Rajahmundry, for instance, 1,422 out of 14,571, or nine per cent. Thus ninety-one out of every hundred persons brought before the magistrates are acknowledged to be innocent: this indicates a very bad state of society.

‖ Murder and attempts to kill are awfully prevalent in every part of India: the nature of the assault varies with the character of the people, and is more manifest among the hot-blooded Mussulmen than the cooler Hindoos; the former slaying, the latter poisoning. Disputes regarding women are often the cause, and a blood feud is transmitted from father to son. Abstinence from animal food does not seem to indispose the vegetarian from taking the life of his fellow-man.

¶ Forgery, perjury, and coining, were deemed trivial offences under Pagan and Moslem rule. Coining base money was turned to advantage by local functionaries, who levied a tax from the coiners.

** The native police throughout India (excepting the Punjab) is notoriously inefficient and corrupt. There can now be no doubt that tortures of the most atrocious and indecent character have been, and are still inflicted, for the purpose of extorting confession from alleged criminals, and still more with a view to obtain money from the suspected or the accused. This, in a great degree, accounts for the large number of persons summoned or apprehended. In Bengal, *dacoity*, or gang-robbery, is nearly as bad as in the days of Warren Hastings. No branch of our Indian administration demands reform more than the police; and perhaps in no department is it more difficult, owing to the unprincipled and profligate class of the community from whom the police are selected. The remedy elsewhere suggested—of erecting municipalities, and leaving the matter in the hands of corporations dependent on the ratepayers, appears to afford the best means of obtaining an honest and vigilant police.

The number of suicides and accidental deaths reported to the magistracy in 1850, within the limits of the Madras Presidency, is very remarkable:—

| Cause of Death. | Men. | Women. | Children | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Suicides:— | | | | |
| Drowning . . . . | 195* | 536 | 13 | 744 |
| Hanging . . . . | 171 | 72 | — | 243 |
| Poison . . . . . | 4 | 25 | 1 | 30 |
| Various . . . . . | 28 | 10 | — | 38 |
| Total . . . . | 398 | 643 | 14 | 1,055 |
| Accidental deaths:— | | | | |
| Drowning in wells . | 573† | 913 | 662 | 2,148 |
| Do. in tanks or rivers | 468† | 270 | 521 | 1,259 |
| By burning . . . | 48 | 29 | 47 | 124 |
| „ lightning . . . | 99 | 27 | 16 | 142 |
| „ sunstroke . . . | 15 | 9 | 1 | 25 |
| „ wild beasts . . | 85 | 21 | 13 | 119 |
| „ landslips, &c. . | 67 | 26 | 35 | 128 |
| Various . . . . . | 497 | 87 | 64 | 648 |
| Total . . . . | 1,852 | 1,382 | 1,359 | 4,593 |
| General Total . | 2,250 | 2,025 | 1,373 | 5,648 |

The recklessness of life which this table exhibits is awful; upwards of a thousand suicides‡ and 4,500 *alleged* accidental deaths, constitute only those known to or reported by the police; and probably many of those are murders.

BOMBAY, 1850.—The returns of crime for this presidency vary in form, and are not so full as those of Madras, neither do they appear to be so accurately prepared. Number of persons apprehended for crime by the *district* police, 60,673; by the *village* ditto, 2,398 = 63,071. But here, as at Madras, and owing most probably to the same sause—a corrupt police—the number apprehended or summoned is no actual test of crime. For instance, of 60,673 persons apprehended, 17,765 were discharged without trial, and 16,564 acquitted after investigation.§ The following official specification of crime for two years, throughout the Bombay Presidency, will confirm the remark made under Madras, as to the immoral state of the population:—

*Crime throughout the Bombay Presidency in* 1850, *contrasted with* 1849.

| Offences. | 1849. | 1850. |
|---|---|---|
| Adultery‖ . . . . . . . | 213 | 201 |
| Assault with homicide . . . . . | 15 | 26 |
| Ditto, with wounding or other violence . | 503 | 499 |
| Ditto, simple . . . . . . | 13,564 | 14,022 |
| Arson . . . . . . . . . | 677 | 570 |
| Child-stealing¶ . . . . . . | 20 | 27 |
| Forgery, or counterfeiting the coin . . | 95 | 103 |
| Homicide . . . . . . . . | 33 | 39 |
| Murder . . . . . . . . | 165 | 146 |
| Perjury . . . . . . . . | 155 | 167 |
| Rape . . . . . . . . . | 69 | 84 |
| Receiving stolen goods . . . . . | 374 | 421 |
| Gang-robbery, with murder . . . | 18 | 13 |
| Ditto with violence . . . | 221 | 204 |
| Ditto unaggravated . . . | 56 | 81 |
| Robbery, including burglary and cattle-stealing, with murder . . . . | 13 | 9 |
| Robbery, including burglary and cattle-stealing, with violence . . . | 2,087 | 2,211 |
| Robbery, including burglary and cattle-stealing, unaggravated . . . . | 3,667 | 4,334 |
| Theft, with murder, including that of children for the sake of ornaments . . | 11 | 14 |
| Theft, simple . . . . . . . | 7,276 | 8,406 |
| Treason, rebellion, and riot . . . | 5 | 12 |
| Thuggee . . . . . . . . | — | 1 |
| Miscellaneous Offences, viz.:— | | |
| Abuse of authority . . . . . | 25 | 69 |
| Abusive language . . . . . | 9,342 | 9,481 |
| Abortion, procuring and attempting, or assistant at ditto . . . . | 70 | 76 |
| Attempt at theft or robbery . . . | 639 | 783 |
| Breach of contract . . . . . | 67 | 84 |
| Breach of religious law . . . . | 153 | 124 |
| Breaking or destroying boundaries . . | 30 | 60 |
| Bribery, and attempt at ditto . . . | 120 | 192 |
| Conspiracy . . . . . . . | 130 | 112 |
| Concealment of robbery or theft . . | 17 | 19 |
| Concealment of murder . . . . | 7 | 3 |
| Dhurna . . . . . . . . | 5 | 8 |
| Embezzlement . . . . . . . | 53 | 83 |
| Escape from custody, and attempts and connivance at ditto . . . . | 49 | 71 |
| Fraud . . . . . . . . | 302 | 277 |
| Failure to furnish security . . . | 62 | 30 |
| Infraction of police rules . . . . | 999 | 729 |
| Jhansa . . . . . . . . | 431 | 509 |
| Neglect of duty and disobedience of orders | 916 | 950 |
| Return from banishment or transportation | 30 | 36 |
| Suicide, attempts at . . . . . | 27 | 22 |
| Traga, and attempts at . . . . | 73 | 103 |
| Uttering base coin and using false weights | 159 | 263 |
| Not included in the above . . . | 2,408 | 2,301 |
| Total . . . . . . . | 45,351 | 47,982 |

* In the year 1849—men, 328; women, 527.

† In 1849.

‡ In India, as in China, suicide very frequently results from the use of opium and other intoxicating drugs, the constant use of which (as an aphrodisiac in the first instance) tends to the prostration of all vigour of mind or body, and ultimately to self-murder, as a relief from the torment experienced. Unhappily, our Indian government, for the sake of obtaining a revenue, have encouraged not only the growth of opium for exportation, but also for private use. The late Henry St. George Tucker, a respected and able chairman of the E. I. Cy., recorded in 1829 his sentiments on this point. "The supreme government of India have condescended to supply the retail shops with opium for domestic consumption. I believe that no one act of our government has appeared in the eyes of respectable natives, both Mohammedan and Hindoo, more questionable; nothing, I suspect, has tended so much to lower us in their regard. Was it becoming in a great government to establish shops for the retail sale of the drug? Is it desirable that we should bring it to the very door of the lower orders, who might never otherwise have found the article within their reach, and who are now tempted to adopt a habit alike injurious to health and to good morals."—(*Memorials of Indian Government; Selections from the Papers of Henry St. George Tucker*, p. 154. Edited by J. W. Kaye: London, 1853.)

§ In Madras, out of 183,930 persons summoned or apprehended for alleged criminal offences, only 54,067 were punished.

‖ This is a prevalent crime in India. The Punjab commissioners report that "the men of the Punjab regard adultery with a vindictiveness only to be appeased by the death or mutilation of the parties; yet in no country are instances of female depravity and conjugal infidelity more frequent." The natives hate any system of law which will not give such redress as their vengeance may demand, and murder the aggressor when in their power to do so.

¶ Child-stealing was extensively practised under the native rule; and, despite our vigilance, is still practised in every part of India. While slavery existed and was encouraged, there was of course a premium offered for the abduction of infants from their parents. In the Punjab, for instance, "children of both sexes, especially females, were openly bought and sold."—(Report, p. 44.) There the crime is now punished with ten or fifteen years' imprisonment.

The supposed number of offenders for the year is 96,591, of whom 78,366 only were apprehended. Of the prisoners tried, no more than 8,123 could read and write; the number tried for second offences was 2,503. The punishments are thus shown of 4.222 prisoners who were in the gaols on 31st December, 1850:—Imprisonment for life, with labour in irons, 131; ditto, without irons, 65; imprisonment, ten to fourteen years, 270; ditto, seven to ten years, 495; ditto, less than seven years, 2,762; ditto, without labour, 499. The number of deaths in prison throughout the year was 318: the average mortality being about six per cent. The sentences of death by the Sudder Foujdaree Adawlut, or highest criminal court, was only 13, which marks a very limited extent of capital punishment. Fines seem to be the most usual mode of dealing with offenders: of 26,352 sentenced by district police, 22,679 were mulct in money, or imprisoned in default of payment, 2,482 confined without labour, and 1,191 placed in the stocks; of 4,792 sentenced by magistrates, 2,535 were fined, 46 flogged and discharged, and the remainder imprisoned for various terms under a year. The session judges' sentences on 1,258 tried before them, comprised 151 fined, and the others imprisoned for various terms of one to five years.

The returns for Bombay,* as well as Madras, note that petty crime prevails most in those districts where there is heavy taxation, failure of crops, general distress, and want of remunerative employment; also assaults with wounding† where the men still go abroad on all occasions armed. Where the inhabitants are employed in constructing tanks, wells, and other public works, crime has diminished. The sums reported lost by robbery throughout the presidency, in 1850, is not large, viz., rupees, 558,345 = £55,854; and recovered by the police—rupees, 150,560; lost by arson—rupees, 24,034.

North-West Provinces.—The details of crime for 1849,‡ in this large section of India, are very meagre. The number of persons apprehended during the year was 82,957; and, with the addition of 1,435 prisoners under examination 1st January, 1849, and 1,071 received by transfer, total disposed of, 85,463: of these only 45,863 (barely more than one-half) were convicted, and 32,842 were acquitted; the remainder died (51), escaped (65), were transferred, &c. No statement of crimes or of suicides, and no trustworthy returns from Bengal appear among the papers laid before parliament; but the following significant expression by the governor-general (Dalhousie), when examining the "Report of the Punjab," will, to some extent, show the state of the country. His lordship says—"I will boldly affirm, that life and property are now, and have for some time been, more secure within the bounds of the Punjab, which we have only held for four years, than they are in the province of Bengal, which has been ours for very nearly a century."§ According to a police report, it is stated that in 1854, out of a population estimated at 35,000,000, spread over 31 districts, 84,536 persons were arrested for 82,925 separate charges: one person accused in every 414 inhabitants—less than a fourth per cent. The convictions are quoted at 48,127, or one-seventh per cent. on the population. Value of property stolen during the year—rupees, 600,000; amount recovered—rupees, 74,111, or nine per cent. A military police, like that of Ireland, would be useful.

*Persons apprehended, convicted, acquitted, and committed for Trial, in each Presidency, from* 1850—'52.

| Classification of Criminal Cases. | Bengal. | | | N. W. Provinces. | | | Madras. | | | Bombay. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1850. | 1851. | 1852. | 1850. | 1851. | 1852. | 1850. | 1851. | 1852. | 1850. | 1851‖ | 1852‖ |
| Pending on 1st of Jan. | 2,634 | 2,496 | 2,865 | 1,356 | 1,527 | 1,505 | 1,984 | 3,624 | 3,298 | 1,068 | — | — |
| Received by transfer | 440 | 529 | 441 | 758 | 947 | 1,010 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Apprehended during the year | 107,967 | 107,718 | 104,474 | 83,059 | 82,112 | 94,747 | 202,506 | 192,609 | 194,514 | 78,588 | — | — |
| Total | 111,041 | 110,743 | 107,780 | 85,173 | 84,586 | 97,262 | 204,490 | 196,233 | 197,812 | 79,656 | — | — |
| Convicted | 63,407 | 61,583 | 63,316 | 46,170 | 46,012 | 55,904 | 57,684 | 51,463 | 52,300 | 33,865 | — | — |
| Acquitted | 40,092 | 40,799 | 35,864 | 32,580 | 32,283 | 34,677 | 78,929 | 78,255 | 78,018 | 20,882 | — | — |
| Discharged without trial | — | — | — | — | — | — | 64,107 | 63,144 | 63,544 | 22,864 | — | — |
| Committed | 3,962 | 4,080 | 4,417 | 4,300 | 4,079 | 4,369 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Died | 93 | 134 | 184 | 59 | 67 | } 764 (Died, Escaped, Transferred) | } 146 (Died, Escaped) | 73 | 86 | } 960 (Died, Escaped, Transferred) | — | — |
| Escaped | 503 | 540 | 614 | 32 | 45 | | | | | | | |
| Transferred | 490 | 734 | 632 | 505 | 597 | | | | | | | |
| Pending, in gaol | 765 | 994 | 913 | 707 | 749 | } 1,548 (in gaol and on bail) | 3,624 | 3,298 | 3,864 | 1,085 | — | — |
| „ on bail | 1,729 | 1,879 | 1,840 | 820 | 754 | | | | | | | |
| Total | 111,041 | 110,743 | 107,780 | 85,173 | 84,586 | 97,262 | 204,490 | 196,233 | 197,812 | 79,656 | — | — |

‖ Returns not yet received.

Punjab.—It is refreshing to turn from the crime and inefficient police of Southern India to the condition of the Punjab Proper, where, previous to the assumption of British sovereignty (29th March, 1849), crime and deeds of violence were rife. Under the sway of Runjeet Sing, the penal code was unwritten. There were but two penalties—mutilation and fine: capital punishment was rare; imprisonment almost unknown; mutilation reserved for seduction and adultery—sometimes inflicted for violent theft and robbery; but for every offence from petty larceny to murder, impunity was purchased by money. From one to ten thousand rupees was the price of human life; occasionally a noted murderer or

* Within the last two years, military officers have been made assistant magistrates, and placed in charge of the police. The result has been satisfactory: the policemen have been brought under discipline, and rendered effective.

† In the Punjab Proper, a complete disarming of the population recently took place with the happiest results; 119,796 weapons of various kinds were seized or surrendered to the police.

‡ Dated Agra, 13th September, 1850.

§ Minute by Governor-general, 9th May, 1853.

robber was enlisted, on high pay, as a cavalier or a foot soldier; if he were a notorious villain, he was made an officer. When a district became disturbed, Runjeet Sing left the matter to his lieutenants, and did not object to the Draconian code of General Avitabile,* in which hanging was the penalty for every crime, small or great.

Considering that 60,000 men were let loose over the Punjab after the surrender of the Seik power, and that the neighbourhood contained hosts of lawless mountaineers, on a frontier line of 500 miles, apt at all times to make forays, and prey on the more civilised and wealthy communities of the plains, the organisation of an efficient police became a matter of the first consideration. A territory extending over an area of 10,000 miles, between the Beas and Indus, peopled by several million warlike Seiks and fanatic Mussulmen,—by Rajpoots, Patans, Jats, and Goojurs,—by devotees and renegades of every faith in India,—required a preventive police with military organisation, and a detective force under civil control: the former consists of six regiments of foot (5,400 men), and twenty-seven troops of horse (2,700), regularly armed and equipped, and commanded by four British officers as police captains. The infantry guard the gaols, treasuries, frontier posts, and city gates, furnish escorts for the transit of treasure, and other civil duties; the cavalry are posted in small or larger numbers as a mounted patrol along the grand lines of road. Both horse and foot are ready at a moment's notice to aid the civil police, the infantry to crush resistance, the cavalry to expedite pursuit.

The civil police supported by the state (and independent of the city watchmen and rural constabulary paid by the people), consists of 6,900 men of all grades, divided over 228 jurisdictions, in each of which a police-officer is stationed, with one or two deputies and policemen. Each *tehsildar* (native collector of land revenue) is invested with defined police powers within his circle, with authority to overawe the police when corrupt, to animate them when negligent, and to aid the police-officers by infusing honour and vigour into the men. Unknown and suspicious characters are prevented prowling about; curfew penalties are imposed on those found wandering outside the villages between sunset and sunrise; parties not registered as public workmen or camp followers, and found within cantonments, are punished; armed travellers must deposit their arms at the police-station nearest to the pass, and receive them back on their return; all large bodies of men are watched; wayfaring men who put up at the village inns, must report themselves to the village chief; and any inn or hotel proved to have sheltered enemies to the public peace, is destroyed. The city watch and village police form an important link between the executive and the people.

The rural detectives here, as in other parts of India, form admirable trackers; among the middle and lower parts of the Dooabs, amid the wild tract of forest and brushwood, there is a scattered population, who hitherto subsisted chiefly by stealing thousands of cattle, which once carried thither, never emerged thence with life. Roads have been cut through these haunts, and the professional trackers will follow a thief with stolen cattle for fifty to one hundred miles, although the ground may be overgrown with grass, or too hard to be susceptible of footmarks. *Dacoity*, during the first year of our administration, attained an alarming height; gangs of armed and mounted robbers scoured the roads at night, and attacked the houses of native grandees by day, after the fashion of the bush-rangers, as described in my volume on Van Diemen's Land. These gangs have been dispersed, hunted down by men braver than themselves, and the leaders have suffered death or been outlawed: those who escaped have been chased into perpetual exile among the fastnesses of Bikaneer and Raj'hasthan, or the wilds of the Great Desert. Now the Punjab is as free from *dacoity* as any part of Upper India. *Thuggee*, which was practised by a low class of Seiks, who, however, had not "the supple sagacity, insidious perseverance, religious faith, dark superstition, sacred ceremonies, peculiar dialect, and mysterious bond of union which distinguished their Hindoo brethren," has been suppressed, and an organised body of ferocious and desperate murderers destroyed. Finally, in no part of India is there more perfect peace than in the Punjab.† The returns show a moderate amount of crime,‡ especially when the recent habits of the population be considered. The ratio, in proportion to the population of the Lahore district, as compared with other parts of Western India, is thus stated :—

| Districts. | | Persons apprehended. | Persons convicted. | Detected criminals, one to | Convicted criminals, one to |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lahore division . | 1849–'50 | 9,009 | 5,144 | 274·41 | 480·32 |
| Do. do . . | 1850–'51 | 9,998 | 5,423 | 247·13 | 455·61 |
| Delhi district . . . | 1849 | 2,179 | 1,653 | 140 68 | 186·66 |
| Agra do. . . . . | „ | 4,070 | 2,313 | 203·3 | 358·6 |
| Allahabad district . . | „ | 3,476 | 1,424 | 204·33 | 498·78 |
| Benares do. . . | „ | 3,620 | 1,776 | 204·81 | 423·10 |

Under the native laws, punishments for crime were exceedingly cruel; but except in extraordinary cases of treason or sacrilege, the poor were alone the sufferers, as the administration of justice was corrupt to the core. Torture was applied to both principals and witnesses, and by the gaolers also, to extort money from the prisoners. Flogging, mutilation, decapitation, drowning, burying alive, casting to wild beasts, and disembowelling, constituted the successive grades of sentences for those who were unable to buy off the infliction.

Under our rule capital punishments are restricted to murder; all other heinous offences are visited with transportation to Sincapoor or other places across the sea, with imprisonment and hard labour, on the roads or at public works, either for life or for a term of years.

* At Peshawur, where Avitabile (a Neapolitan) was supreme, the code was blood for blood, especially if the murdered man was a Seik; but "his object was the sacrifice of a victim rather than the punishment of guilt."—(Report of Commission, 1851; p. 11.)

† General Report on Administration of Punjab, p. 39.

‡ Infanticide unhappily prevails extensively in the Punjab. In Rajpootana it has existed for years; but here the Rajpoots are free from that crime which is committed chiefly by the Bedees or priestly class among the Seiks, who consider their order sacred, and that if their daughters lived and married, the fathers would be degraded: the children are consequently doomed to an early death. Other tribes also commit this unnatural and foul crime, viz., "some of the Mussulmen sects, and some subdivisions of the Khastree caste." The British officials, at the suggestion of some excellent missionaries, have had a public meeting of the chiefs, who have agreed to co-operate in the abolition of this unnatural crime. The purchase of slave girls is also decreasing.

# CHAPTER V.

## CIVIL GOVERNMENT—JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION—MILITARY POWER—AND PROTECTED STATES AND PENSIONARIES.

THE earliest knowledge we possess of India, inclines me to think that the country was divided into several forms of government, some as military monarchies, others as aristocratic oligarchies,* and many with republican† or democratic institutions; but all, more or less, combined the hereditary element in their constitutions, and were required, on great occasions, to unite for mutual defence against a foreign foe. Individual freedom was prized by the people; and when overcome by an enemy, many fled into the deserts and jungles, preferring solitude to subjugation.

The village or municipal system of India, which has outlived all dynasties and changes, combines the hereditary with the democratic: the potail or mayor, in virtue of his birth, would succeed his father; but if unfit for his position, the commonalty might elect their chief. Among the Hindoos there is a strong tendency to office-succession in the same family—not so much in reference to feudality or clanship, as to the transmission of property from one generation to another, in an unbroken line, for a long series of years; a feeling tenaciously held by some races of mankind, and especially by several of Asiatic origin. This idea would doubtless tend to mould the form of government.‡

As a general rule, it may be stated that the *Hindoo* polity was monarchical, with some republican principles, a territorial feudal aristocracy, and hereditary rights and privileges; the Mohammedan rule (acquired by the sword) was styled imperial, and upheld by despotic sway; no aristocracy but that of office or service was tolerated; no local institutions were encouraged; everything became, as far as possible, centralised; and all persons and property were at the mercy of the emperor, whose position, though to some extent hereditary, was only so after the manner of the Cæsars; for the large standing army at Delhi (as at Rome) could make or unmake the chief ruler.§ After the marauding Moslem hordes from Tartary and Afghanistan had consolidated their conquests, the empire was divided into soubahs‖ or provinces, such as Bengal, Bahar, Oude, Malwa, Lahore, &c., over each of which there was a creature of the court, with the style and position of viceroy; most of whom, on the break-up of the Mogul dynasty, declared themselves sovereigns in their respective localities, although they preserved the formality of obtaining the investiture of office from the nominal emperor at Delhi.

When the English appeared in India, they followed the example set by the Arabs and Portuguese,—erected factories at places convenient for trade, and gradually turned them into forts for the protection of their goods and the security of their lives, during the lawless state which ensued consequent on the breaking up of the imperial government at Delhi.

Until 1707, the affairs of the factory of Calcutta were under the superintendence of Fort St. George or Madras: in that year a presidency was formed for Bengal, consisting of a president or governor, aided by a council of varying number—of

* At the city of Nysa, during the Alexandrine period, the chief authority resided in a senate of 300 members. When the Portuguese first saw the Rajpoots, they described them as living under aristocratic republics.—(Barros—*Asia*, iv., p. 545.) The reader desirous of investigating the fragmentary information and legendary lore derived from the Puranas, Maharabat, Cashmerian annals, and other documents relative to the Hindoos, up to the period of the marauding invasions of the Mohammedans in the 11th century of the Christian era, will find abundant scope for inquiry in the works of Sir W. Jones, Colebrook, Wilkins, Wilson, Deguignes, Tod, Bentley, Heeren, Bird, Wilford, Moore, Elphinstone, Dow, Stewart, Masson, and other writers, who have praiseworthily devoted themselves to antiquarian researches connected with the history of the East. A summary of the scanty facts thus obtained would lead to no useful result, as scarcely two authors agree in their general conclusions, excepting in so far that about the period above-named India was divided into many separate states, with numerous tributary or independent rajahs or feudal chiefs.

† This word is used in reference to the prevailing idea of its signification. I do not myself think that any form of republic, whether carried on by an oligarchy or by a democracy, can long exist except under *Christian* polity, when each member of the commonwealth not only governs himself, but subjugates or directs his passions and desires for the promotion of the public weal. In proportion to the fulfilment of this duty, and so far as it accords with the Divine law, in such proportion will be the duration, prosperity, and happiness of a state, whatever may be the designation given to its form of government.

‡ Mr. George Campbell, B.C.S., in the first chapter of his useful work (*Modern India*, 1852), shows the difficulty of arriving at any definite conclusion as to the early form of government among the Hindoos. He thinks the Rajpoots conquered the greater part of India, and although democratic or feudal at home, they were absolute sovereigns abroad, and that under their sway, previous to the arrival of the Mohammedans, India "enjoyed prosperity and wealth."—(p. 12.)

§ At the beginning of the 18th century, the emperor had 30,000 cavalry and 400,000 infantry in constant pay. Merit, not birth, gave precedence, and largesses were frequently distributed.—(*Gemelli.*)

‖ *See* p. 117 for the soubahs of the empire, and their administration at the period of Akber's death in 1605. Peter Heylin, in his *Cosmographie*, 2nd edition, London, 1657, p. 883, says that India was then, according to the latest observations, divided into forty-seven kingdoms, "whereof some few have still their own national kings, the rest all subject to the power of the Great Mogul." By joining many lesser territories, he arranged the whole of India within the Ganges into twelve divisions, viz.—1. *Dulsinda* (W. of the Indus); 2. *Pengab* (E. of the Indus, more inclining towards the S.); 3. *Mandao*, lying between the Pengab on the N., Agra on the S., Delhi on the E., and the Indus on the W.; chief city, Mandao; well fortified, and said to be 30 m. in circumference: also Mooltan and other cities; 4. *Delhi* or Delin; 5. *Agra*, including Gwalior; 6. *Sanga*, on the E. of Agra, and S.W. of Cambaia; 7. *Cambaia*, S. of Dulsinda and part of Mandao, lying on both sides of the Indus, and containing Guzerat, &c.; 8. *Deccan*; 9. *Canara*; 10. *Malabar*; 11. *Narsinga* (N. of Travancore and S. of Orixa); 9. *Orixa* or *Oristan*; 10. *Bolanter*, the petty kingdoms N.E. of the Ganges river; 11. *Patanaw* (Patna); 12. *Bengala*. The *extra Gangetic* territories were divided into Brama or Barma (Burmah), Chav. Chin China, Cambaia, Jangoma or Laos, Siam, and Pegu.

nine to twelve members of the civil class,—chosen according to seniority, and generally head factors, who held their lucrative situations at the will of the governor. In 1758 the government was remodelled by order of the directors of the E. I. Cy.: instead of one governor, *four* were nominated, each to hold office three months, and follow in rotation; these quarterly governors to be aided by a council of ten members. This extraordinary scheme was set aside by the four newly-appointed governors themselves: they saw it was not possible to work out such an absurdity, and they invited Clive to accept the undivided office of president; which was done.

In 1765, another form was devised by the home authorities, to remove existing disturbances in the executive, viz., a governor and four councillors, called a select committee. Before this body arrived, the disturbances had ceased to exist; but the governor and committee assumed the whole civil and military authority. In 1769, a new plan was devised, with a view to check the corruption, and procure the funds which the E. I. Cy. expected from India; a Board of Commissioners was to supervise the proceedings of the governor and council, and to exercise abroad almost the entire power which the Court of Directors were authorised to employ at home. The ship in which the supervisors embarked was never heard of after leaving port, and the plan was abandoned.

The Crown began, in 1772, to take an interest in the administration of India, which up to this period had been exclusively vested in the E. I. Cy. In 1773, parliament passed a "Regulating Act," under which, as previously stated (p. 313), a supreme government was established at Calcutta, Warren Hastings was appointed governor-general, and several changes were made defining the constitution of the company, as regarded both Courts of Directors and proprietors, and the powers to be vested in the subordinate governments at Madras and Bombay.* In 1781, another act (21 Geo. III., c. 95) was passed, referring to the exclusive privileges of the company, which had hitherto been considered perpetual, but which were now fixed for a period of ten years, at the end of which the company was entitled to a three years' notice of the intention to resume the conceded privileges; and another step was taken to abridge the power of the company, or, at least, to associate it with that of the Crown. By a clause in the Charter Act of 1781, copies of all letters and orders relating to the civil or military government of India, were to be delivered to one of her Majesty's secretaries of state; and all documents relating to the revenues, to be forwarded to the lords of the treasury; and "the court should be bound by such instructions as they might receive from her Majesty, through one of the secretaries of state, as far as related to the conduct and transactions of the company and their servants with the country powers of India, as well as to the levying war and the making peace." Henceforth the company ceased to be solely responsible for the good government of the territories entrusted to its care. Censure for omission or commission ought to be applied to the double government.

In 1783, a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire and to consider how the British possessions in the East could be best governed. In the succeeding year, Mr. Fox introduced his celebrated "India Bill," which was very adverse to the company,† "on the assumption that they had betrayed their trust, mismanaged their affairs, oppressed the natives of the country, and brought themselves to the verge of bankruptcy."‡ By the bill, it was proposed to place the territorial government, for four years, in the hands of seven directors, to be nominated by parliament; the commercial affairs (then of great magnitude) to be confided to nine "assistant directors," elected by proprietors of E. I. stock, but to act under the instructions of the seven nominated directors, who could remove the nine assistants. The company strongly protested against the bill; the measure became one of violent party feeling; the king wanted to be rid of Fox as his Majesty's prime minister, and called the youthful Pitt to his aid, who denounced the measure, which, however, was carried through the Commons on the 8th of December, 1783, by a majority of two to one; but was rejected, after several debates, by the House of Lords on the 17th of December, by a majority of nineteen.§ The ministry, also, was thrown out; Pitt succeeded Fox, and early in 1784, moved for leave to introduce a bill for the better government and management of the affairs of the E. I. Cy.: leave was refused by the Commons; parliament was dissolved; a new house, on the 6th of July, adopted the views of the minister; an act (24 Geo. III., c. 25) was passed constituting the Board of Control, or India Board of Commissioners, consisting of certain members of the privy council, including two of the secretaries of state and the chancellor of the exchequer for the time being; the first-named person, in the letters patent, to be styled the President. A secret committee (chairman, deputy chairman, and senior director) was formed out of the Court of Directors, through whom the Board of Control could communicate on all state matters of importance which it might not be deemed advisable to divulge to the Court, and who were to be compelled, if necessary, by *mandamus* from the Court of Queen's Bench, to transmit the orders of the Board to India. A secretariat and staff were organised for the Board, before whom were to be laid drafts of all despatches for inspection and revision; and if the Court failed, within fourteen days, to prepare despatches on any subject required by the Board, it was empowered to transmit the orders to India, without the concurrence of the Court. On this basis, subject to some alterations of detail in the renewed Charter Act of 1813, the government of India was administered, with slight modifications, until 1833, when the commercial character of the company ceased, the functions of the Court became entirely territorial and political, and subject still more to the supervision of

* The president and council, at each of these stations, were also henceforth prohibited commencing hostilities, or declaring or making war against any Indian princes or powers, or negotiating or concluding any treaty of peace, or other treaty, without the consent or approbation of the governor-general in council being first obtained, except in such cases of imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to postpone hostilities or treaties until the orders from the governor-general in council might arrive, or unless special orders be sent from the E. I. Cy. in England.

† In the caricatures of the day, Fox was represented as a carrier, with the India House on his back, with which he was proceeding along Leadenhall-street towards Westminster.

‡ Kaye's *History of the Administration of the E. I. Cy.*, p. 126.

§ Government, under the leadership of the Duke of Portland, had fifty-seven peers present, and nineteen proxies; the opponents, seventy-five present, and twenty proxies.

the Crown by the nomination of a fourth member of the council of India (Mr. T. B. Macaulay), who was also to be a law commissioner for the revision and codification of the Indian laws. Agra and the N. W. Provinces were formed into a lieutenant-governorship, under the immediate supervision of the governor-general. In every matter, the authorities in the East were subordinate to the Court of twenty-four Directors, elected by the shareholders of the E. I. Cy., and to the India Board or Board of Control, whose authority was made more absolute at each parliamentary interference.

In 1853 (20th of August), on the termination of the twenty years' tenure of power* granted in 1833 to the E. I. Cy., a new act of parliament was passed, "to provide for the government of India." Under this enactment, the usual lease of India for several years to the E. I. Cy. was abolished, and the company became tenants at will, in trust for her Majesty, her heirs and successors, as a supervising authority in England; subject in all things to the Board of Control as representative of the Crown, whenever that Board might choose to exercise paramount power in the government of Indian affairs. By this act, the number of directors chosen by the proprietary† was reduced from twenty-four to fifteen; and the Crown was empowered to appoint six directors—the first three immediately, the second three as casual vacancies occurred,—all to have previously served officially in India for at least ten years. The Court of Directors, "under the direction and control of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India," were empowered to appoint a separate governor, or lieutenant-governor, for Bengal, and thus release the governor-general from much detail (which has since been done.) Every appointment by the Court of Directors of ordinary members of council at each presidency, now requires the sign-manual and counter-signature of the president of the India Board.‡ A *Legislative Council* has been constituted, for making laws and regulations; the council to consist of one member from each presidency or lieutenant-governorship for the time being, of not less than ten years' official service in India. The chief justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, one other judge of the Queen's courts, and two other persons of ten years' standing in the service of the company, to be selected by the governor-general, whose assent is requisite to the validity of all laws. The discussions of this council are carried on in public, with reporters of the press in attendance, as in the English House of Commons. Under this act, the patronage of appointment to the civil and medical service of India, which had heretofore been vested in the Court of Directors, ceased, and the nominations henceforth were thrown open to public competition under certain regulations, and examiners ordered by the Crown. The patronage of military and naval officers and chaplains still remains with the Directory, who, in lieu of the advantages derivable from civil appointments, receive—chairman and deputy, £1,000 each; directors, £500 each, yearly.§ Such, in substance, are the leading features of the act of 1853: it makes no mention of the trading charter of the company, which is in abeyance; and it leaves parliament at liberty to decree, from time to time, whatever changes may be deemed advisable in the administration of Indian affairs at home or abroad. The nomination of the governor-general, governors, commander-in-chief of the army, and other high functionaries, remains, as before, a matter of arrangement between the Board and the Directory; the former with a controlling power. The Court claims the right of recalling a governor-general, as it did in the case of Lord Ellenborough: but there can be no doubt that the ministers of the Crown tacitly consented, for certain reasons, to that stretch of prerogative, which is unnoticed in the act of 1853.

* *See* p. 1, for changes in 1833.

† The number of proprietors of E. I. stock in April, 1852, entitled to vote in the election of directors by the possession of £1,000 stock, was 1,765; number having two votes, 311; three votes, 60; four votes, 42: total number of votes, 2,322. Number of voters in service of the company—civil service, 93; military, 160 = 253. Of twelve chairmen of the Court of Directors, between 1834 and 1852, all but three had served ten years in India; one had never been in the East; and two had commanded company's ships. Viewed as a whole, the Court of Directors, since the commencement of the present century, has contained many able men perfectly conversant with the affairs of India, and deeply interested in its welfare. At the present period, the Court possesses a high range of talent among fifteen members, all acquainted locally with India,—whose public character is identified with its good government and prosperity.

‡ The India Board consists of a president, who ranks as a secretary of state—salary, £5,000; parliamentary secretary, £1,500; permanent ditto, £1,500; assistant ditto, £1,200; five senior clerks, £900 to £1,150; six assistant ditto, £500 to £800; twelve junior ditto, £150 to £550; librarian, £400; and other officials. The secretariat establishment of the E. I. Cy. is large and well paid; but a government like that of India, where every transaction of the most trivial character is recorded in writing, and all correspondence and despatches, which are very voluminous, are transmitted in duplicate or triplicate, necessitates a large executive. The heads of departments are gentlemen of known talent and great experience; especially the secretary, Sir James Cosmo Melvill, who, by his administrative ability, information, and tact, is entitled to rank among the most eminent men of his age. Edward Thornton, the historian of India; Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, the celebrated Orientalist; Mr. John Mill, son of the great historian (celebrated himself as an *economist* writer); Professor Forbes Royle, and Mr. Peacock, are among the *employés* at Leadenhall-street.

§ The patronage of the Court of Directors, previous to the act of 1852-'3, was undoubtedly large. I am also bound to add, that with a few exceptions, it was equitably distributed. From 1790 to 1835, the number of writerships (in civil service appointments) ranged from 20 to 25 a year; and from 1835 to 1851, the number at the disposal of the directors (exclusive of 40 at the nomination of the president of the India Board) was 546, or, per cent., 30. The cadetships for the army, and assistant surgeonries and chaplains, were also very numerous between 1796 and 1837: the total was 9,446; averaging 224 per ann. From 1835 to 1851, the number of cadets appointed (including 347 by the India Board president), was 4,916, or 289 per ann. Into the distribution of this patronage we have some insight, which is creditable to the distributors. Between 1813 and 1833, the number of cadets appointed was 5,092; of these, 409 were given to sons of military officers in the royal military, and 124 to those in the naval service; 224 to sons of company's civil servants; 491 to ditto in company's military servants; 40 to ditto of company's maritime service; 390 to sons of clergymen; and 1,119 to orphans and sons of widows. In the parliamentary returns of 1852-'3, the information is not so precise: of 546 writerships at the disposal of the directors, 164 were given to the sons of civil officers, and 96 to those of military = 260. Of 4,569 cadetships within the same date—342 to civil, and 1,100 to military officers of the company = 1,442.—(*See* Thornton's *Statistics* Kaye's *Administration of E. I. Cy.—Indian Progress.*)

It is not within my province or limits to criticise the changes that have been made, to say whether too much or too little has been done; time alone can now determine the wisdom of the policy adopted. The government of India is termed an "enlightened despotism." At Madras and Bombay, the governors are each aided by a council of three members, holding high office; the lieutenant-governors of Bengal and of Agra stand alone. The Supreme Council of India, with whom all power resides, consists of three or four members, of whom the commander-in-chief of the Anglo-Indian army is generally one: the other members are civil servants of the highest standing.

Each governmental department—such as foreign, home, financial, military—has a secretary of state, who is in fact its head, and responsible only to the governor-general, or, in the subordinate governments, to their respective administrators. There is, however, no uniformity: in some places there are departmental boards; in others, a single civil or military officer is entrusted with all power. The patronage of the governor-general is immense; for although seniority is the general rule, the exceptions are very numerous.

The administration of Indian affairs may be considered as in a transition state; the natives must, sooner or later, be admitted to a share in the executive and legislature of their country.* In Jamaica and the West India colonies, I recently saw negroes, of pure African blood, sitting as "honourable members of her Majesty's council," and as representatives of white and black men in the legislative assemblies. Shall we deny to educated and trustworthy Hindoo, Mohammedan, Parsee, and other native gentlemen, those rights which are conceded in other parts of the empire to Africans who, a few years since, were slaves in the lowest stage of servitude?†

I do think the time is arriving (if it have not already come), when intelligent men, of every creed and colour, pecuniarily independent, of good moral character, and whose loyalty to the British government is unquestioned, should sit in a general Legislative Assembly for all India. They might be selected —as in other transmarine dependencies—by the Crown, nominated for life (*quam diu se bene gesserint*), and enjoy some honorary rank or privilege: this would prepare the way for a representative assembly and freer form of government.‡ In addition to this general council, municipal bodies might be formed in all the large cities, for cleansing, lighting, and police, erecting and supporting hospitals, and other useful institutions, and superintending generally the peace and welfare of the several communities. A general act might be passed, empowering the formation of these corporations in all cities having at least 10,000 inhabitants: the people would thus become familiarised to self-government, by managing their own local affairs; and the Hindoos would recognise, in an improved form, one of their most ancient and cherished institutions, and look to the re-establishment of the *punchayet*, or trial by jury, as an indispensable adjunct for the administration of justice. In a sanitary point of view,—in the suppression of crime,—in providing for the poor, infirm, and diseased,—and in organising the elements of civil life and social concord, the formation of municipalities throughout India would be attended with the most beneficial results.

For executive purposes, British India is divided into districts, each of which, on an average,§ contains the annexed area and population, and yields a land revenue as estimated:—

| Presidency. | Area sq. m. | Population. | Land Rev. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | £ |
| Bengal . . . . | 3,200 | 1,000,000 | 103,000 |
| N. W. Provinces | 2,300 | 730,000 | 130,000 |
| Madras . . . . | 6,500 | 800,000 | 165,000 |
| Bombay . . . | 4,200 | 600,000 | 160,000 |

Each of these districts in N.W. Provinces, Madras, and Bombay, is under the charge of *one* European official, styled "Magistrate and Collector." In Bengal Proper, the magistracy and collectorship are held by separate persons. These *covenanted* officers are of the highest class, and consist of those who go out as "writers" (the old designation.) The prize of these high appointments is now obtained by undergoing a public examination in languages and elementary branches of knowledge. The range of emoluments varies from £600 to £3,000 a-year and upwards; if the lieutenant-governorship or governor-

* Of late years, the number of natives of India employed in the civil administration of the country, has been largely increased. The following official return shows the augmentation in twenty years:—

*Positions held.—Revenue and Judicial*—Principal Sudder Aumeens (native judges of three grades, who dispense civil justice)—1828, 64. Sudder Aumeens—1828, 157; 1849, 81. Moonsiffs—1828, 86; 1849, 494. Deputy magistrates—1849, 11. Deputy and assistant collectors—1849, 86. Sub-collectors' assistants—1849, 27. Abkaree superintendents—1849, 75. Tehseeldars—1828, 356; 1849, 276. Sherishtedars—1828, 367; 1849, 155. Mamlutdars—1828, 9; 1849, 110. Dufterdars—1828, 2; 1849, 19. Camavisdars—1828, 57. Adawluttees—1849, 5. Meer Moonshees—1849, 1. *Educational*—1828, 14; 1849, 479. *Various*—1828, 149; 1849, 990. Total, 1828, 1,197; 1849, 2,813. (Indo-Britons or Eurasians—as persons of mixed colour are designated—not included in these numbers.) Before 1828 there were only two grades of native judges, viz., the Sudder Aumeens and Moonsiffs. The office of Principal Sudder Aumeen was instituted in 1837, that of deputy collector in 1833, and that of deputy magistrate in 1843. In 1827, no native of India employed in the judicial or revenue department in Bengal received more than 250 rupees per mensem, or £300 per annum. The allowances now received are as follow, at 2s. the company's rupee. One receives £1,560; 8 receive £840 to £960; 12—£720 to £840; 68—£600 to £720; 69—£480 to £600; 58—£360 to £480; 277—£240 to £360; 1,173—£120 to £240; 1,147—£24 to £120 per annum. Since 1849, the number employed has been largely increased.

† Europeans and natives employed in India. BENGAL (in May, 1830, and 1850.)—*Judicial branch*—Europeans, 114 and 218; native, 11,161 and 22,800. Salaries, &c., 2,100,052 and 3,225,625 rupees per annum. *Revenue ditto*—Europeans, 112 and 204; natives, 3,447 and 6,806. Salaries, 651,962 and 1,601,810 rupees. *Customs*—Europeans, 82 and 146; natives, 1,652 and 271. Salaries, 290,490 and 340,835 rupees. *Salt*—Europeans, 41 and 32; natives, 8,569 and 4,786. *Opium*—Europeans, 15 and 42; natives, 1,638 and 2,066. Salaries, 157,433 and 378,620 rupees. Various other departments—Political, educational, &c.—Europeans, 375 and 573; natives, 16,247 and 32,076. Salaries, 2,642,437 and 4,932,356 rupees. *Commercial*—Europeans, 33 and 9; natives, 2,026 and 39. Salaries, 261,666 and 22,438 rupees. PUNJAB, (1850.)—Europeans, 185; natives, 10,986. Salaries, 1,619,546 rupees per annum.

‡ Natives of Ceylon sit in the Legislative Council there.

§ *Modern India;* by George Campbell, B.C.S.: London, 1852, p. 239.

ship of a presidency be obtained.* The *uncovenanted* consist of Europeans, or Eurasians (gentlemen of colour born in India), who hold subordinate positions, and cannot rise into the covenanted class: their emoluments are good, but scarcely equal to their deserts. The number and position of this class are being augmented and improved; and many soldier-officers now find active employment in magisterial and other civil duties.

The number of covenanted or of uncovenanted civil servants at each presidency in 1834 and 1851, the number on the retired and on the active list, and on furlough respectively, is thus officially stated in June, 1852:—

| Civil Servants. | Bengal.† | Madras | Bombay.‡ |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1834. | | | |
| *Covenanted:—* | | | |
| Active list (including those on furlough) . . . . . . . | 506 | 225 | 152 |
| On furlough . . . . . . . | 63 | 32 | 29 |
| Retired as annuitants (other retirements not known) . . | 37 | 26 | 10 |
| *Uncovenanted:—* | | | |
| Active list . . . . . . . . | 1,049 | 430 | 108 |
| On furlough . . . . . . . | None. | None. | None. |
| Retired (pensioners) . . . . | 102 | 116 | 25§ |
| 1851. | | | |
| *Covenanted:—* | | | |
| Active list (as above) . . . . | 498 | 188 | 126 |
| On furlough . . . . . . . | 45 | 27 | 16 |
| Retired as annuitants (other retirements not known) . . | 135 | 96 | 49 |
| *Uncovenanted:—* | | | |
| Active list . . . . . . . . | 2,014 | 838 | 120 |
| On furlough . . . . . . . | None. | None. | None. |
| Retired (pensioners) . . . . | 78 | 113 | 4§ |
| Who have served ten years:— 1834. | | | |
| *Covenanted:—* | | | |
| Retired (those only who are annuitants being shown on the books) . . . . . . . . . | 37 | 26 | 10 |
| On furlough . . . . . . . | 43 | 24 | 19 |
| *Uncovenanted:—* | | | |
| Retired (pensioners only being shown on the books) . . . | 102 | 116 | 25‖ |
| On furlough . . . . . . . | None. | None. | None. |
| 1851. | | | |
| *Covenanted:—* | | | |
| Retired (as above) . . . . . | 135 | 96 | 49 |
| On furlough . . . . . . . | 26 | 16 | 13 |
| *Uncovenanted:—* | | | |
| Retired (as above) . . . . . | 78 | 113 | 4‖ |
| On furlough . . . . . . . | None. | None. | None. |

The duties of the European civil servants in India, are thus described by the E. I. Cy. in their statements laid before parliament in 1852-'53:—

"Civil servants are prepared for the higher offices in Bengal by previous instruction in this country. At Haileybury the basis of education is European literature and science (classics and mathematics), to which is added, the study of the general principles of law, together with political economy, history, and the rudiments of the Oriental languages.

"At the college of Calcutta the studies of the civilian are resumed, and directed to the mastery of the vernacular languages, the acquisition of the principles of Mohammedan and Hindoo law, and a familiarity with the regulations and the legislative acts of the Indian government; the object of the two institutions being to combine the education of an English gentleman with the qualifications of the native law officer.

"Upon passing his college examination, the civilian commences his career in the public service as assistant to a collector and magistrate. He is thus engaged alternately in the judicial and the revenue line. In his magisterial capacity, he takes the deposition of witnesses, and prepares cases for the decision of his superior; or he hears and determines, subject to revision, cases specially made over to him by the magistrate. His power of punishment extends to two months' imprisonment, a period which, when he is entrusted with special powers by the government, is enlarged to twelve months. As assistant in the revenue department, he decides petty claims relating to arrears or exactions of rent.

"After this apprenticeship of several years, the assistant is regarded as a candidate for promotion. He is then subjected to a further examination, with the view of testing his knowledge of the languages and the laws of the country; and his promotion is made dependent on the success with which he passes the test. That the examination is severe and searching, may be gathered from the fact, that of twenty civilians who came up in 1852, seven only were passed. A successful candidate is then deemed qualified for the office of collector or magistrate.

"As magistrate, he directs the police operations of his district, and takes cognizance of all criminal matters. The law provides for his dealing with certain classes of offences, but limits his power of punishment to three years' imprisonment. Parties charged with graver crimes are committed by him to take their trial before the sessions court.¶ In certain cases the magistrate may inflict corporal punishment, not exceeding a few stripes, and no other punishment is then superadded. Appeals from his sentences, or from those of his assistant, when vested with special powers, lie to the sessions judge.

"As collector, he has charge of the district treasury. He superintends the collection of the government rental; puts in execution coercive measures against defaulters; sells estates for arrears of revenue; and manages those escheated or bought by government. He superintends the partition of estates, and regulates the distribution of the government assessment among the several subdivisions. He also exercises judicial powers in settling, by summary

* Governors of Madras and Bombay, and Lieutenant-governor of Bengal, £10,000 a-year each, and an official residence, &c.; members of council, £8,000 per annum; secretary of government of Bengal, £3,600 per annnm. Such are a few of the prizes now thrown open to public competition throughout the British empire.

† Including Agra, the newly-acquired Cis and Trans Sutlej territory, and the Punjab.

‡ Including Sinde.

§ Exclusive of the pensioners on "Warden's Official Fund," which cannot be shown, as the accounts received from India do not distinguish Europeans from natives.

‖ Exclusive of pensioners on "Warden's Official Fund."

¶ "British subjects guilty of felony or other grave offences, are committed for trial before the Queen's Court. In cases of assault and trespass, they are subject to the jurisdiction of the magistrate (European or native), which extends to the imposition of a fine of 509 rupees, and to imprisonment for two months if not paid. An appeal from the decision of the magistrate lies to the sessions judge, and the case, if so appealed, is not liable to be removed to the Queen's Court by a writ of *certiorari*. Further, Europeans, by being rendered subject to penal recognizances for the maintenance of the peace, are virtually amenable to the jurisdiction of the mofussil police."

process, disputes among the agricultural community regarding rents.

"After further experience, the civilian is promoted to the judicial chair.

"The civil judge presides over the civil courts in his district, and supervises the dispensation of justice by his native functionaries. It is competent to him to withdraw suits from the courts below, and to try them himself.* He hears appeals from the decisions of his principal native judge, when the matter in dispute does not exceed the value of £500; but he may transfer appeals from the decisions of the other subordinate courts to the file of the principal native judge.

"In the sessions court the judge is required to try all persons committed for heinous offences by the magistrates. He has not the power of life and death, but his jurisdiction extends to sixteen years' imprisonment.† All capital cases, after trial, must be referred for the disposal of the Nizamut Adawlut; as also those cases in which the sessions judge dissents from the opinion of his Mohammedan law officer. Persons not professing the Mohammedan faith are not to be tried under the provisions of the Mohammedan law, but under the regulations, the judge being assisted by a *punchayet* or assessors, or a jury, but having power to overrule their opinion. The sessions judge holds a monthly gaol delivery, though in fact he may be said to be constantly sitting. He sits in appeal from sentences passed by the magistrates and their assistants.

"The Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, the highest of the company's courts, is composed of the judges selected from the civil and sessions judges. It has ceased to exercise any original jurisdiction. It is the court of final appeal in the presidency, and controls all the subordinate civil tribunals. Besides regular appeals from the original decisions of the European zillah judge, and in certain cases from those of the Principal Sudder Aumeen, the court is competent to admit second or special appeals from decisions of the courts below on regular appeals. The grounds for special appeal are when the judgments shall appear inconsistent with law or the practice or usage of the courts. The power thus given to the Sudder Court of hearing special appeals extends their means of supervision, and brings judicially before them the proceedings and decisions of all classes of judicial officers, and affords opportunity for correcting errors and insuring consistency, it being one of their duties to regulate the practice and proceedings of the lower courts. Moreover, each judicial officer is required by law to record his decisions and the reasons for them in his own vernacular tongue; and this affords the Sudder Court extended means of judging correctly of the individual qualifications of their subordinates. The Sudder Court sits daily except during the Dusserah and the Mohurrum,‡ when all civil proceedings are suspended. In the trial of appeals, the proceedings of the lower tribunals are read before one or more judges. A single judge is competent to confirm a decree. Two of three sitting together must concur for its reversal, whether the appeal be regular or special. Decisions of the court in suits exceeding in value £1,000, may be carried by appeal before the Queen in council. Monthly reports are received of the state of business from every district, and an annual report is made to government of the administration of civil justice, both in the Sudder Court and in its subordinate courts.

"*The Nizamut Adawlut.*—The judges of the Sudder Dewanny are the judges also of this court. The Nizamut has cognizance in all matters relating to criminal justice and the police of the country; but it exercises no original jurisdiction. Appeals from the sessions judges lie to this court, but it cannot enhance the amount of punishment, nor reverse an acquittal. The sentences of this court are final. In cases of murder and other crimes requiring greater punishment than sixteen years' imprisonment (which is the limit of the sessions judges' power), all the proceedings of the trial are referred for the orders of the Nizamut. The Mohammedan law officer of this court (unless the *futwa* be dispensed with) first records his judgment, and all the documents are then submitted to the judges of the Nizamut. If the case be not capital, it is decided by the sentence of a single judge. Sentences of death require the concurrence of two judges.§ Trials before the sessions judge for crimes punishable by a limited period of imprisonment, are also referred, as already intimated, for the disposal of the Nizamut, in cases where the sessions judge differs from the opinion of the Mohammedan law officer. As in civil matters, monthly abstracts of all trials are laid before the judges of the court sitting together, when the proceedings of the sessions judges are reviewed. In sentences of acquittal which may be disapproved, though the Nizamut cannot interfere so as to affect the sentence, the judge is admonished.

"*Revenue Commissioners and Board of Revenue.*

* "In the trial of civil suits, original or appeal, it is competent to the European judge to avail himself of the assistance of natives in one of the three following modes:—1st. By a *punchayet*, who conduct their inquiries on points submitted to them apart from the court, and make their report to the judge. 2nd. By assessors, who sit with the judge, make observations, examine witnesses, and offer opinions and suggestions. 3rd. By a jury, who attend during the trial, and after consultation deliver in their verdict. But under all the modes of procedure described in the three clauses, the decision is vested solely and exclusively in the judge."

† "The great length of the terms of imprisonment in India is one of the vestiges of a barbarous law, or rather a consequence of its abolition. In 1793, the punishment of mutilation was abolished, and it was then ordained that if a prisoner be sentenced by the *futwa* of the Mohammedan law officer to lose two limbs, he should in lieu thereof be imprisoned for fourteen years, and if sentenced to lose one limb, to seven years. Under a later law, it is competent to the judge to impose two years' additional imprisonment in lieu of corporal punishment. A reduction in the terms of imprisonment has been repeatedly urged upon the government of India by the home authorities."

‡ "The Dusserah is a Hindoo festival continuing for ten days, which are appropriated to religious ceremonies. The Mohurrum is a fast kept by Mohammedans in commemoration of the death of Hossein and Hassein, the two sons of Ali by his cousin Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed."

§ "If the judges of the Nizamut concur in the verdict of the lower court, and the prisoner be considered deserving of a higher degree of punishment than could be awarded by the sessions judge, he may be sentenced to suffer death, or to undergo imprisonment for twenty-one years; but if sentenced to imprisonment for life, then transportation for life, either to the penal settlements of Singapore, Penang, or Malacca, the Tenasserim provinces, Arracan, or Aden, would be substituted; but no native of India can be transported to New South Wales or the adjacent islands."

—In Bengal and the North-Western Provinces there are revenue commissioners, a class of officers superior to collectors, each of whom has authority extending over a division comprising several collectorates; his duty being that of watching the proceedings of the collectors therein, and ascertaining that in every respect they are regular and consistent with just principles of administration.

"All matters relating to the settlement, collection, and administration of the revenue, ultimately fall under the superintendence and control of a Board of Revenue, which exercises a general supervision over the proceedings of commissioners and collectors. Some arrangements, not dissimilar, exist for the like purposes under the other presidencies. Appointments to the Revenue Board, and also to the office of revenue commissioner, are made by selection from civil servants employed in the revenue department."

The average period of service of the Bengal civil servants is stated to be—Judges, Sudder Court, Calcutta, 34; members of Board of Revenue, 30; secretaries to supreme government, 25; magistrates and collectors, 18 to 26; magistrates, 7 to 19 years; other grades varying in proportion.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.—Within the limits of the cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, there are supreme courts of judicature, vested with all the powers of the courts at Westminster, and presided over by chief and puisne judges nominated from the British bar. In these courts, trial by jury takes place; in civil and criminal cases, the law administered is in conformity with that of England, and there is a regular "bar" and solicitors. Beyond the limits of the three principal cities there are "company's courts," viz., at each presidency a supreme civil and a supreme criminal court; the former being one of appeal from numerous zillah or district courts, of which there are in Bengal, 32; in the N. W. Provinces, 21; in Madras, 20; in Bombay, 8. The European judges who preside in the company's courts are not educated for the "bar." There is no jury to assist in deciding on the facts of a case; the law is a compound of Hindoo, Mohammedan, and English principles, and a decision rests with the varying feelings and prejudices of the judge. This great defect will, it is expected, be corrected.

Civil justice is now almost wholly dispensed by native judges, styled Principal Sudder Aumeens, Sudder Aumeens, and Moonsiffs. The first-named are divided, in Bengal, into two classes, who receive each £720 and £480 per annum. Sudder Aumeens receive £300, and Moonsiffs £100 to £200 per annum.* Their functions are thus officially described:—"The jurisdiction of the two lower grades is limited to suits in which the matter in dispute does not exceed a certain value, the limit being of course higher in regard to the upper of these two grades than to the inferior. To the jurisdiction of the highest native judge there is no such limit. To these different classes of native judges is entrusted the original cognizance of all civil suits; and no person, whether British or native, is exempt from their jurisdiction.

"The first grade of native judges (Principal Sudder Aumeens) may sit in appeal from the decrees of the two inferior courts; and as the law, except in special cases, allows but one trial and one appeal, the power of final decision in by far the larger number of suits rests with native judges.†

"Further, suits wherein the amount in dispute exceeds £500 may be tried either by the Principal Sudder Aumeen or by the European zillah judge, if he so please. But in either case an appeal lies only to the highest company's court, the Sudder Adawlut.‡ Here then the native judge exercises the same extent of jurisdiction as the European functionary. Native and British qualification and integrity are placed on the same level. The suits now entrusted to a head native judge were confided, before the passing of Act No. 25 of 1837, to no officer below a European provincial judge.

"The number of appeals affords evidence of the feeling of the people in respect to the administration of the law. The number affirmed and reversed is evidence of the qualifications, intellectual and moral, of the native functionaries as estimated by their superiors. The proportion of appeals to original decisions in the suits disposed of in the N. W. Provinces, for seven years, is about fifteen per cent.; the proportion of decisions reversed in the original suits is little more than four per cent., as shown in the following table:—

| Years. | Original Suits decided on Merits. | | Appeal Suits. | | Reversals. | Proportion of Reverses to Original Suits. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | By Zillah Judges. | By Native Judges | By Europ. Judges | By Native Judges | | |
| 1843 | 31 | 39,181 | 4,505 | 3,083 | 2,301 | 5⅞ per cent. |
| 1844 | 17 | 40,213 | 4,397 | 2,902 | 2,020 | 5 ,, |
| 1845 | 10 | 40,579 | 3,980 | 2,809 | 1,895 | 4½ ,, |
| 1846 | 3 | 41,775 | 3,900 | 2,392 | 1,676 | 4 ,, |
| 1847 | 8 | 43,169 | 3,608 | 2,559 | 1,673 | 3¾ ,, |
| 1848 | 11 | 41,340 | 3,977 | 2,916 | 1,736 | 4 ,, |
| 1849 | 20 | 44,933 | 3,802 | 3,674 | 2,042 | 4½ ,, |

* Mr. Edward Thornton, in reference to these salaries, says—"If the value of money be estimated by the wages of labour in the two countries, it would appear that its worth is about seven times greater in India than in England. The rate of wages issued to 2,000 men employed on the Calcutta and Bombay mail-road is three rupees, or 6*s.* per month each; and assuming the rate of wages in England at 10*s.* per week, £24 in India is equal to £168 in England."

† "A. sues B. for a debt of £10. The suit is instituted in the Moonsiff's court, and conducted by a vakeel or pleader. The pleadings and motions may be submitted in writing, the pleader merely examining the witnesses, or he may have recourse also to oral pleading. The judge is required by law to record his decision, and the reasons for it, upon the face of his decree. The dissatisfied party may appeal from the decision to the European judge of the district, who either hears the appeal himself, or refers it to his Principal Sudder Aumeen. The decision in either case is final, except upon a point of law, when a special appeal lies to the Court of Sudder Adawlut; thus the subordinate courts' proceedings are brought under supervision."

‡ "The course of proceeding in such cases is as follows:—C. sues D. for £1,000. The suit must be instituted in the court of the head native judge; and if not withdrawn by the European judge of the district, it is tried by the native judge. The appeal in either case lies to the Sudder Adawlut, from whose decision, however, there is an appeal to the Queen in council, in all cases where the value in dispute amounts to £1,000."

"By a more recent enactment, natives of India are eligible to the office of deputy magistrate. They are competent in that capacity to exercise the powers of the European covenanted assistant, and even under orders of the local government, the full powers of magistrate. When entrusted with the latter, their power of punishment extends to three years' imprisonment, and they are also competent, in cases of assault and trespass committed by Europeans on natives, to inflict a fine to the extent of 500 rupees, and to imprison for the period of two months, if the fine be not paid. Natives are frequently invested with full powers of magistrates.

"Native deputy collectors are subordinate to the European collectors, but they are competent to transact any of the duties of the collector. Their proceedings are recorded in their own names, and on their own responsibility.

"The selection and promotion of native judicial functionaries are regulated as follows:—Vakeels or pleaders, before obtaining diplomas, must have passed an examination before a committee, consisting of the European revenue commissioner, the European judge of the district, the Principal Sudder Aumeen, the principal of the college or other educational establishment at the station, and such other officers as may be appointed by the government.

"The examination may be presumed to be of stringent character, from the following results:— In 1852, at Agra, twenty-seven candidates presented themselves for examination,—*none* passed. At Bareilly, forty-eight candidates, of whom *two* passed. At Benares, seventy-two, of whom *four* passed. The Moonsiffs (the lowest grade of native judges) are selected from the vakeels, and appointed by the Court of Sudder Adawlut. The Sudder Aumeens are selected from the Moonsiff class by the Sudder Adawlut, and appointed by the government. The Principal Sudder Aumeens are selected from the class of Sudder Aumeens, and appointed by the government. The service is one of gradation, but not of seniority, the superior ranks being filled up by the most efficient men of the inferior."*

A reform is needed in this important section of our civil government of India. By the Charter Act of 1833–'4, it was intended to remedy the defect; and it was mainly with this object that a distinguished person (T. B. Macaulay) was then nominated fourth member of the council of India. Indian law commissioners (T. B. Macaulay, Macleod, Anderson, and Millett) were subsequently appointed, and in June, 1835, laid before the governor-general a draft penal code to be applied to all India; and in October, 1847, it was finally printed for distribution, examination, and discussion at home and abroad. The code contains twenty-six chapters, with notes on each, occupies 124 folio pages, and is undoubtedly a philosophical production. The principal sections refer to *offences against*, or in relation to, the state, army and navy, public tranquillity, government servants, justice, revenue, coin, weights and measures, public health, safety and convenience, religion and caste, the press, offences against the human body, property and property marks, documents, illegal pursuit of legal rights, criminal breach of service contracts, marriage, defamation, criminal intimidation, insult and annoyance, abetment and punishment.† This code has been much criticised; but nothing has been done towards carrying it into effect, or amending its provisions.

ANGLO-INDIAN ARMY.—It is usually said, that the tenure of British power in India is held by the "sword:" this tenure is, however, changing into one of "opinion," *i.e.*, a conviction of the justice, honesty, and advantage of our rule; it will, however, require many years before the latter be fully acknowledged, and before the motley, unsettled, and in many parts turbulent people subjected to our sway, can be left to the simple administration of a purely civil government. The army of India (as was recently that of Ireland) must be considered a police force for the preservation of internal tranquillity, and, by means of its well-educated 6,000 European officers, as an efficient means of promoting the civilisation of the people.

The formation of a body of armed men had its origin in the necessity of protecting factories in which valuable goods were stored, after the manner previously adopted by the Portuguese, and their predecessors (the Arabs) on the coasts of Asia and of Africa. When once a selected class are set apart, with weapons in their hands, to protect the lives and property of others, discipline becomes imperative, and for this purpose a few Europeans were sent from England. In 1747, an act of parliament provided for the regulation of the E. I. soldiers; and in 1754, articles of war, comprised in fifteen sections, were founded on the above act, and promulgated "for the better government of the officers and soldiers in the service of the company of merchants trading in the East Indies." Dupleix organised a brigade, with French officers; the English, in self-defence, did the same. Hindoo and Mohammedan rulers sought the aid of foreign mercenaries, and assigned territorial revenues for their support; interference with the disputes of native states created the necessity for more troops; Hindoos and Moslems were ready to enlist under French or English banners, and made good soldiers; they fought against each other, irrespective of caste or creed,—were faithful and attached to their European leaders; and, in due process of time, an Anglo-Indian standing army was formed and brigaded (*see* p. 304), which grew from year to year, until it has now attained the following proportions:—Aggregate strength of the Indian army in 1851,‡ 289,525: component parts—Queen's regiments—five of dragoons, twenty-four of infantry = 29,480 men; E. I. Cy's. European infantry, six regiments = 6,266 men; company's artillery, 16,440, divided into European horse and foot, and native foot or Golundanze; engineers, or sappers and miners, 2,569. *Natives*—cavalry, regular, twenty-one

* Statistical Papers relating to India, laid before parliament by E. I. Cy., 1853.

† Parl. Papers, No. 673—Commons; 3rd August, 1838.

‡ In 1764, there were eighteen battalions of native infantry, perhaps about 15,000 men. In 1765, Clive found the army of Bengal (the principal forces) consisted of four companies of artillery, a troop of hussars, about 1,200 irregular cavalry, twenty-four companies of European infantry, and nineteen battalions of sepoys, with a due proportion of European officers. The aggregate strength of the Anglo-Indian army, in 1799, was—Bengal, 53,140, including 7,280 Europeans; Madras, 48,839, including 10,157 Europeans; Bombay, 22,761, including 4,713 Europeans: total, 124,740; of these, 22,150 were Europeans. The above comprised—of her Majesty's troops, dragoons, four; infantry, eighteen—regiments. In May, 1804, the number of her Majesty's troops serving in India, was—cavalry, 2,072; infantry, 9,911 = 11,983. The number of troops has varied from time to time, according to the exigencies of war.

regiments = 10,186; irregulars, thirty-four corps = 21,134; infantry regular regiments, 155 = 157,711; ditto irregular regiments, 53 = 39,613; veterans, or native invalid corps for garrison duties, 4,124 men. Among the natives, proportion of Mohammedans to natives, one to four. European commissioned officers, 5,142; warrant ditto, 243. Medical establishment—E. doctors, 824; native ditto, 652; apothecaries, &c., 287. Aggregate cost per annum, about £10,000,000. The army of each presidency is kept distinct under the governors and councils, but all under the control of the governor-general and council.

*Land Forces in* 1854.*

| In India. | European Commissioned Officers. | European Warrant and Non-Com. and Rank and File. | Native Com., Non-Com., and Rank and File. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Queen's troops . . . . . . . . | 896 | 25,930 | — | 26,826 |
| Company's troops, European . . . . | 588 | 14,061 | — | 14,649 |
| ,, ,, Native . . . . | 3,644 | 3,122 | 233,699 | 240,465 |
| Total . . . . . . . | 5,128 | 43,113 | 233,699 | 281,940 |
| Punjab subsidiary troops and contingents from native states . . . . . | 86 | 36 | 30,882 | 31,004 |
| Police, militarily organised . . . . | 35 | — | 24,015 | 24,050 |
| Grand total . . . . | 5,249† | 43,149 | 288,596 | 336,994 |

The company's European and native troops are under the discipline of articles of war granted by parliament; the officers hold commissions under the sign-manual of the Queen, and have been recently authorised to rank in England on the same footing as H.M. troops of the line. The company is empowered to employ in India 20,000 European soldiers, irrespective of the Queen's troops, but not to have at one time in Britain more than 4,000 men.

The sepoys of the Indian army consist of men of all castes and creeds: the Bengal troops, which are considered the highest caste, are recruited principally from Oude, Rajpootana, and the N. W. Provinces (a mixture of Hindoos and Mussulmen); the men are hardy, bold, powerful—good materials for soldiers: the Bombay force has its recruits from Oude, Deccan, Concan, &c. Hindoo, Moslem, Jew, and Portuguese, all contribute to make hardy, efficient troops, who will dig trenches (to which the Bengal soldiers object), and fight in them with as much courage as the Rajpoots. The Madras, like the Bombay troops, are termed "low caste," but quite equal to their compeers in any other part of India. It is said that the Bengal troops do not stand being "knocked about," or, in other words, "rough" it so well as the other divisions. In the Punjab force there are now many Seik soldiers. The pay and advantages of the three presidencies have been equalised: the sepoys get a higher and more certain remuneration than is known in any other oriental service; and a scale of pensions is fixed adequate to native wants. The period of enlistment is fifteen years: no bounty is paid; the service being popular, there is always abundant offers of recruits.

*The artillery*, horse and foot, is unrivalled by that of any European power, save in its draught cattle; bullocks and elephants being still partially employed for the siege or field artillery, which number about 400 guns. There are five brigades of horse artillery; twelve battalions of European foot artillery; and six battalions of native foot artillery. The horse artillery is considered the "crack" corps of the Anglo-Indian army. Its cadets at Addiscomb rank next to the *engineers*, the prize for which is obtained by those who attain the highest position after three years' hard study and competition;‡ the young engineers are subsequently instructed for a year at Chatham, along with the royal engineers, and are also required to possess a knowledge of the civil branch of their profession. Their pay and advantages are higher than those of the artillery, and their services much in request for the development of the resources of the country.

The cavalry is divided into two departments—the regular and irregular; the latter term being given to those corps where the trooper provides and feeds his own horse, and supplies his arms and equipments, for which he receives an allowance from the government of twenty rupees = 40*s*. a-month;§ in the regulars, the state provides the horse, arms, and clothing, and gives the soldier pay and batta for his subsistence—about nine rupees = 18*s*. a-month.

There are also regular and irregular infantry regiments, the difference consisting chiefly in the former

* House of Commons' Return, 17th April, 1855.

† In 1760, the number of European officers in the Bengal army was sixty; viz., nineteen captains, twenty-six lieutenants, and fifteen ensigns.

‡ As an illustration of the fairness with which the appointments are made, the following case may be cited. Sir Henry Willock, with commendable public spirit, placed a nomination to Addiscomb at the disposal of the Kensington Free Grammar School. Several youths started for the prize; it was given, after a hard contest, to a friendless youth whose competitors were all seniors to himself, and several of them possessed of family connections. The lad went to Addiscomb, and determined to stand for an engineer appointment: he worked hard night as well as day, knew no vacation, and soon outstripped cadets of older standing than himself; the second year he obtained the honour of the corporal's sword, and the third year, after a neck-and-neck struggle, reached the goal, and became Lieutenant Julius George Medley, of the Bengal engineers. He is now in a high and responsible position in the Punjab, a credit to the service, and a honour to his respected parent, the late William Medley, the eminent banker and financier, to whose generous and patriotic spirit several of the best of our monetary institutions (such as the *Provincial Bank of Ireland*, and the *Bank of British North America*) owe their origin.

§ The irregulars, whose numbers have recently been increased by the addition of twenty-eight regiments, making altogether 21,000 men, are very useful. Cavalry thus formed are not half the expense of a regular corps; the service is liked, the discipline is not strict—(it may be termed "free and easy")—there are more native and fewer European officers, and the men can march without baggage at a moment's warning.

always receiving half a batta (3s. a-month), which is only allowed to the latter when on service or escort duty. This, however, is very often, as the transmission of treasure from one part of India to another gives employment annually to about 30,000 soldiers.

In the Punjab several Seik and other local corps have been organised since the disbandment of our former antagonists: among them is one called the *Guide corps;* it consists of both cavalry and infantry, officered by Europeans. Most of the wild or warlike tribes in Upper India are represented in its ranks; the men unite all the requisites of regular troops with the best qualities of guides and spies,—thus combining intelligence and sagacity with courage, endurance, soldierly bearing, and a presence of mind which rarely fails in solitary danger and in trying situations. Men habituated from childhood to war and the chase, and inured to all the dangers of a wild and mountainous border, are freely admitted into its ranks. To whatever part of Upper India the corps may be marched, it can furnish guides conversant with the features of the country and the dialect of the people: it is thus calculated to be of the most essential service in the quartermaster-general's department, as intelligencers and in the escort of reconnoitring officers.* This excellent force was raised in 1846, at the suggestion of Colonel H. M. Lawrence, and was of great use in the second Seik war, and on other occasions. The corps has been recently augmented to 800 men, who receive rather higher pay than the ordinary soldiers.

Promotion is slow in the Indian army. In January, 1844, the Bengal artillery had ten colonels, whose period of service ranged from forty to fifty-three years; ten lieutenant-colonels, thirty-five to thirty-nine years; ten majors, thirty-one to thirty-five years; captains, eighteen to thirty years: engineers—four colonels, thirty-three to forty-eight years; four lieutenant-colonels, twenty-six to thirty-one years; four majors, twenty to twenty-six years; captains, fourteen to twenty years. Cavalry—ten colonels, twenty-four to forty-eight years; ten lieutenant-colonels, thirty-five to forty-two years; ten majors, twenty-five to thirty-five; captains, eighteen to twenty-four years: other ranks in proportion. Retirements are effected by the juniors purchasing out the seniors; that is, paying them a certain sum of money to induce them to retire on the pension due to their rank:† the money for this purpose is procured by loans from the Indian banks, for the security of which all officers below the party retiring are expected to become bound, or be "sent to Coventry." This is said to be one of the causes of the pecuniary embarrassments which prevail among the juniors of the Indian army: the buying out of old officers is, however, deemed essential to efficiency; and it is proposed to legalise the procedure by act of parliament. A liberal spirit pervades all ranks; and a handsome provision is made for the children of brother-officers who die in India.‡

The Indian commissariat is well managed; the troops are continually on the move, well fed, attended and provided with hospital stores. The executive of this branch consists of a commissary-general, deputy, and joint-deputy ditto, first and second-class assistants, &c.—all Europeans, chosen from the company's European regiments. When an army takes the field, there are about three registered camp followers to each fighting man. The peace establishment of carriage cattle is large: of elephants, about 500; of camels, 5,000. Knapsacks, of forty pounds each, are carried for the men. A subaltern, on the march, is allowed one camel (which costs about three rupees a-month) to carry his baggage; other officers, of higher rank, in proportion. During war, a doolie or litter, with six bearers, is appointed to every twenty Europeans; among the native corps there are two doolies to each company. Supplies are procured by tenders and contract. The feeding of the troops is excellent; the sepoys get two pounds of flour daily. Porter and ale are sent out from England for the canteens. Punkahs, to keep the air cool, are supplied to the barracks and hospitals; regimental libraries are established in European corps; and of late years (particularly during the command-in-chief of Sir William Gomm)§ large barracks, better bedding, improved ventilation, and plunging baths for daily ablution, have been adopted throughout India. By these and other judicious measures the mortality has been greatly diminished: recently, among European troops, it amounts to—for Madras, two; Bombay, three and a-half; Bengal, five and a-half—per cent. The invalidings are heavy: to keep up 100 soldiers, it requires ten annually to supply the decrement by death, invaliding, discharges, and staff appointments. Each European soldier costs, when landed in India, not less than £100. The entire expense of her Majesty's troops serving in Hindoostan is defrayed from the Indian revenues. The discipline of the Anglo-Indian army is excellent,|| the *morale* good, and its efficiency as an armed force has been repeatedly proved.¶ It is said by some, that the cordial feeling between the European officer and

* Report of Punjab Commissioners, 1851, p. 27.

† The buying-out amount varies: a senior captain or junior major of the Bombay artillery would receive £3,500 to £4,000 for retiring on his pension.

‡ In August, 1782, the Bengal army had reached a position to entertain, and subsequently to carry into effect, a project for the maintenance of the orphans of European officers; which is still in operation. A fund was provided by a monthly contribution, deducted from the pay of the several ranks under colonel, viz., subalterns and assistant-surgeons, three; captains and surgeons, six; and majors, nine—rupees each. Governors and managers were appointed by the subscribers, and the foundation laid of one of the most useful institutions in the East, which promptly and liberally at once received the support of the Indian government.—(*Original Papers, &c.*: London, 1784; 8vo. p. 56.)

§ This experienced officer, whose sanitary measures for the health of the troops in the West Indies I noticed in the volume containing that section, thus refers to the same subject in a recent letter to me from Simla:—"With regard to improved barrack accommodation for the European troops, I may report to you at once very satisfactorily, the government has promptly attended to all my representations made to it with this view, and acceded invariably to all my requisitions made upon it in furtherance of this most desirable object. Thus the quarters at Peshawur, Rawul-Pindee, and Meean Meer, have been prepared with all practicable expedition; those of Umballa have been essentially improved; while at Ferozepoor and Cawnpoor (in healthy sites), an entirely new set of barracks have been recently sanctioned."

|| The number of officers dismissed from the service by sentence of court-martial, between 1835 and 1857 (inclusive), was—for Bengal, 47; Madras, 45; Bombay, 16 = 108: which is certainly not a large number among four or five thousand men during seventeen years.

¶ The Anglo-Indian officers are, as a class, superior in military knowledge to the junior officers of similar rank in the Queen's service.

his men does not now exist in the same degree as it did in the times of Clive and Coote, or even at a later period; but be this as it may in the regular regiments, there must be a considerable degree of attachment still prevailing in the "irregulars," where the few officers are so intimately dependent on the feelings of the men for their military success.

The nature of the climate, which renders the luxuries of the temperate zone absolute necessaries,—the habits and caste of the people, which require several men to do the work that one would perform in Europe, and the wear and tear of life, make the Anglo-Indian army a heavy expense on the revenue. The following shows the comparative cost of a regiment of each arm of the service in India, Queen's and Company's:*—Her Majesty's dragoons, eight troops—701 non-commissioned and rank and file, £79,680; native cavalry, six troops—500 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £34,840; brigade of horse artillery, consisting of three European troops and one native—341 European non-commissioned and rank and file, and 218 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, including gun Lascars, £59,310; battalion of European foot artillery, consisting of four companies—336 European non-commissioned and rank and file, and 140 native commissioned and rank and file, gun Lascars, £31,020; battalion of native foot artillery, six companies—630 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £22,330; regiment of her Majesty's infantry, nine companies—1,068 non-commissioned and rank and file, £61,120; regiment of company's European infantry, ten companies—970 non-commissioned and rank and file, £52,380; regiment of native infantry, ten companies—1,160 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £25,670; regiment of irregular cavalry, of six ressalahs—584 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £18,770; regiment of local infantry, of ten companies—940 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £13,700.

In 1851, the total charges (including military buildings) of 289,529 soldiers, Europeans and natives, was £10,180,615, or £35 per head. The distribution of cost for the year 1849-'50, which differs but slightly from that of the year 1851, is thus shown:—Her Majesty's cavalry, £188,651; her Majesty's infantry, £771,148; engineers, £76,104; artillery, European and native, H. E. I. C., £576,318; regular native cavalry, £479,075; irregular, £728,247; company's Europeans, £175,954; regular native infantry, £2,880,054; irregular, £431,857; veterans, £128,257; medical department, £142,038; ordnance, £154,813; staff, £415,862; commissariat, £1,248,986; buildings and miscellaneous, £1,701,562. Grand total, £10,098,926.

Taking the number of the Anglo-Indian army, regulars and irregulars, at 330,000, of whom about 50,000 are Europeans, or one Englishman to about six natives, it cannot be considered a large force for the maintenance of peace, and the protection of a country which extends 18,000 miles from north to south and from east to west, and comprises a population of about 200,000,000, of whom, not long since, ten men at least in every hundred were armed, and most engaged in some internecine strife, but now all subjected to the dominant sway of one power. Add to these considerations a land frontier of 4,500 miles, and the necessity of being at all times ready to repel invasion, and to preserve the mass of the people from plunder, and we may not be surprised at the extent, but at the smallness of the force employed on an area of about 1,500,000 sq. m.: the result shows one soldier to about 600† inhabitants; whereas, in France, there is one soldier to seventy inhabitants; Austria, one to seventy-two; Russia, one to sixty; Prussia, one to fifty-six. In most of the old civilised countries of Europe, the standing armies, in proportion to the population, are ten times larger than those of India. The garrison in and around Paris exceeds in number that of the European troops in all India.

The number of officers removed from regimental, and employed in civil and on detached duties, is large. In 1851, it consisted of—colonels, 37; lieutenant-colonels, 47; majors, 48; captains, 479; lieutenants, 400; cornets and ensigns, 29 = 1,040.‡ The complement of regimental officers in 1851, consisted—European infantry, one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, twelve captains, twenty lieutenants, and ten ensigns; native infantry, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, six captains, ten lieutenants, and five ensigns; cavalry, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, six captains, eight lieutenants, and four ensigns.

It would seem advisable to organise an Indian staff corps—a civil department of the army—of a strength in accordance, from time to time, with the necessities of government. A good discipline, education, and moral training, under military surveillance, where the Christian principles predominate, is an effective school for preparing young and intelligent men for the exercise of their powers on a large scale. At present, owing to the want of civilians, the government is allowed to drain off one-third of the officers of the line; military men are extensively employed in political duties, and the regiments are denuded of their officers to an extent which often seriously damages the efficiency of the corps. Double the number of officers might be appointed to each regiment, and after they had passed examination in the native languages, and had served three years in regimental duties (as now prescribed), the option should be given of retiring from the military to the civil branch of the army, or for employment as magistrates, superintendents, electric telegraph, geological surveys, and in other functions, for which peculiar talents might qualify.

INDIAN NAVY.—There is a small maritime force under this designation, consisting of about thirty-three sailing and steam-vessels, which have rendered good service in the Persian Gulf during the China war, and in surveys of the Indian coasts and havens. The steamers are now chiefly employed as post-office

* Parliamentary Evidence, 14th December, 1852, p. 9, of P. Melvill, the experienced chief of military dept.

† I do not take into account the irregular troops in the service of native states; they are very ineffective, unless when disciplined by English officers.

‡ *Officers on furlough 30th April*, 1851.—Military, private affairs, 146; sick certificate, 542 = 688. Medical, private affairs, 18; sick certificate, 93 = 111: total, 799. These figures do not include colonels of regiments, of whom the number on furlough, in 1851, was—Bengal, 70; Madras, 50; Bombay, 29: total, 149. *Number of officers of each army employed, in 1851, on detached service, civil and political and military respectively.*—Bengal, civil and political, 151; military, 430. Madras, civil and political, 44; military, 208. Bombay, civil and political, 42; military, 165. Officers of engineers not included. A corps of civil engineers, trained for Indian service, would be useful.

packets between Bombay, Aden, and Suez. A few of these are of large burthen; the vessels are well armed, manned with Europeans and Lascars, and altogether thus officered:—One commodore, eight captains, sixteen commanders, sixty-eight lieutenants, 110 mates and midshipmen, fourteen pursers, and twelve captains' clerks: a surgeon, detached from the army, is placed on board the larger-sized vessels. The pay is good. Commodore, £250 a-month, with an official residence; post-captains, £80 to £90; commanders, £50 to £70; lieutenants, £12 to £15 (and £2 5*s.* a-month table money while afloat); pursers, £25 to £30; clerks, £5—*a-month.* Retiring pensions, after twenty-two years' service—captains, £360; commanders, £290; lieutenants and pursers, £190—*per annum.* The above ranks retiring from ill-health, after ten years' service, £200, £170, and £125 per annum. In 1852, there were fifty-three officers on retired list and nine on furlough. There is an excellent pilot establishment, maintained by government, at the Sand Heads, off the entrance of the Hooghly river, where it is much needed.

SUBSIDIARY AND PROTECTED STATES AND PENSIONARIES.—At pp. 5—12 will be found a tabular view of the states of India not under our immediate government, with their area, population, soldiery, and revenue. The British relations with protected states are entrusted to officers selected from either the civil or military services, according to their abilities, and denominated Residents, Governor-general's Agents, or Commissioners, as the case may be: at the larger political agencies there are European assistants to the Residents, who have, in some cases, charge of deposed princes. Practically speaking, the "Resident" is, or ought to be, a check on the native ruler when he does ill; a guide and supporter when he does well. Civil independence, with military superiority, is in reality a nullity; and although the Resident does not interfere, except in extreme cases, with the general administration of affairs, he expects to be consulted in the selection of a minister of state; and a system, founded on precedent, has grown to have almost the force of law, though a wide discretion is necessarily left to the British functionaries, who have, by remonstrance and persuasion, rather than by direct interference, put down, in several states, *suttee*, infanticide, and other inhumanities. This system, which answered well at an earlier stage of our dominion, has now nearly outgrown the purposes for which it was designed. Power in the chief, without responsibility, has worked ill for the subject: relieved from external danger in war, and from internal rebellion caused by misgovernment,—indolence, sensuality, and crime found full scope; and we have been obliged to assume the duties of lord paramount where princes have died without heirs, or where it became a positive obligation to prevent the misery and ruin of the people of an entire kingdom.

The stipendiaries who receive annually political payments from the British government, are thus stated:*—The King of Delhi (a lineal descendant of the Mogul emperors, but now totally divested of power), £150,000; Nabob of Bengal (a descendant of Meer Jaffier—*see* p. 291), £160,000; families of former Nabobs, £90,000; Nabob of the Carnatic (a descendant of a former Mohammedan viceroy), £116,540; families of former Nabobs of Carnatic, £90,000; Rajah of Tanjore (descendant of a petty military chief), £118,350; Rajah of Benares (a deposed Zemindar), £14,300; families of Hyder and Tippoo (both usurpers—*see* pp. 316–'17—and bitter enemies of the English), £63,954; Rajahs of Malabar, £25,000; Bajee Rao (deposed Peishwa), £80,000; others of Peishwa's family, £135,000; various allowances, including political pensions, compensations, &c., £443,140: total, £1,486,284. It would certainly seem advisable to exercise some surveillance over the recipients of these large sums: most of them are usurpers and upstarts of yesterday, and really have no claim to these extravagant pensions; the more so, as in several cases these large annuitants avail themselves of the means thus provided to bad lives of debauchery and idleness, pernicious to themselves and to all around. The main plea for the continuance of the pensions is the large families and harems of the stipendiaries.

---

# CHAPTER VI.

## FINANCE—INCOME AND EXPENDITURE—INDIAN DEBT—MONETARY SYSTEM.

DURING the early periods of our intercourse with India, the profits derived from commerce mainly furnished the means for maintaining the necessary establishments. After the acquisition of Bengal (1765), an income was derived from land, customs, and such other sources as contributed to fill the exchequer of our Mohammedan predecessors.† Subsequent additions of territory furnished revenue to defray the charges attendant thereon: and thus, from time to time, the finances were enlarged.

* *Modern India;* by G. Campbell, B.C.S.: p. 150.

† The oppressive taxes levied by the Mohammedans have been abolished, including the inland transit dues. Among the exactions during the Mogul rule, which are not now collected, the following may be enumerated:—*Jesych*, or capitation tax, paid by Hindoos or other "infidels;" *meer behry*, port duties (probably similar to our custom duties); *kerrea*, exaction from each person of a multitude assembled to perform a religious ceremony; *gawshemary*, on oxen; *sirderukhty*, on every tree; *peishcush*, presents; *feruk-aksam-peesheh*, poll-tax collected from every workman; *daroghaneh* (police); *teeseeldary* (subordinate collector); *fotedary* (money-trier), taxes made for those officers of government; *wejeh keryeh*, lodging charges for the above officers; *kheryteh*, for money-bags; *serafy*, for trying and exchanging money; *hassil baazar*, market dues; *nekass*, tax on the sale of cattle, and on hemp, blankets, oil, and raw hides; also on measuring and weighing, and for killing cattle, dressing hides, sawing timber, and playing at dice; *rahdary*, or passport; *pug*, a kind of poll-tax on salt, spirituous liquors, storax, and lime—on fishermen, brokerage, hearths, buyer and seller of a house, and other items comprised under the term of *serjerjehat.*—(See *Ayeen Akbery*, for details.)

*Revenues and Indian Charges* (independent of home expenses)† of each Presidency.*—At 2s. the Sicca Rupee.

| Years. | BENGAL. | | | MADRAS. | | | | BOMBAY. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Revenue. | Charge. | Surplus. | Revenue. | Charge. | Surplus. | Deficit. | Revenue. | Charge. | Deficit. |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| 1814 | 11,237,498 | 8,876,581 | 2,360,917 | 5,322,164 | 5,189,412 | 132,752 | — | 857,080 | 1,717,144 | 860,064 |
| 1815 | 11,415,799 | 9,487,638 | 1,928,161 | 5,106,107 | 5,261,404 | — | 155,297 | 872,046 | 1,986,444 | 1,114,398 |
| 1816 | 11,967,259 | 9,796,974 | 2,170,285 | 5,360,220 | 5,142,553 | 217,667 | — | 895,592 | 1,946,118 | 1,050,526 |
| 1817 | 11,769,552 | 10,281,822 | 1,487,730 | 5,381,307 | 5,535,816 | — | 154,509 | 1,392,820 | 1,956,527 | 563,707 |
| 1818 | 12,399,475 | 10,677,015 | 1,722,460 | 5,361,432 | 6,006,420 | — | 644,918 | 1,720,537 | 2,597,776 | 877,239 |
| 1819 | 12,224,220 | 10,826,734 | 1,397,486 | 5,407,005 | 5,825,414 | — | 418,409 | 2.161,370 | 3,204,785 | 1,043,415 |
| 1820 | 13,518,968 | 10,688,439 | 2,830.529 | 5,403,506 | 5,700,466 | — | 296,960 | 2,438,960 | 3,299,170 | 860,210 |
| 1821 | 13,361,261 | 10,356,409 | 3,004,852 | 5,557,028 | 5,500,876 | 56,192 | — | 2,883,042 | 3,667,332 | 784,290 |
| 1822 | 14,169,691 | 10,317,196 | 3,852,495 | 5,585,209 | 5,229,202 | 356,007 | — | 3,372,447 | 4,275,012 | 202,567 |
| 1823 | 12,950,308 | 10,912,710 | 2,037,598 | 5,498,764 | 6,398,856 | — | 900,092 | 2,789,550 | 3,264,509 | 454,959 |
| 1824 | 13,484,740 | 12,620,179 | 864,561 | 5,460,742 | 5,789,333 | — | 348,591 | 1,785,216 | 3,305,982 | 1,520,765 |
| 1825 | 13,121,282 | 13,793,499 | ‡ | 5,714,915 | 6,056,967 | — | 342,052 | 2,262,393 | 4,032,988 | 1,770,595 |
| 1826 | 14,767,238 | 13,405,152 | 1,362,086 | 5,981,681 | 5,634,322 | 347,359 | — | 2,618,549 | 4,000,552 | 1,382,003 |
| 1827 | 14,944,713 | 13,486,879 | 1,457,834 | 5,347,838 | 6,188,127 | — | 840,289 | 2,579,905 | 4,062,566 | 1,482,661 |
| 1828 | 10,125,416 | 7,747,834 | 2,377,582 | 3,591,272 | 3,671,111 | — | 79,839 | 1,300,311 | 2,421,715 | 1,121,404 |
| 1829 | 9,858,275 | 7,615,697 | 2,242,578 | 3,455,068 | 3,499,283 | — | 44,215 | 1,316,044 | 2,318,054 | 1,002,010 |
| 1830 | 9,883,892 | 7,340,650 | 2,543,242 | 3,415,759 | 3,388,628 | 27,131 | — | 1,304,300 | 2,218,637 | 914,337 |
| 1831 | 9,474,084 | 7,635,974 | 1,838,110 | 3,322,155 | 3,239,261 | 82,894 | — | 1,401,917 | 2,060,499 | 658,582 |
| 1832 | 9,487,778 | 7,687,229 | 1,800,549 | 2,969,956 | 3,174,347 | — | 204,391 | 1,497,309 | 2,034,710 | 537,401 |
| 1833 | 8,844,241 | 7,018,449 | 1,825,793 | 3,235,233 | 3,258,995 | — | 23,762 | 1,600,681 | 1,968,045 | 367,354 |
| 1834 | 9,355,289 | 7,322,303 | 2,032,986 | 3,368,948 | 3,017,676 | 351,272 | — | 1,503,782 | 1,908,092 | 404,310 |
| 1835 | 10,057,362 | 7,085,079 | 2,972,283 | 3,590,052 | 2,830,549 | 759,503 | — | 1,805,946 | 1,953,568 | 147,622 |
| 1836 | 10,263,012 | 6,944,973 | 3,318,039 | 3,235,117 | 2,817,533 | 417,584 | — | 1,704,213 | 1,980,763 | 276,550 |
| 1837 | 9,904,438 | 7,004,451 | 2,899,987 | 3,512,813 | 3,022,138 | 490,675 | — | 1,649,051 | 1,954,950 | 305,899 |
| 1838 | 10,375,426 | 8,070,634 | 2,304,792 | 3,533,803 | 3,082,652 | 451,151 | — | 1,418,464 | 1,940,729 | 522,265 |
| 1839 | 9,561,444 | 8,437,736 | 1,123,708 | 3,535,875 | 3,581,405 | — | 45,530 | 1,445,296 | 2,083,222 | 637,926 |
| 1840 | 9,741,240 | 8,943,099 | 798,141 | 3,563,343 | 3,352,075 | 211,268 | — | 1,827,922 | 1,966,380 | 138,458 |
| 1841 | 10,437,861 | 9,367,408 | 1,070,453 | 3,593,910 | 3,356,993 | 236,917 | — | 1,750,884 | 1,995,073 | 244,189 |
| 1842 | 10,829,614 | 9,934,751 | 894,863 | 3,628,949 | 3,380,783 | 248,166 | — | 1,960,683 | 1,991,530 | 30,847 |
| 1843 | 11,523,933 | 10,122,149 | 1,401,784 | 3,601,997 | 3,342,573 | 259,424 | — | 2,046,728 | 2,204,121 | 157,393 |
| 1844 | 11,861,733 | 9,575,683 | 2,286,050 | 3,512,417 | 3,479,580 | 32,837 | — | §1,918,607 | 2,496,173 | 577,566 |
| 1845 | 12,174,338 | 10,170,220 | 2,004,118 | 3,589,213 | 3,523,598 | 65,615 | — | 2,047,380 | 2,569,910 | 522,530 |
| 1846 | 12,900,254 | 10,445,969 | 2,454,285 | 3,631,922 | 3,449,618 | 182,304 | — | 2,120,824 | 2,662,100 | 541,276 |
| 1847 | 11,947,924 | 10,546,089 | 1,401,835 | 3,638,589 | 3,373,445 | 265,144 | — | 1,990,395 | 2,553,286 | 562,891 |
| 1848 | 12,083,936 | 10,536,367 | 1,547,569 | 3,667,235 | 3,221,495 | 449,740 | — | 2,475,894 | 2,929,520 | 453,626 |
| 1849 | ‖14,243,511 | 11,033,835 | 3,209,676 | 3,543,074 | 3,138,378 | 404,696 | — | 2,489,246 | 2,999,119 | 509,873 |
| 1850 | 13,879,966 | 10,818,429 | 3,061,537 | 3,625,015 | 3,212,415 | 412,600 | — | 2,744,951 | 3,086,460 | 341,519 |
| 1851 | 13,487,081 | 10,970,120 | 2,516,961 | 3,744,372 | 3,244,598 | 499,774 | — | 3,172,777 | 3,151,870 | ¶ 20,907 |
| 1852 | 14,015,120 | 11,239,370 | 2,775,750 | 3,766,150 | 3,307,192 | 458,958 | — | 3,166,157 | 3,279,118 | 112,961 |

* In the above statement, from the year 1828, the allowances and assignments payable to native princes and others under treaties (amounting to upwards of a million and a-half per annum), and the charges of collecting the revenue, including the cost of the opium and salt (amounting to upwards of two millions and a-half more), have been excluded in order to arrive at the real produce of the revenue.

In the tabular statement, down to the year 1827, the gross revenues are shown; and the rate of converting the Indian money into sterling is 16 per cent. higher than the rate at present used.

† *The Territorial Payments in England, in* 1849–'50 (latest return made up), were :—Dividends to proprietors of East India stock, £629,435; interest on the home bond debt, £173,723; purchase and equipment of steam-vessels, and various expenses connected with steam communication with India, £50,543; her Majesty's government, on account of the proportion agreed to be borne by the company of the amount payable under contract between her Majesty's government and Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company for an extended communication with India and China, £70,000; transport of troops and stores, deducting freight charged in invoices, £36,418; furlough and retired pay to military and marine officers, including off-reckonings, £614,393; payments on account of her Majesty's troops serving in India, £200,000; retiring pay to her Majesty's troops (Act 4 Geo. IV., c. 71.) including an arrear, £75,000.

*Charges, general,* comprising :—Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India; salaries of the president and officers of the board, including superannuation allowances granted by warrant of the Crown under Act 53 Geo. III., cap. 155, sec. 91, £30,523; salaries of the Court of Directors, £7,600; contingent expenses of the Courts of Directors and Proprietors, consisting of repairs to the East India House, taxes, rates, and tithes, coals, candles, printing, stationery, bookbinding, stamps, postage, and various petty charges, £28,829; salaries and allowances of the secretaries and officers of the Court of Directors, deducting amount applied from the fee fund in part payment thereof, £93,794; annuitants and pensioners, including compensation annuities under Act 3 & 4 Will. IV., cap. 85, and payments in commutation thereof, £198,199; Haileybury College, net charge, £9,074; military seminary at Addiscombe, net charge, £4,057. Recruiting charges: pay of officers, non-commissioned officers of recruiting establishments, and of recruits previous to embarkation, bounty, clothing, arms, and accoutrements, £43,438; passage and outfit of recorder, Prince of Wales' Island, Bishop of Madras, aides-de-camps, chaplains, company's officers in charge of recruits, officers in her Majesty's service proceeding to join their regiments, and volunteers for the pilot service, &c., £22,655; charges of the store department, articles for use in inspection of stores, labour, &c., £3,201; Lord Clive's fund, net payment for pensions, &c., £36,519; law charges, £12,215; cultivation and manufacture of cotton, &c. in India (expenses incurred in view to the improvement of), £547; commission to agents at the outports on realisation of remittances, £260; maintenance of lunatics, £6,466; miscellaneous—consisting of expenses of overland and ships' packets, maintenance of natives of India, donation to the Bengal Civil Fund and to widows' funds for the home service, donations for services and relief, &c., £7,667. Interest paid upon sums deposited by Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, £1,722; East Indian Railway Company, £2,983; absentee allowances to civil servants of the Indian establishments, £32,383; annuities of the Madras Civil Fund of 1818, £15,388; retired pay and pensions of persons of the late St. Helana establishment, not chargeable to the Crown, £5,795. The total territorial payments, including invoice value of political stores (£378,100), and some small items not above enumerated, was £2,750,937.

‡ Deficit of £852,217. § In this and following years, the receipts and charges of Sinde are included in Bombay.
‖ In this and following years, the revenues and charges of the Punjab are included in Bengal. ¶ Surplus.

The *receipts* for the year 1852-'53, were—Land-tax, £15,365,000. *Sayer* (stamps, &c., on land) and *abkarree* (excise on spirituous liquors), £1,185,000; *moturpha* (tax on houses, shops, trades, and professions),* £118,000; salt, £2,421,000; opium, £5,088,000; custom or import duties, £1,430,000; stamp-duties, £491,000; post-office receipts, £200,000; mint ditto, £150,000; tobacco, £63,000; tributes and subsidies, £571,000; miscellaneous (comprising arrears of revenue, marine and pilotage dues), £1,522,000: total gross receipts, £28,610,000.

The *disbursements* for the same year were—Interest on India and home bond debt, £2,503,000; charges defrayable in England, viz., dividends to proprietors of E. I. stock, £650,000; E. I. House and India Board establishments, half-pay and pensions, stores, &c., £2,697,000; army and military charges, £9,803,000; judicial establishments, £2,223,000; land revenue collection and charges, £2,010,000; general charges and civil establishments, £1,928,000; opium charges and cost of production, £1,370,000; salt, ditto, £350,000; marine (including Indian navy, pilot service, lighthouses, &c.), £376,000; post-office, £213,000: customs—collecting import duties, £189,000; mints, £60,000; stamps, £32,000; miscellaneous (including *sayer*, excise, *moturpha*, public works, &c.), £4,223,000: total charges, £27,977,000.

THE INDIAN DEBT requires a brief elucidation: it was originally created to meet the temporary wants of commerce, and subsequently those of territory; money was borrowed in India, in such emergencies, at high rates of interest. In April, 1798, the debt amounted to £8,500,000;† of this, £1,300,000 was at twelve, £4,000,000 at eight, £1,700,000 at six—per cent.; the remainder at various lesser rates, or not bearing interest.

In April, 1803, the debt stood at £17,700,000; of which £10,200,000 was at eight, £3,000,000 at ten, £600,000 at twelve—per cent; remainder as above.

In April, 1804—debt, £21,000,000; of which £3,000,000 at ten, £1,200,000 at nine, £12,000,000 at eight—per cent.; remainder as above.

In April, 1834—debt (exclusive of home bond), £35,000.000; in April, 1850, £47,000,000; in 1855, about £50,000,000. Annual interest of debt, at five and four per cent., about £2,000,000.

There is a home India debt, which has been created from time to time to meet deficiencies in remittances required for home charges: it now amounts to about £2,500,000.

Proportion of debt due to Europeans and to natives, in 1834—Europeans, £20,439,870; natives, £7,225,360 = £27,665,230. In 1847, Europeans, £21,981,447; natives,‡ £12,271,140 = £34,252,587.

The India debt has been mainly caused by war:§ that with the Burmese cost, from 1824 to 1826, at least £13,000,000. The debt was augmented by it from £26,468,475 to £39,948,488, or £13,500,000. During the ten years from 1839–'40 to 1848–'49 (which was almost uninterruptedly a period of warfare in Afghanistan, Sinde, the Punjab, and Gwalior), the aggregate charges exceeded the revenues of India by £15,048,702, showing an annual deficiency of £1,500,000.

There was a *nominal* reduction of the debt between 1830 and 1834, by an alteration of the high rates of exchange, previously used, to the rate of two shillings the sicca rupee, adopted after the passing of the act 3 and 4 William IV., ch. 85: by this the debt appeared reduced from £39,948,488 in 1830, to £35,463,483 in 1834. There was a *real* reduction to £29,832,299, between 1834 and 1836, by the application to that purpose of a portion of tea sales and other commercial assets, derived from a winding up of the mercantile business of the E. I. Cy. The progress of the debt bearing interest in India is thus shown:—

| Years. | Value. | Years. | Value. | Years. | Value. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | | £ | | £ |
| 1834 | 35,463,483 | 1841 | 32,051,088 | 1848 | 43,085,263 |
| 1835 | 33,984,654 | 1842 | 34,378,288 | 1849 | 44,204,080 |
| 1836 | 29,832,299 | 1843 | 36,322,819 | 1850 | 46,908,064 |
| 1837 | 30,406,246 | 1844 | 37,639,829 | 1851 | 47,999,827 |
| 1838 | 30,249,893 | 1845 | 38,627,954 | 1852 | 48,014,244 |
| 1839 | 30,231,162 | 1846 | 38,992,734 | 1853 | 49,043,526 |
| 1840 | 30,703,778 | 1847 | 41,798,087 | 1854 | — |

There is in India, as well as in England, a constant tendency to increased expenditure. In fifteen years the augmentation stood thus:—

| Years. | Total Revenue. | Charges. | | Debt. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | India. | England. | India. | Home. |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| 1834–'35 | 18,650,000 | 16,680,000 | 2,160,000 | 35,460,000 | 3,523,237 |
| 1849–'50 | 25,540,000 | 23,500,000 | 2,700,000 | 47,000,000 | 3,899,500 |

This increase has taken place in addition to £8,122,530‖ appropriated from commercial assets, in 1834, towards liquidation of India debt, and £1,788,522 applied to reduction of home bond debt: total £9,911,055; and notwithstanding a reduction in the interest of the India debt from six and five to five and four per cent. An annual deficit of upwards of a million sterling, for about a quarter of a century, does not appear satisfactory, and requires not merely vigilance to keep down expenditure, but still more, the utmost efforts to raise revenue by increasing the paying capacities of the people. Assuming the British India population at 130,000,000, and the annual revenue at £28,000,000, the contribution per head is about fifty-two pence each per annum. A people in prosperous circumstances would yield much more than four shillings and fourpence each yearly.

* This tax, a relic of the Moslem system, still exists at Madras: its abolition is under consideration.

† Instead of giving rupees, which perplex an English reader, I give the sum, converted into sterling, at 2*s.* the rupee.

‡ Between 1834 and 1846, the sums invested by Indian princes in the India debt, has been—King of Oude, £1,200,000; rajah of Mysoor, £84,000; Bajee Rao, £50,000; rajah of Gurhwal, £10,000; Chimna, Indore, £25,000; Pretaup Sing, Tanjore, £6,000.

§ During the present year (1855), a five per cent. loan has been created, to be applied solely to the extension of public works. In November, 1840, a similar proposition was submitted by the author to the E. I. Cy.

‖ Of this sum, £2,677,053 constituted the principal of the Carnatic debts.

The debt due to the E. I. Cy. is provided for. In 1834 the sum of £2,000,000 was set apart from the commercial assets of the company to be invested in the English funds (three per cents.), and to accumulate at compound interest, at forty years (until 1722). in order to pay off the E. I. Cy's. stock of £6,000,000,* at the rate of £200 for every £100 stock: making the total amount to be liquidated in 1874, £12,000,000. In May, 1852, the £2,000,000 had increased, by the annual reinvestment of three per cent. int., to £3,997,648.

The tangible commercial property sold under the act of 1834, realised £15,223,480, which was thus disposed of:—£8,191,366 towards discharge of India debt; £2,218,831 was applied in payment of territorial charges in England; £1,788,525 was applied in liquidation of part of home bond debt; £2,000,000 was paid into the Bank of England, for investment in the funds, to provide a "security fund," at compound interest, for the ultimate redemption of the capital stock of the company (£6,000,000) in 1874; £561,600 was applied in compensations to ship-owners and other persons; and the remainder, of £463,135, was retained in London, as an available cash balance for the purposes of government in India. The unavailable assets claimed as commercial by the company—viz., the India House in Leadenhall-street, one warehouse retained for a military store department, and house property in India,—the whole, valued at £635,445,—remains in the hands of the company, but applicable to the uses of the Indian government.†

MONETARY SYSTEM.—Silver is the standard of value: the coins in circulation are—the rupee of silver, value two shillings; the anna of copper, three-halfpence; and the pice, a base metal, whereof twelve represent one anna.

The rupee contains 165 grains of fine silver, and fifteen grains of alloy: when silver is worth five shillings per ounce, its value is one shilling and tenpence farthing; the average rate of remittance, by hypothecation, from India, has been at the rate of one shilling and elevenpence three farthings; bullion remittances have averaged one shilling and tenpence, four per cent. over the metallic value of the rupee. It is usually converted into sterling, approximatively, for nominal purposes at two shillings.

Gold coins, termed pagodas and mohurs, are now seldom seen. There are no means of ascertaining the amount of the circulating medium, in metal or in paper: government possess no returns on the subject. The quantity of specie (value in rupees) issued from the mints, in several years, has been:—

| Mints. | Gold. | Silver. | Copper. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. |
| Calcutta, 1847–'48 . . | 10,286 | 12,158,939 | 35,116,331 |
| ,, 1848–'49 . . | 46,980 | 15,211,580 | 47,724,328 |
| ,, 1849—'53, 4yrs. | 151,299 | 84,534,529 | 116,571,391 |
| Madras, 1848—'53, avg. of the 5 years . . | — | 3,271,189 | 6,159,671 |
| Bombay, avg. of same period . . . . . | — | 17,264,598 | none coined. |
| Total . . . . | 208,565 | 132,440,835 | 205,571,721 |

PUBLIC BANKS IN INDIA.—Until within the last few years, there was only one public joint-stock bank (*Bengal*) in India. This institution owed its formation, at the commencement of the present century, to the financial ability of the late Henry St. George Tucker,‡ and was eminently successful. In 1829-'30 I proposed and assisted at the organisation of the *Union Bank of Calcutta*. It was soon taken out of my hands by the leading merchant bankers, who used its capital and credit to prop up their insolvent firms: it did not, however, prevent their failure for £20,000,000 sterling, leaving a dividend of not many pence in the pound. The *Union Bank* held its ground for a few years, but it ultimately fell with another great crash of Bengal traders, and was then ascertained to have been, for the last few years of its existence, a gigantic swindle.

In conjunction with Sir Gore Ouseley and other friends, I tried to establish in London an East India Bank, which should act as a medium of remittance between Britain and India. The government and several members of the E. I. Cy. were favourable, but private interests, connected with individual banking and agency, were too powerful at the E. I. House. A charter offered was clogged with restrictions which would defeat the object in view; and after an expenditure of several thousand pounds, and five years of untiring perseverance, the project was abandoned, when I went to China, in her Majesty's service. in March, 1844. Since then a local bank, formed at Bombay, established a branch in London—has now its head-quarters (*Oriental Bank*) there, with branches in India and China, and appears to be doing a large and profitable business. Acting on my suggestions, banks were established at Bombay and Madras, on the same governmental basis as that of Bengal; their notes being received as cash by government, and remittance operations prohibited. There are now about a dozen public banks in India, whose aggregate capital is only about £5,000,000: but no returns of their position are made to the E. I. House. There are numerous governmental treasuries in different parts of India. To meet current expenses, and to provide against contingencies, large cash balances are kept there. In 1852, the coin ready for emergencies was £12,000,000.§

The Hindoos have no joint-stock banks among themselves; the *shroffs*, or money-changers, issue *hoondees*, or bills of exchange, which are negotiable according to the credit of the issuer; the leading *shroffs* in the principal towns correspond not only with their brethren in all parts of India, but also in the large cities of Asia, and even at Constantinople: by this means important European intelligence was wont, before the establishment of communication by steam, to be known among the natives in the bazaar at Calcutta, long before the government received official tidings.

* This capital consisted originally, on the union of the two companies in 1708, of £3,200,000 (*see* p. 230); between 1787 and 1789, this sum was increased to £4,000,000; from 1789 to 1793, to £5,000,000; and from 1793 to 1810, to £6,000,000.

† Evid. of Sir J. C. Melvill.—(Parl. Papers; May, 1852.)

‡ An admirable memoir of this distinguished Indian statesman, and selections from his valuable papers. have been recently prepared by Mr. J. W. Kaye, who has attained a high reputation as a biographer.

§ In June, 1855, the assets of the general treasuries was —Bengal, 15,200,000 rupees; Madras, 2,000,000; Bombay, 9,200,000 = 26,400,000 rupees, of which 22,300,000 was in specie. The assets of each of the three governmental banks was, in April, 1855—B. Bengal, 27,682,636 rupees; B. Madras, 6,062,163 rupees; B. Bombay, 12,077,566 rupees. Excess of assets over liabilities of each, 10,863,264 rupees; 2,996,958 rupees; 5,340,480 rupees. Coin in these three banks, 10,660,000 rupees. Bank notes outstanding, 17,500,000 rupees. Government bills and debentures, 6,400,000 rupees.

# CHAPTER VII.

## COMMERCE—IMPORTS—EXPORTS—SHIPPING—VALUABLE PRODUCTS—CAPABILITY OF GREATLY INCREASED TRAFFIC.

The commerce of India has, for many ages,* been deemed of great value; but considering the extent and resources of the country, it was not until recently carried on with England to any large extent. In 1811–'12, our dominion was firmly established in Hindoostan, and there was general peace: a contrast between that year and 1851–'2, will show its progress in forty years:—

| Total Commerce. | 1811–'12. | 1851–'52. |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| Value of merchandise imported from the United Kingdom | 1,300,000 | 9,300,000 |
| Ditto from other countries | 160,000 | 3,100,000 |
| Total Imports | 1,460,000 | 12,400,000 |
| Merchandise exported to the United Kingdom | 1,500,000 | 7,100,000 |
| Ditto to other countries | 600,000 | 12,700,000 |
| Total Exports | 2,100,000 | 19,800,000 |

Thus, exclusive of bullion, coin, or treasure, there has been, in merchandise alone, an increase of imports from £1,460,000 to £12,400,000, and of exports, from £2,100,000 to £19,800,000. The treasure transit, at the two periods, has been:—1811–'12—imported, £230,000; exported, £45,000: 1851–'52—imported, £5,000,000; exported, £910,000. The shipping of all nations entering at the two periods, was—1811–'12, 600,000 tons; 1851–'2, 1,700,000 tons.

In 1811, it was gravely asserted before parliament, by several witnesses, that the trade of India could not be extended; that it was not possible to augment the consumption of British manufactures; and that the people of Hindoostan had few wants, and little to furnish in exchange. The answer to this is an extension from one to nine million worth. Yet the trade of India is still only in its infancy; and but for the unjust prohibitions† to which for many years it was subjected in England, it would now probably be double its present value. Assuming the population of all India at 200,000,000, including about 60,000 Europeans, and the exports of our merchandise at £10,000,000,‡ there is a consumption of only one shilling's worth per head. Our exports to the United States of America, in 1854, amounted to £21,400,000, or, for 25,000,000 inhabitants,§ about seventeen shillings per head of the population; to Australia, for 700,000 persons, to £12,000,000, or about £17 per head during a year of diminished trade. Even the negro population in the West Indies, under one million in number, take off nearly £2 sterling per head of British produce; and the colonists of British America, £5 each yearly. The exports from the United Kingdom to India, in the year 1854, already, however, equal in amount those sent in the same year to France (£3,175,290), Spain

* Three hundred years before the Christian era the India trade was a tempting prize to Alexander, and it continued to be an object of solicitude to Europe and to Asia. In 1204, the Venetians, assisted by the soldiers of the fourth crusade, obtained possession of Constantinople, and retained the occupation for fifty-seven years, mainly by the advantages of Indian commerce: these were, in the 13th and 15th centuries, transferred to their rivals the Genoese (whose colonies extended along the Euxine and towards the Caspian), in return for assistance given to the Greeks. The Venetians then entered into a treaty with the Mohammedans, and conducted their commerce with the East *via* Egypt and the Red Sea. The discovery of a maritime route by the Cape of Good Hope, destroyed the overland trade by Egypt and Asia Minor. The construction of a ship canal through the isthmus of Darien, would give a fresh stimulus to the commerce of the East.

† For many years, great commercial injustice was done by England to British India. High, indeed prohibitory, duties were laid on its sugar, rum, coffee, &c., to favour similar products grown in the West Indies: still worse, we compelled the Hindoos to receive cotton and other manufactures from England at nearly nominal duties (two and a-half per cent.), while, at the very same time, fifty per cent. were demanded here on any attempt to introduce the cotton goods of India.—(*See* Commons Parl. Papers; No. 227, April, 1846; called for, and printed on the motion of one of the oldest and most independent members, Edward Stillingfleet Cayley, M.P. for N.R. Yorkshire.) The same principle was adopted in silk and other articles: the result was the destruction of the finer class of cotton, silk, and other manufactures, without adopting the plan of Strafford, in Ireland, during the reign of Charles I.—namely, the founding of the linen trade as a substitute for that of woollen, which was extinguished in order to appease the English hand-loom weavers. To remedy the evil of treating India as a foreign state, I appealed to the common sense of the nation, through the public press, to a select committee of parliament, by voluminous evidence, and, aided by Sir Charles Forbes and other eminent merchants, on 11th May, 1842, carried the principle of the following motion in the General Court of Proprietors of the E. I. Cy., as the sequel of a resolution laid before the Court on the previous 22nd December, "praying that parliament, in the exercise of justice and sound policy, will authorise the admission of the produce and manufactures of British India into the ports of the United Kingdom, on reciprocal terms with the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom when imported into British India—that East India vessels be entitled to the privileges of British shipping, and that the produce of subsidiary states, whose maritime frontiers we have occupied, be treated as that of British India."—(See *Asiatic Journal* for January, 1842.) "That in the opinion of this Court, the territories under the government of the E. I. Cy. ought to be treated as integral portions of the British empire; and that as a revision of the English tariff is now taking place, this Court, in fulfilment of its duty to their fellow-subjects in British India, do again petition both houses of parliament, praying for a complete reciprocity of trade between India and England, which, if fully and fairly established, will confer mutual and extensive benefits on both countries, and materially contribute to the security and permanence of the British power and influence in the eastern hemisphere."—(*See* debate thereon in *Asiatic Journal*, May, 1842.) The late Sir R. Peel admitted the injustice, and adopted measures for its redress, which merged into the low import system, by a misnomer designated *free trade*, which does not exist with any country.

‡ In 1854, £10,025,969.

§ Census of 1850, 23,351,207, including 3,178,000 slaves.

(£1,270,064), Portugal (£1,370,603), Sardinia (£1,054,513), Lombardy (£635,931), Naples (£563,033), Tuscany (£505,852), Papal States (£149,865), Denmark (£759,718), Sweden and Norway (£736,808.)

The export of British manufactures and produce to India ought to amount to at least twenty shillings per head, which would be equal to £200,000,000 sterling, or twice the value of our present exports to every part of the world.* Let not this be deemed an extravagant assertion: the capacity of Hindoostan to receive our goods is only limited by that which it can furnish in return; and, happily, the country yields, in almost inexhaustible profusion, wherever capital has been applied, all the great staples which England requires, such as wheat, rice, sugar, coffee, tea, cotton, silk, wool, indigo, flax and hemp, teak, and timber of every variety,† tallow,

* Export of British and Irish produce and manufactures to every part of the world, in 1854—£97,298,900.

† India could supply cotton for all Europe. For some years experiments have been made, and considerable expense incurred, by sending out seed from America, and American agents to superintend the culture and cleaning: no corresponding result has ensued; the main elements of skill, energy, and capital are still wanting. Western and Central India, especially the provinces of Guzerat and Berar, afford the best soils and climate for the plant; but roads, railways, and river navigation are needed; and it is a delusion to think that India can rival the United States until they are supplied. With every effort that government and individuals have made since 1788, when the distribution of cotton-seed commenced, the import of cotton wool from India was, in 1851, no more than 120,000,000 lbs.—not one-seventh of the United States' supply. Improvement of the navigation of the Godavery and other rivers, will probably cause an extension of production. *Silk* has long formed an article of Indian commerce: it was probably introduced from China, but was not largely produced until the middle of the 18th century, when the E. I. Cy. sent (in 1757) a Mr. Wilder to Bengal,—urged the planting of the mulberry; and granted, in 1765, reductions of the rents of lands where attention was paid to the culture of the tree, and in 1770—'75, introduced the mode of winding practised in Italy and other places. When Napoleon, in 1808, stopped the exportation of silk from Italy to England, the Court made successful exertions to furnish large supplies of filature wound in Bengal, and to augment the supply of silk goods, which is an increasing trade. An unlimited quantity of the raw and manufactured material can be produced in India. *Wool* of every variety, from fine down adapted to the most beautiful fabrics, to the coarse, wiry, and long shaggy hair which makes excellent carpets, is procurable, and now exported to the extent of several million lbs. annually. The plateau and mountain slopes of India sustain vast herds of sheep in a favourable climate, with abundant pasture. It is a trade susceptible of great development. *Indigo* is a natural product of many parts of India. Until the close of last century, Europe derived its chief supplies from South America and the West Indies. About 1779, the Court of Directors made efforts to increase the production by contracting for its manufacture. In 1786, out of several parcels consigned to London, one only yielded a profit: the aggregate loss of the company was considerable. Improvements took place in the preparation of the dye: and, in 1792, the produce of Bengal was found superior to that of other countries; in 1795, the consignments amounted to 3,000,000 lbs. Several civil servants of government established indigo factories; private Europeans came into the trade; capital was advanced by the merchant bankers of Calcutta, who sometimes lost heavily, and sometimes acquired immense gains. Happily, low duties were levied in England, and the cultivation and manufacture largely augmented, and now it is spread over about 1,200,000 acres of land in Bengal and Bahar, employing 50,000 families, and requiring an annual outlay of more than a million and a-half sterling. Sinde is now becoming a competitor with Bengal, and is said to have the advantage of immunity from heavy rains, which wash the colour from the leaves when ready to be cut. *Sugar* is an indigenous product of India; it was carried from thence into Sicily, the south of Europe, the Canaries, and subsequently to America; the cane is grown in every part of India, and its juice used by all classes. For many years the export to England was discouraged by the imposition of high duties to favour the West India interest; and in 1840, I was under examination for several days before a select committee of the House of Commons, adducing evidence of the necessity of admitting East India on the same terms as West India sugar into the United Kingdom. The quantity exported has increased of late years, but again fallen off. In the year ending June 30th, 1855, the sugar imported from the East Indies amounted to 739,144 cwt.; Mauritius, 1,237,678 cwt.; West Indies, 3,139,209; foreign produce, 3,117,665 = 8,233,696 cwt. Duty received, £5,330,967. Average price of Muscovado, for the year, per cwt.—East Indies, 23*s.* 4*d.*; Havannah, 22*s.* 9*d.*; British West Indies, 20*s.* 11*d.*; Mauritius, 20*s.* 2*d.* Thus it will be perceived, that the imports from all India are little more than one-half of the small island of Mauritius, and that the price is higher (despite labour wages at 1½*d.* a-day) than in any other country. The consumption of sugar in the United Kingdom, in the year ending 30th June, 1855, was—8,145,180 cwt.=912,260,160 lbs., which, for 27,000,000 people, shows 34 lbs. per head annually, or about 10 oz. a-week for each individual. In the *Taxation of the British Empire*, published in 1832, when the consumption was only about 5 oz. a-head weekly, I endeavoured to demonstrate that by reducing the duty, and extending the market of supply, the consumption would be doubled; which has taken place: now, by affording encouragement to sugar cultivation in India, the consumption in the United Kingdom would probably increase to at least 1 lb. a-week per head. The *tea* shrub has been found growing wild in Assam, and contiguous to several of the lower slopes of the Himalayas: it delights in sheltered valleys, the declivities of hills, or river banks with a southern exposure, as in Gurhwal, Kumaon, and at Katmandoo (Nepaul), where a plant ten feet high has been seen. In 1788, it was announced officially that this remarkable herb was indigenous to India; but no attempts were made to encourage the cultivation, lest the China trade should be disturbed. In 1835, Lord Wm. Bentinck brought the subject under the notice of the E. I. Cy. and of the public; a committee of investigation was appointed, who decided in favour of an experimental culture. In 1839, an Assam tea company was incorporated in London, with a capital of £500,000; the directors went to work energetically, and have spent £200,000, a large part of which, however, was wasted. Experience has been dearly bought; but under the able supervision of Mr. Walter Prideaux, a large crop is at present secured, and annually increasing. The tea crop for three years, in Assam, amounted to—in 1852, 271,427 lbs.; in 1853, 366,687 lbs.; in 1854, 478,258 lbs. The yield of 1855 is expected to realise £50,000, and the expenditure half that sum. The Assam tea is of excellent quality, so also is that of Kumaon. By perseverance and judgment, we may hope to be less dependent on China for this now indispensable and cheering beverage. *Coffee*, a native of Yemen (Arabia), has long been naturalised in India: it is grown, of excellent quality, in Malabar, Tellicherry, Mysoor, and other contiguous places. *Tobacco* was introduced in 1605, during the reign of Akber,—is now cultivated in every part, and in general use; but as a commercial article, is inferior to the American weed. Care only is required to produce the finest qualities. This is the case at Chunar on the Ganges, Bhilsa near Nagpoor,

hides and horns, vegetable oils, tobacco, peppers, cardamoms, ginger, cassia, and other spices, linseed, saltpetre, gum and shell-lac, rum, arrack, caoutchouc and gutta-percha, canes or rattans, ivory, wax, various dyes and drugs, &c.

These constitute the great items of commerce; and the demand for them in Europe is immense—in fact, not calculable: 200,000,000 Europeans could consume twenty times the amount of the above-mentioned products that are now supplied; 200,000,000 Hindoos would consume, in exchange, an equal proportion of the clothing, manufactures, and luxuries from the western hemisphere. The tariff of India offers no impediment to the development of such barter: internal peace prevails, there are no transit duties, land and labour abounds; but capital and skill are wanting. How these are to be supplied,—how Britain is to be rendered independent of Russia or of the United States for commercial staples,—how such great advantages are to be secured,—how India is to be restored to a splendour and prosperity greater than ever before experienced,—I am not called on to detail. Let it suffice for me to indicate the good to be sought, and desire earnestly its successful attainment.

Woodanum in the Northern Circars, in the low islands at the mouth of the Kistna (from which the famed Masulipatam snuff is made), in the delta of the Godavery, in Guzerat, near Chinsurah, Bengal, at Sandoway in Arracan, and at other places. The Court of Directors procured from America the best seed from Maryland and Virginia, which has thriven well. Tobacco requires a fertile and well-manured soil. The best fields at Sandoway, Arracan, show on analysis—iron (peroxyde), 15·65; saline matter, 1·10; vegetable fibre, 3·75; silex, 76·90; alumina, 2; water and loss, 60 = 100. *Flax and Hemp* are furnished by India in larger varieties than from any other country in the world. The *sun*, properly cured and dressed, is equal to Russian hemp; other varieties are superior, as they bear a strain of 200 to 400 lbs.; while that of St. Petersburg breaks at 160 to 200 lbs.; the *kote-kangra* of the Punjab is equal to 400 lbs.; *jute* is also excellent; the *khiar*,* made from cocoa-nut husk fibres, is used principally for maritime purposes, as the specific gravity is lighter than sea-water, in which it does not decay like hemp. Any amount of plants adapted for cordage, coarse cloths, and the manufacture of paper (for which latter there is a greatly increasing demand throughout the civilised world), are procurable in India. *Linseed* was only recently known to abound in India, and is now shipped annually to the extent of many thousand tons. The greater part of the oil-cake used for fattening cattle in Britain is derived from the fields of Hindoostan. *Salt* is supplied in Bengal by evaporating the water of the Ganges, near its mouth, and by boiling the sea-water at different parts of the Bay of Bengal; at Bombay and Madras, solar evaporation is used. This indispensable condiment is found pure in different parts of the interior; the Sambhur Lake, in Rajpootana, supplies it in crystals of a clear and fine flavour, when the water dries up during the hot season. The Punjab contributes a quantity of rock-salt, from a range of hills which crosses due west the Sinde-Saugor Dooab; it is found cropping out in all directions, or else in strata commencing near the surface, and extending downwards in deep and apparently inexhaustible fecundity. The mineral, which requires no preparatory process but pounding, can be excavated and brought to the mouth of the mine for two annas (threepence) the maund (80 lbs.); it is of excellent flavour and purity,—of transparent brilliancy and solid consistency; when, as is sometimes the case, veins of iron lie adjacent to the saline strata, it assumes a reddish hue. In this latter respect the salt of the cis-Indus portion of the range differs from that obtained in the trans-Indus section. Common bay-salt is made in many adjacent localities, and in all parts of the country the ground is occasionally impregnated with a saline efflorescence resembling saltpetre. In the Alpine principality of Mundee an impure salt is produced, but it is strongly mixed with earthy ingredients. In Sinde, a coarse kind of salt is everywhere procurable in large quantities; some ship-loads have been sent to Bengal, and sold well. *Saltpetre* (nitre) is derived from the soil of Bengal, Oude, and other places; the average quantity annually exported is about 20,000 tons. Sulphate of soda (glauber-salts), is found near Cawnpoor; carbonate of soda, at Sultanpoor, Ghazeepoor, and Tirhoot; and other salines are procurable, in various places, to any required extent. *Rice*,—widely grown in Bengal, Bahar, Arracan, Assam, Sinde, and other low districts, and also at elevations of 3,000 to 5,000 feet along the Himalayas and other places, without irrigation, where the dampness of the summer months compensates for artificial moisture. Bengal and Patna rice are now, by care and skill, equal to that of Carolina, though the grain is not so large; that from Arracan and Moulmein is coming extensively into use. Pegu will also probably furnish considerable supplies. *Wheat*, from time immemorial, has been a staple crop on the plains of Northern India, in the Punjab, Nepaul, and other places. The soil is well fitted for this cereal, but owing to defective cultivation, the crops are not good: it is, however, the main food of many millions in Hindoostan; and yet, a few years since, when I placed a small sack of excellent Indian wheat on the table of the Court of Proprietors of the E. I. House, while urging its admission into England at a low rate of duty, it was viewed with astonishment, it being generally supposed that rice was the only grain in the East. *Oils*,—that expressed from the cocoa-nut is the most valuable, especially since it has been converted into candles. This graceful palm thrives best on the sea-coast, the more so if its roots reach the saline mud, when it bears abundantly at the fourth year, and continues to do so for nearly 100 years, when it attains a height of about 80 feet. The planting of the cocoa-nut is considered a meritorious duty. *Castor-oil* is extensively prepared for burning in lamps, as well as for medicinal purposes. *Rose oil* (*attar of roses*) is produced chiefly at Ghazeepoor on the Ganges, where hundreds of acres are occupied with this fragrant shrub, whose scent, when in blossom, is wafted along the river a distance of seven miles. Forty pounds of rose-leaves in 60 lbs. of water, distilled over a slow fire, gives 30 lbs. of rose-water, which, when exposed to the cold night air, is found in the morning to have a thin oleaginous film on the surface. About 20,000 roses = 80 lbs. weight, yields, at the utmost, an ounce and a-half of attar, which costs at Ghazeepoor 40 rupees (£4.) Purity tested by the quick evaporation of a drop on a piece of paper, which should not be stained by the oil. *Opium*,—this pernicious drug is extensively prepared in Bahar (Patna) and Malwa. The cultivation of the poppy (from whose capsule the poisonous narcotic is obtained) began to attract attention in 1786; the trade was fostered as a means of obtaining a public revenue, there being a great demand in China, where its use has rapidly increased within the last forty years, and hastened the decay of the Tartar government of that vast country. The Patna drug is procured by the Anglo-Indian government making advances of money to the cultivators, and stipulating for a certain amount at a fixed price; that of Malwa yields a revenue by transit-permits on its passage to Bombay. The revenue to the state, from both these sources, is upwards of five million sterling. Among the timber woods may be mentioned—teak, sandal-wood, mango, banian, dhak, babool, different kinds of oak, pine, holly, maple, plane, ash, horse-chesnut, juniper, deodar or Himalayan cedar, fir, sâl, sissoo, peon, michelia, syzygium, arbutus, bay, acacia, beech, chesnut, alnus, sappan-wood, cassia, toon, cedar, laurel (four to six feet in diameter), mulberry, willow, tulip-tree, indigo-tree, bamboo, and a variety of other timber adapted for ship and house-building. In the Madras Presidency alone there are upwards of a hundred different kinds of timber, and about 500 specimens have been collected from Nepaul and the Ultra-Gangetic country,

# SUMMARY.

In the preceding pages an endeavour has been made to trace the history of India during a period of above 2,000 years—that is, from the time of Alexander's invasion of the frontier to the middle of the nineteenth century;—to show the rise and progress of Mussulman and Mogul power since the eleventh century, and the strife, sensuality, and misgovernment which caused and attended its downfall;—to narrate the successive struggles for dominion of Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, and England;—and lastly, to describe the singular train of events which marked the gradual transition of a trading association into a warlike state, holding imperial sway over nearly a fifth of the human race. So far as space would permit, the author has also striven to depict the leading physical as well as political features of India;—its mountain chains and plateaux, rivers, coasts, and cities; its diversified geological characteristics and variety of climate;—the number, distribution, and peculiarities of its population;—the state of religion, and statistics of crime;—the existing forms of civil government and of the military establishments;—the amount and disbursement of the public revenue;—the value of trade, the extent of shipping, and the varied commercial products;—the position of the remaining protected, tributary, and feudatory native principalities;—the general advancement of secular education and the newspaper press; together with the sounder and more elevating instruction imparted by Christian missions.

The important and difficult question of the social condition of the people of India cannot here be discussed; indeed, it is doubtful whether sufficient materials have been collected for its elucidation. The formidable barriers of language, customs, and creed, still exclude the masters of India from the intimate knowledge of the inner life of the Hindoos, which it is alike their duty and their interest to acquire. It is difficult for English functionaries in India, much more at home, to realise this fact; so many brilliant reputations have been deservedly acquired, that we are apt to forget how much *terra incognita* still remains to be explored in British India. The pioneering work is only partially accomplished; yet enough has been done to prove that the labours of the scholar, the practical statesman, and the Christian philanthropist, are all—especially the latter—required to promote the welfare of the vast population of Hindoostan, as manifestly as the parched soil of a drought-stricken land needs fertilising rain. It must be remembered, however, that we are as yet little more than encamped in India in the proportion of one Briton to 3,800 Hindoos;* and that a century of struggle for position, of strife for mastery, has left few intervals of breathing-time, and but scanty funds, for the accomplishment of any other object than the establishment and consolidation of political supremacy.

It has pleased Providence that our dominion should be established through the instrumentality of the natives, continuously exerted since the time when the little band of sepoys stood beside Clive at Arcot, declaring themselves content to receive the water that the rice was boiled in, and give up the grain for the sustenance of their European fellow-soldiers, until our latest battles, when Rajpoots and Mahrattas, Patans, Seiks, and Goorkas fought in strange association beneath our banners, bound by the common tie of fidelity to their "salt." The superstitious Hindoo has thrown aside the shackles of caste, and crossed the dreaded "black water;" on the arid sands of Egypt, and the sickly coasts of China,—amid the snows of Afghanistan, and the swamps of Burmah,—in the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean;—wherever the interests of Britain called, the sepoy has freely risked, and often sacrificed, life itself, in fulfilling the behests of his chiefs. The growth and organisation of the Anglo-In-

* The European military force in India, of all ranks, is about 50,000: the covenanted and uncovenanted European civilians, about 1,000: the British residents, not in the service of the Queen or the E. I. Cy., engaged as merchants, bankers, traders, shopkeepers, indigo, cotton, and sugar-planters, agents, &c., are estimated at—males, 5,729; females, 4,271 = 10,000, exclusive of the wives and families of civil and military servants, who number probably 4,000: showing a total of 65,000 of the governing class to about 200,000,000 natives, directly or indirectly beneath our sway or influence.

dian army are no less marvellous than the results which it has achieved: and if the civil government be less perfect in its construction, less homogeneous in its details, allowance must be made for our imperfect acquaintance with the wants of the people, and the necessity of introducing great changes slowly, and, if possible, with the free consent of those affected by them. The authority now exercised by England over India has been obtained by various means, among which the sword no doubt has played a leading part; yet, with few exceptions, the contest has been not with the Indian population, but with foreign usurpers, who now, pensioned by their conquerors, constitute the leading nobility of Hindoostan. The mass of the population have benefited by the change. Various charges of omission and of commission may be adduced against the Anglo-Indian government; but every decade of the last fifty years has carried with it labours calculated to obliterate the reproach of Burke, in his day, that if our power were on the instant annihilated, it would be difficult to tell whether the English or tigers had dwelt in the land. The sarcasm would be pointless now: even then its exaggeration weakened its force. A hundred years ago, when Dupleix espoused the cause of Chunda Sahib, and the English supported the claims of the rival candidate (Mohammed Ali), the strife and anarchy which desolated the Carnatic was not peculiar to that country, but prevailed over the length and breadth of India. It was no single struggle of race or creed; for Mussulman fought against Mussulman, Hindoo against Hindoo, and each against the other; Afghan warred with Mogul, Mogul with Rajpoot; Mahratta with all. The hand of every man was raised against his neighbour: the peasant went armed to the plough, the shepherd stood ready to defend his flock with his life; for the Pindarry, Dacoity, and Thug—the trained marauder, the thief and assassin, pursued their murderous avocations in the light of noonday and in the depth of midnight.

The supremacy of the Great Mogul had become a mere fiction. The decay of the empire originated from within, and scarcely needed the hastening influence of unfaithful servants and external foes. Yet these were not wanting. Aurungzebe, the ablest and most powerful of his race, not content with dominion far exceeding that swayed by the greatest of his predecessors, thirsted so impatiently for conquest, that he suffered his power in Northern India to crumble into ruins, while engaged in the destruction of the independent Mohammedan kingdoms in the Southern Peninsula, which formed his safest barrier against the inroads of the predatory hordes of Sevajee. The bigoted Mogul demolished Beejapoor and Golconda; and the hated and despised Mahrattas grew strong upon the spoil, and hunted the conqueror to the death. Usurping viceroys, and adventurers of all creeds and complexions, disputed over the wreck of the empire; while Nadir Shah and Ahmed (the robber kings of Persia and Afghanistan) swooped down like vultures, to secure their share of the carcass, and pillage a country they did not attempt to govern.

Under such circumstances, the representatives of the E. I. Cy. could not view without anxiety the precarious position in which they stood, exposed to the caprice of every new ruler; much less could they be expected to witness without opposing, the rapid aggrandisement of a hostile European power. There was no native state of undoubted strength and integrity under whose banner they could confidently seek protection; from England, and from England only, could come the support necessary to hold their ground against European rivalry. The struggle with France involved the assumption of a position in which neutrality became impossible: the choice lay between complete retirement or the maintenance of that commanding attitude which has proved the keystone of our power in India, and, it may be, in Europe also. The importance of the earliest offensive operations of the Bengal Presidency was seen and dreaded by the E. I. Cy., who, except during the sway of the brothers Child, sincerely deprecated warlike proceedings as calculated to impede their commercial dealings. This feeling was natural; for the absolutely disorganised state of the country was then only very imperfectly understood. Warren Hastings, perhaps, first fully appreciated the important position occupied by the English; but he dared not act up to his convictions, and persistently sought the immediate gains of his employers to the neglect of their permanent interests. The Marquis Wellesley suffered no personal considerations to bias his judgment or warp his integrity; but, deeply impressed with the duties and responsibilities of the Anglo-Indian government as a paramount power, he directed all the

energies of his mind to its establishment and consolidation. His views were for a time repudiated; and the efforts of some selfish, and other good but prejudiced men, prevailed for the temporary adoption of a system of neutrality which placed our weaker neighbours and sworn allies at the mercy of their incensed foes. This delusion passed away: and at the present epoch few persons will care to dispute Lord Wellesley's dictum concerning the maintenance of supremacy in India. The subsidiary system, with other measures adapted to the exigencies of the critical period during which he bore sway, must be viewed simply as means to an end. That end has been carried out by the labours of successive governors; and the close of Lord Dalhousie's administration is marked by the grateful intelligence, brought by the last mail, that "India is tranquil throughout."* Even the anarchy which more or less pervades the states still partially subject to native rulers—such as the territories of the King of Oude, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the Guicowar of Baroda —is temporarily abated, and a degree of peace heretofore unknown prevails throughout the fairest and richest part of Asia, over an area of 1,500,000 square miles, inhabited by about 200,000,000 human beings, who enjoy an immunity from the horrors of war which Christian Europe may well envy.

The cessation of internal strife has been accompanied by many internal reforms; such as the abolition of infanticide, and *suttee*, or widow-burning; the extirpation of the horrible Thuggee or Phansigar system, and the material diminution of the ancient and too common practice of *dacoity*, or gang-robbery; the sensible mitigation of domestic slavery; and the amelioration of the criminal code, by the abolition of mutilation and torture. The security for life and property which now prevails, from Peshawur to Cape Comorin, from Afghanistan to Burmah, is doubtless to some extent attributable to the admirable organisation of the army, the efficiency of which consists in its discipline far more than in its magnitude. The Anglo-Indian empire is no military despotism, imposed at the point of the bayonet, and upheld by the same means; its permanent force is not a tenth part so large, in proportion to its population, as that maintained by France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and other European states. There are about 3,000,000 men in arms in Europe out of 250,000,000 people, or one soldier to every eighty-three civilians; while in India the proportion is as one in 600, the total number of troops being only 330,000 (including 50,000 Europeans), and the population reaching 200,000,000. Could an estimate be framed of the troops formerly maintained by the various native states now included in British India, there can be little question that the list of fighting men would be found to have largely diminished, and the numbers of mechanics and cultivators to have increased in a similar degree.

The progress of public works attests the favourable change effected when the resources of a country are freed from the heavy drain and depressing influence of war, and directed, even partially, to national undertakings and local improvements.

Perfect freedom of internal commercial intercourse has been bestowed by the abolition of long-established fiscal transit duties. Roads and bridges,† railways and canals,

* By the *Indian Mail*, Oct., 1855.

† It is difficult, during periods of war, to find money and time for public improvements; and those which have been accomplished are spread over such an immense extent of country as not to be very conspicuous. In fifteen years—from 1837-'8 to 1851-'2—the direct expenditure on roads, bridges, and works of irrigation, has been £4,500,000, irrespective of £30,000 per ann. supplied by convict labour; altogether, about £5,000,000. This is independent of works under the control of local committees, the cost of which is defrayed from ferry receipts, tolls, and other sources. Three great trunk roads are in progress:—1st. From Calcutta to Peshawur, 1,423 miles, *viâ* Benares, Agra, Delhi, and Lahore; the outlay from Calcutta to Delhi, 887 miles, has already been £820,000 (exclusive of convict labour), or nearly £1,000 per m., including bridges: the road is metalled throughout: charge of keeping it in repair, £35 per m. = £50,000 per ann. 2nd. Mail-road from Calcutta to Bombay, *viâ* Sumbulpoor, Nagpoor, Ahmednugger, and Poona, 1,170 m.: this road was planned in 1840, and the cost estimated at £500,000, or £500 per m. 3rd. Road from Bombay to Agra, *viâ* Sindwa, Akberpoor, and Indore, 734 m.: commenced in 1840; expenditure, £330 per m. The length of these three main roads is 3,159 m.; first cost, £2,166,673; and the annual repairs, £90,000. In the Punjab several roads have been ordered, and an expenditure of £50,000 a-year for this purpose sanctioned by the home authorities. The system of railway communication in progress throughout India, will probably effect a wonderful moral as well as physical improvement in the country. It is proposed to connect Calcutta with Peshawur by Delhi; Madras with Bombay; and Bombay with Agra. Portions of the respective lines have been opened at each presidency, and the natives have thronged the carriages. The Anglo-Indian government has acted in a munificent spirit by granting the land required, and guaranteeing five per cent. interest per ann. for the capital employed, under certain favourable conditions.





river and coast steam navigation,* afford facilities for locomotion hitherto unknown. Various structures, such as tanks, aqueducts, and embankments for irrigation,† with improved governmental buildings, are being erected in different provinces; and the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay are connected by an electric telegraph,‡ which flashes intelligence along its wires in a single day, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya. A trigonometrical survey of India, which has been in progress above half a century, has already cost more than £500,000 sterling, and is completed to a greater extent than any similar scientific measurement throughout the globe.§

Low custom duties (recently reduced), both on imports and exports, enable the people of India to buy and sell in the best markets. Bi-monthly communication is carried on with England *via* the Red Sea and Egypt, each voyage averaging thirty days. Small and uniform postage rates, with the total absence of any passport system, accelerate social as well as mercantile intercourse. The right of residence in any part of India, devoid of license or restraint, has been granted to every Englishman. Perfect freedom has been conceded to an unstamped newspaper press; and the privilege of public meeting and discussion accorded, to an extent unknown in continental Europe. Every form of religion is tolerated; the ban which existed on Christianity has been removed; and no disqualifications for office exist, to men of any creed, colour, or caste, but those of ignorance, incompetence, or crime.

To advance the moral improvement of

* Various public works have been constructed in Sinde; the Kurachee mole and road have cost £30,961. The government has stationed steam-vessels on the Indus for the conveyance of goods and passengers from Kurachee to Mooltan, and propose extending the line to Kalabagh on the Indus, and to Jhelum. Government steam-vessels have been established on the Ganges, and considerable sums expended on the removal of obstacles to navigation below Allahabad. The Manaar Gulf, between Cape Comorin and Ceylon, has been surveyed at a cost of £24,625; and the Paumban Passage, between Ceylon and the main land, has had a practicable channel opened by an expenditure of £16,394. Several undertakings (not intended for government purposes) have received aid from the public treasury: such as plantations and farms for extending the culture of cotton, tea, &c.; establishments for improving the breed of animals; docks, and other objects of maritime utility.

† The volume of water available for irrigation which flows from the Himalaya mountains during the dry season, has been estimated at 24,120 cubic feet per second; Ganges, 6,700; Jumna, 2,870; Ravee, 3,000; Chenab, 5,000; Sutlej at Roopur, 2,500; Jhelum, 4,000: each cubic foot, per second, will irrigate 218 acres; and efforts are now being made to prevent the waste of this treasure. The whole stream of the Jumna has been directed from the main channel into two canals, east and west; the latter measuring, with its branches, 425; the former, 155 = 580 m. The great undertaking—now completed, and termed the Ganges Canal—has for its object the irrigation of a large portion of the N. W. Provinces: it is 810 m. long, including branches, and has been constructed on a slightly elevated ridge of land which lies along the Dooab (or country between the Ganges and the Jumna), from Hurdwar to Allyghur, where it diverges into two channels, one proceeding to Cawnpoor, the other to Humeerpoor and Etawa, with three offsets—Hurdwar to Allyghur, 180; thence to Cawnpoor, 170; Allyghur to Humeerpoor, 180; branch to Futtehghur, 170; to Bolundshuhur, 60; to Coel, 50 = 810. The cost is about one million and a-half sterling. In the Punjab, the *Ravee* canal will proceed from the canal head of the Ravee river to Deena-nuggur, and there throw off a branch to the eastward; while the main channel, taking a southerly direction, is to send another branch to the westward. Lahore and Amritsir will be supplied by minor channels: the expense not yet ascertained; £500,000 have been sanctioned. Several works to promote irrigation are in operation. The *Cauvery* 'anicut' (dam thrown across the river to bank up its waters) has cost about £50,000; a like sum has been sanctioned for the *Godavery* anicut; and £150,000 for works on the *Kistna* river.

‡ The practical application of science is working wonders in the sight of the Indian population; the "fire-horse" (steam-engine) surprised, but the darting of intelligence by lightning has astounded them; they behold with utter bewilderment the electric wires connecting points 3,500 miles apart. The telegraphic works were confided by Lord Dalhousie to Dr. O'Shaughnessy. It is to be hoped that this marvellous mode of communication will, ere long, bring India and England into daily intercourse: the route might be from Kurachee to Bussorah, along the shores of the Persian Gulf, 1,400 m.; thence to Bagdad, 300; to Erzeroum, 500; to Sinope *viâ* Trebizond, 350; and to Constantinople, 300 = 2,850 miles English. The cost of construction in India has been about £40 per m.; allow £50 for the overland communication = £142,500. Say the expenditure were twice that sum, and the money would be well spent.

§ An arc of the meridian, 1,400 m. in length, has been measured with great care and precision: it extends from Cape Comorin to the sub-Himalayan mountains, and was completed in 1840. The various elevations, the river courses, and the positions of every place have been accurately laid down in a magnificent Atlas of India, now in progress of engraving by Messrs. Walker, upon a scale of four m. to the inch. Of this great work, comprising 177 maps, each 3 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 1 in., a large portion has been already executed; when finished, it will be a noble contribution to geographical science. Minute territorial surveys, based on triangular admeasurement, are now being made in each presidency for land revenue settlements; that of the N. W. Provinces has been completed at the following cost: revenue survey, £235,655; revenue settlement, £337,069 = £572,069.

the people, schools and colleges have been formed, and systematic education has become an essential part of state policy. A supreme Legislative Council has been established, with representatives from each presidency, whose deliberations are carried on *apertis foribus*, subject to the freest animadversion or comments of the local journals; and there is no repressive tendency,—but, on the contrary, encouragement, for the advancement of liberal institutions.

In England, the high prizes of civil office have been thrown open to general competition: genius, intelligence, and industry are invited to enter into the service of the government of India, the proceedings of which are no longer recorded in a closed book, examined only at intervals of twenty years, but subject to the annual revision of the British parliament, who have power to redress as well as denounce injustice, and to replace wrong measures with right ones.

It remains to notice the means by which England has become possessed of the brightest jewel in her crown,—the Koh-i-Noor of her maritime possessions. History records many great results as being developed from small beginnings; but surely none much more surprising than that the successors of the struggling band of merchants whose enterprise Elizabeth cherished with the grant of a charter, should, in their original capacity of traders, after passing through a fierce ordeal of financial difficulties, have been carried away by the energy of their representatives, until they found themselves, almost in their own despite, transformed from buyers and sellers into the arbiters of the destinies of men of many nations and tongues,—the wielders of a sceptre far more extensive than that of the Mogul empire in its palmiest days,—the undisputed masters of a prize for which, in past ages, Cæsar sighed, Alexander fought, and, in modern times, Portugal and Spain, Holland and France, have been unsuccessful candidates.

Whatever may be the public feeling towards trading associations in the present epoch, and however deeply grounded the views entertained against every remnant of monopoly, it would be ingratitude in the nation or the Crown to overlook or set aside the obligations incurred to the E. I. Cy. It is true their leading conquests were all achieved with the aid of the national troops, but the expense has fallen exclusively on the revenues obtained by the company from their Indian territories. At its commencement, the distant Asiatic trade could be carried on with a reasonable prospect of success only in two ways—namely, by the government, or by a chartered association, encouraged by the concession of exclusive privileges, to make a large immediate outlay, and risk heavy loss for the chance of proportionate gains.

The experience of various continental nations has demonstrated that Elizabeth and her successors acted wisely in resigning the arduous enterprise into the hands of the persons immediately interested in its results; and they have proved themselves, through ensuing generations, well fitted to uphold the political interests of the nation while following their mercantile pursuits. In developing the indigo, silk, cotton, and other branches of Indian trade, they created a class of mercantile shipping which has in no small degree contributed to establish the maritime supremacy of England; while their growing hold on India, to the exclusion of other powers, has been scarcely less effective in establishing the high rank of the British isles among cotemporary nations. It is not in war only that reputation is strength; in peace it is the best security for the continuance of power: and whatever may be the opinion of statesmen at home, it is indubitable that abroad the admiration and respect so widely entertained for England, is conceded to her as the greatest of colonising nations and the mistress of India.

Great Britain may well be proud of an organised body whose enterprise has been attended with such brilliant and useful results, while similar associations, in other countries, although powerfully aided by their respective governments, have been almost invariably attended with failure. Let a comparison be drawn between the occupation of British India, and the invasions of the Spaniards in South America, or the Portuguese in different countries;—with the French in Algeria, or the various gold-seeking and colonising operations prosecuted in America, the West Indies, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and other places where the aborigines have been extirpated or greatly diminished; and after such an examination, the philanthropist—having made due allowance for the circumstances of the different cases—will probably find abundant reason to rejoice that our proceedings in India were prosecuted under the auspices of a company whose mercantile objects, and subsequent territorial acquisi-

tions, immediately, as well as permanently, associated their interests with the welfare of the native community, even before their chartered privileges were merged in the controlling and co-operative authority of the ministers of the Crown.

Whatever be the theoretical objections to the past system, it has practically worked well; and however anomalous the conjoint or double rule, it is far preferable to the mode in which the wide-spread colonies of the Crown are now governed by a single secretary of state, changing with the political wheel of fortune twice or even thrice a year; so that the ink may be scarcely dry on one authoritative missive, before another, of counter-tendency, be dispatched by a new functionary. In India the domestic government has been slowly but effectively organised with forethought and care; and the directing power in London is enabled to act unbiassed by political partisanship, or by the national caprices which more or less sway the British cabinet.

Before closing this volume, it may not be supererogatory to advert briefly to some of the advantages derivable by England from the possession of India; although it is difficult to appreciate aright a subject so intimately interwoven with the various phases of social life and public weal. India has been no burden on the British exchequer,—quite the contrary; the latter is largely indebted to the former. The Egyptian expedition (in 1801), the Java and Mauritius conquests, the China war, and other undertakings—all required heavy advances from the Bengal treasury, which were never entirely liquidated. Thirty thousand of the Queen's infantry and cavalry, and 250,000 native troops, though paid from the Indian revenues, are available for the service of the whole empire; as is also the case with a small but well-organised armed marine.

The money which England has received from India during the last seventy years, is almost incalculable. If the remittances be taken at £3,000,000 sterling per annum for the last fifty years, they amount, at the Indian rate of interest, to a sum exceeding our national debt; and the capital thus abstracted is never replaced, but has its fructification here. Indeed, there is scarcely a county in the United Kingdom but has had the value of its landed property increased by investments of fortunes, the reward of civil or military services, or of commercial success in the East. Turning to a less tangible but no less important consideration,—how many British statesmen and commanders have had their genius elicited, or their talents improved, in the wide arena of thought and action which Hindoostan affords? A noble field has been annually opened for the enterprising sons of the middle classes, and an expansive tone given to society by the constant discussion of great subjects. Then again, the merchant and the manufacturer know the value of a large, increasing, and lucrative market, devoid of high or hostile tariffs, with an almost unlimited quantity of the raw commodities, the certain supply of which is so essential to the steady employment of our operatives; while both imports and exports furnish profitable employment to the best class of mercantile shipping. Thus England has, in various ways, derived immense benefits from her dominions in Asia.

If, however, past experience and present evidence be rejected, and the national will unhappily accord with the fallacious and unsubstantiated assertions promulgated by a leading exponent of public opinion—that transmarine possessions "are no accession of power or wealth to a country, but rather a burden, a risk, and an expense,"*—it follows that the arguments above adduced are futile in the sight of the majority, who deplore, rather than rejoice in, the acquisition of the vast domains of the Crown: and the minority, who do not share these opinions, may lament the fatuity of an age in which Englishmen are unable to appreciate the enduring efforts, the heroic patriotism, the self-sacrifice, which enabled their ancestors, throughout two generations of strife, anxiety, and peril, to construct the most wonderful oceanic empire that ever existed.

But if this acknowledgment of decadence, by the abandonment of territorial acquisitions, be not generally desired,—if the birthright inherited be deemed a prize of great value, and a conviction be felt that the Giver of all power bestows on His responsible agents many attendant blessings,—then, indeed, the nation may well rejoice at the opportunity vouchsafed for the extension of Christian civilisation among heathen multitudes; and may confidently rely on the aid of the Supreme Governor of the world, in the fulfilment of the duties inseparably connected with her commanding position among the kingdoms of the earth.

* *Times*' editorial article, 27th August, 1855, referring to alliance between England and France.

# APPENDIX.

*Statistical Return of Land Revenue, Area, and Population in*

| Division. | Districts. | Number of Mouzahs or townships. | Area in sq. British Statute miles of 640 acres each. | Area in Acres. | Malgoozaree or assessed land. | | Minhaee or unassessed land. | | Demand on act. of land revenue 1851–'52, in Rs. | Rate per acre on Total area. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Cultivated Acres. | Culturable Acres. | Lakhiraj Acres. | Barren Acres. | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| DELHI. | Paneeput | 538 | 1,269·9 | 812,745 | 407,051 | 261,747 | 19,398 | 124,549 | 827,123 | 1 0 3 |
| | Hissar | 653 | 3,294·2 | 2,108,279 | 988,923 | 864,099 | 85,528 | 169,729 | 465,760 | 0 3 6 |
| | Delhi | 568 | 789·7 | 505,320 | 263,208 | 76,585 | 91,402 | 74,125 | 456,487 | 0 14 5 |
| | Rohtuck | 300 | 1,340·4 | 857,885 | 641,792 | 147,183 | 22,730 | 46,180 | 631,132 | 0 11 9 |
| | Goorgaon | 1,274 | 1,939·1 | 1,241,017 | 895,940 | 168,428 | 16,352 | 160,297 | 1,047,231 | 0 13 6 |
| | Total | 3,333 | 8,633·3 | 5,525,246 | 3,196,914 | 1,518,042 | 235,410 | 574,880 | 3,427,736 | 0 9 11 |
| MEERUT. | Saharunpoor | 1,904 | 2,162·3 | 1,383,898 | 774,253 | 211,449 | 54,597 | 343,599 | 1,064,513 | 0 12 4 |
| | Moozuffernugger | 1,138 | 1,646·3 | 1,053,641 | 670,468 | 153,173 | 76,287 | 153,713 | 1,107,538 | 1 0 10 |
| | Meerut | 1,638 | 2,200·1 | 1,408,063 | 907,758 | 236,021 | 82,028 | 182,256 | 1,693,046 | 1 3 3 |
| | Boolundshahur | 1,576 | 1,823·6 | 1,167,094 | 715,587 | 143,260 | 88,036 | 220,211 | 1,056,835 | 0 14 6 |
| | Allyghur | 1,997 | 2,153·4 | 1,378,204 | 961,076 | 77,725 | 41,070 | 298,333 | 1,985,136 | 1 7 1 |
| | Total | 8,253 | 9,985·7 | 6,390,900 | 4,029,142 | 821,628 | 342,018 | 1,198,112 | 6,907,068 | 1 1 0 |
| ROHILCUND. | Bijnore | 3,030 | 1,900·0 | 1,216,005 | 590,622 | 175,553 | 42,626 | 407,204 | 1,197,695 | 0 13 9 |
| | Moradabad | 3,484 | 2,698·8 | 1,727,216 | 839,919 | 308,851 | 256,086 | 322,360 | 1,340,312 | 0 12 5 |
| | Budaon | 2,232 | 2,401·9 | 1,537,191 | 928,299 | 286,055 | 69,734 | 253,103 | 1,097,329 | 0 11 5 |
| | Bareilly | 3,563 | 3,119·1 | 1,996,224 | 1,056,961 | 394,810 | 83,630 | 460,823 | 1,769,610 | 0 14 2 |
| | Shahjehanpoor | 2,785 | 2,308·4 | 1,477,359 | 716,201 | 453,032 | 33,067 | 275,059 | 1,060,318 | 0 11 9 |
| | Total | 15,094 | 12,428·2 | 7,953,995 | 4,132,002 | 1,618,301 | 485,143 | 1,718,549 | 6,465,264 | 0 13 0 |
| AGRA. | Muttra | 1,019 | 1,613·4 | 1,032,542 | 733,362 | 87,224 | 97,649 | 114,307 | 1,657,283 | 1 9 9 |
| | Agra | 1,143 | 1,864·9 | 1,193,537 | 747,536 | 118,104 | 84,460 | 243,437 | 1,622,980 | 1 5 9 |
| | Furruckabad | 2,017 | 2,122·9 | 1,358,685 | 749,023 | 178,345 | 69,985 | 361,332 | 1,333,011 | 0 15 8 |
| | Mynpoory | 1,344 | 2,020·2 | 1,292,946 | 687,098 | 114,526 | 8,510 | 482,812 | 1,267,079 | 0 15 8 |
| | Etawah | 1,495 | 1,677·0 | 1,073,276 | 557,804 | 59,927 | 29,143 | 426,402 | 1,272,086 | 1 3 0 |
| | Total | 7,018 | 9,298·4 | 5,950,986 | 3,474,823 | 558,126 | 289,747 | 1,628,290 | 7,152,439 | 1 3 3 |
| ALLAHABAD. | Cawnpoor | 2,257 | 2,348·0 | 1,502,699 | 800,438 | 149,232 | 61,992 | 491,037 | 2,144,075 | 1 6 10 |
| | Futtehpoor | 1,617 | 1,583·1 | 1,013,171 | 509,793 | 131,895 | 9,417 | 362,066 | 1,426,205 | 1 6 6 |
| | Humeerpoor | 997 | 2,241·6 | 1,434,651 | 770,254 | 316,504 | 14,531 | 333,362 | 1,277,864 | 0 14 3 |
| | Banda | 1,257 | 3,009·6 | 1,926,112 | 846,831 | 561,281 | 82,934 | 435,066 | 1,591,377 | 0 13 3 |
| | Allahabad | 4,003 | 2,788·7 | 1,784,780 | 971,558 | 247,255 | 28,240 | 537,727 | 2,141,221 | 1 3 2 |
| | Total | 10,131 | 11,971 0 | 7,661,413 | 3,898,874 | 1,406,167 | 197,114 | 2,159,258 | 8,580,742 | 1 1 11 |
| BENARES. | Goruckpoor | 15,714 | 7,340·2 | 4,697,706 | 2,232,901 | 1,268,024 | 160,732 | 1,036,049 | 2,133,931 | 0 7 3 |
| | Azimgurh | 6,270 | 2,516·4 | 1,610,498 | 798,707 | 213,729 | 41,027 | 557,035 | 1,489,619 | 0 14 10 |
| | Jounpoor | 3,431 | 1,552.2 | 993,383 | 573,616 | 58,121 | 23,497 | 338,149 | 1,254,095 | 1 4 2 |
| | Mirzapoor | 5,280 | 5,152·3 | 3,297,472 | 768,296 | 293,394 | 1,421,412 | 814,370 | 839,732 | 0 4 1 |
| | Benares | 2,296 | 995·5 | 637,107 | 420,069 | 35,791 | 29,571 | 151,676 | 903,358 | 1 6 8 |
| | Ghazeepoor | 5,088 | 2,181·0 | 1,395,808 | 924,884 | 151,168 | 41,532 | 278,224 | 1,500,426 | 1 1 2 |
| | Total | 38,079 | 19,737·6 | 12,631,974 | 5,718,473 | 2,020,227 | 1,717,771 | 3,175,503 | 8,121,161 | 0 10 3 |
| | Grand Total | 81,908 | 72,054·2 | 46,114,514 | 24,450,228 | 7,942,491 | 3,267,203 | 10,454,592 | 40,654,410 | 0 14 1 |

# APPENDIX.

*the Districts of the North Western Provinces, prepared in* 1852-'53.

| Rate per acre on Total Malgoozaree. | Rate per acre on Total Cultivation. | POPULATION. | | | | | | | | | No. of persons to each sq. British Statute mile of 640 acres each. | Number of acres to each person. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Hindoos. | | | | Mohammedan and others not Hindoo. | | | | Total. | | |
| | | Agricultural. | | Non-Agricultural. | | Agricultural. | | Non-Agricultural. | | | | |
| | | Male. | Female. | Male. | Female. | Male. | Female. | Male. | Female. | | | |
| 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 |
| 1 3 9 | 2 0 6 | 94,360 | 73,397 | 49,252 | 38,802 | 20,411 | 16,869 | 51,643 | 44,351 | 389,085 | 306 | 2·09 |
| 0 4 0 | 0 7 6 | 113,974 | 93,170 | 23,555 | 17,207 | 33,638 | 28,189 | 12,044 | 9,075 | 330,852 | 100 | 6·37 |
| 1 5 6 | 1 11 9 | 93,963 | 77,731 | 78,912 | 65,459 | 10,036 | 8,881 | 52,292 | 48,470 | 435,744 | 552 | 1·16 |
| 0 12 10 | 0 15 9 | 117,168 | 102,275 | 61,770 | 50,610 | 11,890 | 12,059 | 11,451 | 9,790 | 377,013 | 281 | 2·27 |
| 0 15 9 | 1 2 8 | 174,457 | 147,726 | 73,138 | 65,453 | 85,314 | 73,057 | 22,107 | 21,234 | 662,486 | 342 | 1·87 |
| 0 11 8 | 1 1 2 | 593,922 | 494,299 | 286,627 | 237,531 | 161,289 | 139,055 | 149,537 | 132,920 | 2,195,180 | 254 | 2·52 |
| 1 1 3 | 1 6 0 | 155,176 | 109,146 | 165,789 | 125,829 | 53,281 | 44,833 | ,79,840 | 67,431 | 801,325 | 370 | 1·73 |
| 1 5 6 | 1 10 10 | 135,478 | 105,768 | 133,273 | 115,652 | 44,336 | 39,607 | 51,672 | 47,075 | 672,861 | 409 | 1·56 |
| 1 7 8 | 1 13 10 | 237,105 | 190,680 | 245,814 | 211,639 | 43,996 | 38,354 | 88,386 | 79,098 | 1,135,072 | 516 | 1·24 |
| 1 3 8 | 1 7 8 | 182,783 | 152,925 | 154,520 | 143,468 | 24,512 | 23,259 | 49,164 | 47,711 | 778,342 | 427 | 1·50 |
| 1 14 7 | 2 1 1 | 273,368 | 229,145 | 269,663 | 241,198 | 15,475 | 14,047 | 47,369 | 44,300 | 1,134,565 | 527 | 1·21 |
| 1 6 9 | 1 11 5 | 983,910 | 787,664 | 969,059 | 837,786 | 181,600 | 160,100 | 316,431 | 285,615 | 4,522,165 | 453 | 1·41 |
| 1 9 0 | 2 3 2 | 126,819 | 98,796 | 128,377 | 110,802 | 25,613 | 22,811 | 96,425 | 85,878 | 695,521 | 366 | 1·75 |
| 1 2 8 | 1 9 6 | 273,881 | 228,450 | 139,417 | 124,246 | 95,925 | 86,842 | 97,249 | 92,451 | 1,138,461 | 422 | 1·52 |
| 0 14 6 | 1 2 11 | 386,097 | 321,094 | 92,372 | 77,946 | 40,792 | 36,678 | 33,674 | 30,508 | 1,019,161 | 424 | 1·51 |
| 1 3 6 | 1 10 9 | 462,647 | 398,764 | 110,757 | 97,169 | 75,540 | 67,921 | 84,481 | 80,989 | 1,378,268 | 442 | 1·45 |
| 0 14 6 | 1 7 8 | 380,372 | 317,803 | 85,589 | 74,768 | 27,434 | 25,099 | 36,354 | 38,677 | 986,096 | 427 | 1·50 |
| 1 2 0 | 1 9 0 | 1,629,816 | 1,364,907 | 556,512 | 484,931 | 265,304 | 239,351 | 348,183 | 328,503 | 5,217,507 | 419 | 1·52 |
| 2 0 4 | 2 4 2 | 274,285 | 231,893 | 152,452 | 134,329 | 14,004 | 11,909 | 23,226 | 20,811 | 862,909 | 535 | 1·20 |
| 1 14 0 | 2 2 9 | 315,239 | 256,987 | 177,098 | 146,714 | 13,551 | 11,521 | 42,533 | 38,318 | 1,001,961 | 537 | 1·19 |
| 1 7 0 | 1 12 6 | 389,191 | 306,376 | 130,824 | 110,356 | 24,861 | 20,747 | 41,013 | 41,239 | 1,064,607 | 501 | 1·28 |
| 1 9 3 | 1 13 6 | 347,819 | 271,840 | 89,684 | 71,738 | 10,637 | 9,456 | 16,738 | 14,802 | 832,714 | 412 | 1·55 |
| 2 0 11 | 2 4 6 | 225,376 | 175,991 | 96,249 | 80,542 | 4,843 | 4,484 | 12,166 | 11,314 | 610,965 | 364 | 1·76 |
| 1 12 4 | 2 0 1 | 1,551,910 | 1,243,087 | 646,307 | 543,679 | 67,896 | 58,117 | 135,676 | 126,484 | 4,373,156 | 465 | 1·36 |
| 2 4 1 | 2 10 10 | 361,396 | 316,720 | 213,925 | 193,091 | 10,158 | 9,732 | 36,614 | 32,920 | 1,174,556 | 500 | 1·28 |
| 2 3 7 | 2 12 9 | 195,857 | 168,302 | 127,106 | 121,172 | 14,435 | 13,571 | 19,904 | 19,440 | 679,787 | 428 | 1·49 |
| 1 2 10 | 1 10 7 | 205,018 | 175,086 | 67,863 | 60,618 | 7,595 | 7,084 | 13,102 | 12,238 | 548,604 | 245 | 2·61 |
| 1 2 1 | 1 14 1 | 258,153 | 232,162 | 105,835 | 97,541 | 11,872 | 11,175 | 14,298 | 12,836 | 743,872 | 247 | 2·59 |
| 1 12 1 | 2 3 3 | 421,873 | 375,459 | 208,282 | 194,313 | 33,454 | 31,857 | 59,189 | 55,361 | 1,379,788 | 495 | 1·29 |
| 1 9 11 | 2 3 3 | 1,442,297 | 1,267,729 | 723,011 | 666,735 | 77,514 | 73,419 | 143,107 | 132,795 | 4,526,607 | 378 | 1·69 |
| 0 9 9 | 0 15 3 | 1,184,954 | 1,082,559 | 236,681 | 212,581 | 136,121 | 126,012 | 57,234 | 51,732 | 3,087,874 | 421 | 1·52 |
| 1 7 6 | 1 13 10 | 646,984 | 552,356 | 120,288 | 107,302 | 54,922 | 50,781 | 62,940 | 57,678 | 1,653,251 | 657 | ·97 |
| 1 15 9 | 2 3 0 | 442,429 | 378,734 | 108,690 | 101,735 | 22,356 | 20,992 | 34,732 | 34,081 | 1,143,749 | 737 | ·87 |
| 0 12 6 | 1 1 6 | 336,134 | 312,986 | 193,985 | 186,793 | 7,906 | 7,458 | 30,724 | 28,329 | 1,104,315 | 214 | 2·98 |
| 1 15 9 | 2 2 5 | 220,243 | 197,909 | 181,768 | 169,196 | 4,515 | 4,512 | 38,252 | 35,362 | 851,757 | 856 | ·75 |
| 1 6 4 | 1 9 11 | 516,593 | 467,738 | 231,525 | 222,229 | 17,527 | 17,523 | 63,218 | 60,061 | 1,596,324 | 732 | ·87 |
| 1 0 9 | 1 6 9 | 3,347,337 | 2,992,282 | 1,072,937 | 999,836 | 243,347 | 227,278 | 287,010 | 267,243 | 9,437,270 | 478 | 1·34 |
| 1 4 1 | 1 8 2 | 9,549,192 | 8,149,968 | 4,254,453 | 3,770,498 | 996,950 | 897,320 | 1,379,941 | 1,273,560 | 30271885 | 420 | 1·52 |

*Population of the Territories of the Madras Presidency, according to the Census taken in the Revenue Year 1850–'51.*

| Districts. | Adults. | | | | Children. | | | | Grand Total. | | | Area in Square Miles. | No. of Persons to each Square Mile. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males. | | Females. | | Males. | | Females. | | | | | | |
| | Hindoos. | Mahomedans and others. | Hindoos. | Mahomedans and others. | Hindoos. | Mahomedans and others. | Hindoos. | Mahomedans and others. | Males. | Females. | Total. | | |
| 1. Ganjam | 282,650 | 1,616 | 295,110 | 1,984 | 190,334 | 845 | 153,738 | 653 | 475,445 | 451,485 | 926,930 | 6,400 | 145 |
| 2. Vizagapatam | 397,463 | 4,815 | 411,715 | 5,425 | 240,019 | 3,026 | 189,393 | 2,416 | 645,323 | 608,949 | 1,254,272 | 7,650 | 164 |
| 3. Rajahmundry | 322,316 | 6,726 | 339,613 | 7,171 | 181,872 | 3,789 | 147,409 | 3,140 | 514,703 | 497,333 | 1,012,036 | 6,050 | 167 |
| 4. Masulipatam | 176,167 | 7,323 | 166,497 | 7,639 | 91,049 | 4,665 | 64,083 | 3,443 | 279,204 | 241,662 | 520,866 | 5,000 | 104 |
| 5. Guntoor | 168,461 | 10,578 | 168,061 | 10,586 | 103,893 | 7,531 | 94,227 | 6,631 | 290,463 | 279,505 | 569,968 | 4,960 | 115 |
| 6. Nellore | 312,213 | 14,060 | 294,920 | 12,916 | 151,425 | 7,720 | 135,476 | 6,930 | 485,418 | 450,272 | 935,690 | 7,930 | 118 |
| 7. Bellary | 394,108 | 29,404 | 374,459 | 28,619 | 202,446 | 17,413 | 168,203 | 14,947 | 643,371 | 586,228 | 1,229,599 | 13,056 | 94 |
| 8. Cuddapah | 147,959 | 29,762 | 430,283 | 28,773 | 261,011 | 20,389 | 216,551 | 17,193 | 759,121 | 692,800 | 1,451,921 | 12,970 | 112 |
| 9. Chingleput | 191,239 | 6,144 | 183,947 | 5,928 | 102,649 | 3,673 | 86,740 | 3,142 | 303,705 | 279,757 | 583,462 | 3,020 | 193 |
| 10. North Arcot | 465,620 | 22,361 | 450,896 | 24,159 | 261,060 | 13,674 | 236,262 | 11,841 | 762,715 | 723,158 | 1,485,873 | 6,800 | 218 |
| 11. South Arcot | 359,431 | 13,637 | 327,508 | 12,742 | 152,293 | 6,726 | 127,766 | 5,902 | 532,087 | 473,918 | 1,006,005 | 7,610 | 132 |
| 12. Salem | 380,945 | 9,965 | 383,418 | 9,962 | 212,700 | 6,262 | 187,013 | 5,102 | 609,872 | 585,495 | 1,195,367 | 8,200 | 146 |
| 13. Tanjore | 523,970 | 44,036 | 542,731 | 50,407 | 249,934 | 23,180 | 221,556 | 20,272 | 841,120 | 834,966 | 1,676,086 | 3,900 | 430 |
| 14. Trichinopoly | 184,741 | 57,390 | 188,027 | 57,418 | 88,425 | 29,769 | 76,861 | 26,565 | 360,325 | 348,871 | 709,196 | 3,000 | 236 |
| 15. Madura | 532,214 | 53,705 | 552,737 | 56,304 | 268,998 | 28,206 | 239,982 | 24,645 | 883,123 | 873,668 | 1,756,791 | 10,700 | 164 |
| 16. Tinnevelly | 361,946 | 39,785 | 387,630 | 45,001 | 207,188 | 27,804 | 176,884 | 22,978 | 636,723 | 632,493 | 1,269,216 | 5,700 | 223 |
| 17. Coimbatoor | 357,473 | 8,207 | 381,239 | 8,637 | 206,504 | 4,944 | 182,698 | 4,160 | 577,128 | 576,734 | 1,153,862 | 8,280 | 139 |
| 18. Canara | 314,921 | 34,775 | 315,383 | 34,856 | 171,715 | 21,358 | 145,063 | 18,262 | 542,769 | 513,564 | 1,056,333 | 7,720 | 137 |
| 19. Malabar | 358,361 | 125,432 | 371,933 | 128,683 | 200,823 | 79,316 | 181,095 | 69,266 | 763,932 | 750,977 | 1,514,909 | 6,060 | 250 |
| 20. Kurnool | 74,525 | 14,019 | 73,679 | 14,674 | 43,037 | 8,948 | 36,841 | 7,467 | 140,529 | 132,661 | 273,190 | 3,243 | 84 |
| Total | 6,606,723 | 533,740 | 6,639,786 | 551,914 | 3,587,375 | 319,238 | 3,067,841 | 274,955 | 11,047,076 | 10,534,496 | 21,581,572 | 138,249 | 156 |
| 21. Madras | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 700,000 | 30 | 23·333 |
| Grand Total | 6,606,723 | 533,740 | 6,639,786 | 551,914 | 3,587,375 | 319,238 | 3,067,841 | 274,955 | 11,047,076 | 10,534,496 | 22,281,572 | 138,279 | 161 |

*Population of Calcutta in May, 1850, exclusive of Suburbs.*

| Class. | Males by Ages. | | | | | Females by Ages. | | | | | Grand Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Under 4 yrs. of age. | Above 5, under 20. | Above 20, under 40. | Above 40. | Total. | Under 5 yrs. of age. | Above 5, under 20. | Above 20, under 40. | Above 40. | Total. | |
| Europeans | 600 | 1,050 | 1,473 | 668 | 3,791 | 503 | 817 | 809 | 313 | 2,442 | 6.233 |
| Eurasians | 417 | 934 | 779 | 319 | 2,449 | 348 | 766 | 779 | 273 | 2,166 | 4,615 |
| Armenians | 174 | 151 | 135 | 39 | 499 | 118 | 131 | 113 | 31 | 393 | 892 |
| Chinese | 50 | 87 | 421 | 141 | 699 | 40 | 46 | 43 | 19 | 148 | 847 |
| Asiatics | 1,505 | 1,709 | 2,920 | 1,746 | 7,970 | 1,226 | 1,529 | 2,436 | 2,181 | 7,372 | 15,342 |
| Hindoos | 18,297 | 40,507 | 70,770 | 36,085 | 165,659 | 14,897 | 30,437 | 41,038 | 22,304 | 108,676 | 274,335 |
| Mahomedans | 7,544 | 19,850 | 32,759 | 12,179 | 72,332 | 6,214 | 10,536 | 14,763 | 7,173 | 38,686 | 111,018 |
| Total | 28,587 | 54,378 | 109,257 | 51,177 | 253,399 | 23,346 | 44,262 | 59,981 | 32,294 | 159,883 | 413,282 |

*Value of the Imports and Exports between the several Presidencies of British India and the United Kingdom and other Countries, in each Year, since 1834.*

| Years. | Merchandise. | | | | | | Treasure. | | | | Merchandise and Treasure. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. | Total. | | Total Merchandise. | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. | Total. | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. | Grand Total. |
| | | | | United Kingdom. | Other Countries. | | | | | | | | | |
| Imports. | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. |
| 1834-'35 | 1,99,91,307 | 50,32,900 | 1,75,86,858 | 2,68,22,216 | 1,57,88,849 | 4,26,11,065 | 64,62,248 | 15,31,150 | 1,09,36,835 | 1,89,30,233 | 2,64,53,555 | 65,64,050 | 2,85,23,693 | 6,15,41,298 |
| 1835-'36 | 2,17,03,613 | 47,23,285 | 2,13,91,580 | 3,13,54,105 | 1,64,64,372 | 4,78,18,478 | 68,71,687 | 11,27,602 | 1,34,65,362 | 2,14,64,651 | 2,85,75,300 | 58,50,887 | 3,48,56,942 | 6,92,83,129 |
| 1836-'37 | 2,78,28,965 | 59,70,276 | 2,15,70,660 | 3,83,05,042 | 1,70,64,860 | 5,53,69,902 | 61,25,274 | 7,59,580 | 1,34,76,818 | 2,03,61,672 | 3,39,54,239 | 67,29,856 | 3,50,47,479 | 7,57,31,574 |
| 1837-'38 | 2,46,39,050 | 60,39,238 | 1,96,46,423 | 3,21,06,633 | 1,82,18,078 | 5,03,24,711 | 1,04,88,830 | 12,85,429 | 1,46,26,754 | 2,64,01,013 | 3,51,27,880 | 73,24,667 | 3,42,73,177 | 7,67,25,724 |
| 1838-'39 | 2,63,21,522 | 64,74,021 | 1,96,11,224 | 3,50,59,300 | 1,73,47,467 | 5,24,06,767 | 1,21,90,314 | 13,11,340 | 1,66,07,541 | 3,01,09,195 | 3,85,11,836 | 77,85,361 | 3,62,18,765 | 8,25,15,962 |
| 1839-'40 | 3,34,15,915 | 68,33,079 | 1,80,63,374 | 4,28,94,892 | 1,54,17,476 | 5,83,12,368 | 1,22,67,867 | 11,24,062 | 60,60,713 | 1,94,52,642 | 4,56,83,782 | 79,57,141 | 2,41,24,087 | 7,77,65,010 |
| 1840-'41 | 4,59,07,555 | 76,89,328 | 3,05,62,522 | 6,01,43,398 | 2,40,16,007 | 8,41,59,405 | 91,88,079 | 6,81,465 | 79,92,989 | 1,78,62,533 | 5,50,95,634 | 83,70,793 | 3,85,55,511 | 10,20,21,938 |
| 1841-'42 | 4,26,29,101 | 67,83,268 | 2,84,73,284 | 5,43,95,648 | 2,34,90,005 | 7,78,85,653 | 98,96,176 | 6,75,609 | 78,41,568 | 1,84,13,353 | 5,25,25,277 | 74,58,877 | 3,63,14,852 | 9,62,99,006 |
| 1842-'43 | 3,91,51,858 | 58,11,805 | 3,10,72,366 | 5,35,49,012 | 2,24,87,017 | 7,60,36,029 | 1,64,87,117 | 7,94,130 | 1,71,51,669 | 3,44,32,916 | 5,56,38,975 | 66,05,935 | 4,82,24,035 | 11,04,68,945 |
| 1843-'44 | 4,47,44,726 | 65,22,637 | 3,69,10,611 | 6,34,73,490 | 2,47,04,484 | 8,81,77,971 | 1,75,23,763 | 11,52,409 | 2,92,70,609 | 4,79,46,781 | 6,22,68,489 | 76,75,046 | 6,61,81,220 | 13,61,24,755 |
| 1844-'45 | 5,93,39,902 | 1,04,68,940 | 3,77,31,817 | 7,95,21,795 | 2,80,18,864 | 10,75,40,659 | 1,58,13,651 | 18,85,612 | 1,98,25,455 | 3,75,24,718 | 7,51,53,553 | 1,23,54,552 | 5,75,57,272 | 11,50,65,377 |
| 1845-'46 | 5,23,26,174 | 84,99,134 | 3,00,49,486 | 6,47,71,431 | 2,61,03,363 | 9,08,74,794 | 99,10,058 | 17,22,976 | 1,33,26,552 | 2,49,59,586 | 6,22,36,232 | 1,02,22,110 | 4,33,76,038 | 11,58,34,380 |
| 1846-'47 | 5,31,34,429 | 88,18,041 | 2,70,14,175 | 6,42,04,045 | 2,47,62,600 | 8,89,66,645 | 1,33,62,287 | 14,71,994 | 1,45,64,943 | 2,93,99,224 | 6,64,96,716 | 1,02,90,035 | 4,15,79,118 | 11,83,65,869 |
| 1847-'48 | 4,67,13,614 | 97,66,641 | 2,94,95,915 | 5,79,02,284 | 2,80,73,886 | 8,59,76,170 | 74,72,234 | 13,21,533 | 1,09,40,147 | 1,97,33,914 | 5,41,85,848 | 1,10,88,174 | 4,04,36,062 | 10,57,10,084 |
| 1848-'49 | 4,35,60,144 | 94,80,720 | 3,04,07,178 | 5,51,21,104 | 2,83,26,938 | 8,34,48,042 | 1,41,46,091 | 11,71,992 | 2,67,26,950 | 4,20,40,033 | 5,77,06,235 | 1,06,52,712 | 5,71,34,128 | 12,54,93,075 |
| 1849-'50 | 5,28,31,701 | 90,60,046 | 4,11,07,139 | 7,57,89,807 | 2,72,09,079 | 10,29,98,886 | 1,21,48,653 | 12,14,371 | 2,06,05,050 | 3,39,68,074 | 6,49,80,354 | 1,02,74,417 | 6,17,12,189 | 13,69,66,960 |
| 1850-'51 | 6,11,52,014 | 89,78,231 | 4,54,57,643 | 8,32,79,929 | 3,23,07,959 | 11,55,87,888 | 1,18,94,842 | 26,01,100 | 2,36,22,146 | 3,81,18,088 | 7,30,46,856 | 1,15,79,331 | 6,90,79,789 | 15,37,05,976 |
| 1851-'52 | 7,08,74,068 | 90,64,358 | 4,24,66,476 | 9,22,67,295 | 3,01,37,607 | 12,24,04,902 | 2,30,64,704 | 29,73,984 | 2,44,81,902 | 5,05,20,590 | 9,39,38,772 | 1,20,38,342 | 6,69,48,378 | 17,29,25,492 |
| 1852-'53 | 4,99,36,748 | 84,05,311 | 4,23,66,557 | 7,23,50,781 | 2 73,87,835 | 10,07,08,616 | 3,39,39,870 | 57,68,546 | 2,86,05,360 | 6,83,13,776 | 8,38,76,618 | 1,41,73,857 | 7,09,71,917 | 16,90,22,392 |
| 1853-'54 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Exports. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1834-'35 | 4,09,20,436 | 88,61,079 | 3,01,52,688 | 3,05,69,730 | 4,93,64,473 | 7,99,34,203 | 6,65,549 | 10,63,776 | 2,18,082 | 19,47,407 | 4,15,85,985 | 99,24,855 | 3,03,70,770 | 8,18,81,610 |
| 1835-'36 | 5,53,72,967 | 1,12,14,395 | 4,44,77,593 | 3,97,53,038 | 7,13,11,917 | 11,10,64,955 | 5,65,994 | 3,15,289 | 1,99,810 | 10,81,093 | 5,59,38,961 | 1,15,29,684 | 4,46,77,403 | 11,21,46,048 |
| 1836-'37 | 6,68,82,110 | 1,27,88,009 | 5,27,31,713 | 4,91,54,702 | 8,32,47,130 | 13,24,01,832 | 16,13,164 | 7,26,158 | 3,00,018 | 26,39,340 | 6,84,95,274 | 1,35,14,167 | 5,30,31,731 | 13,50,41,172 |
| 1837-'38 | 6,76,53,760 | 96,62,085 | 3,51,11,956 | 4,35,38,221 | 6,88,89,580 | 11,24,27,801 | 14,04,337 | 10,64,318 | 9,37,908 | 34,06,563 | 6,90,58,097 | 1,07,26,403 | 3,60,49,864 | 11,58,34,364 |
| 1838-'39 | 6,79,16,215 | 1,02,04,828 | 3,96,26,650 | 4,51,31,593 | 7,26,16,100 | 11,77,47,693 | 16,27,600 | 9,12,371 | 9,39,087 | 34,79,058 | 6,95,43,815 | 1,11,17,199 | 4,05,65,737 | 12,12,26,751 |
| 1839-'40 | 6,80,09,258 | 1,22,84,678 | 2,83,33,520 | 5,96,99,519 | 4,89,27,937 | 10,86,27,456 | 20,00,174 | 12,74,464 | 14,30,593 | 47,05,231 | 7,00,09,432 | 1,35,59,142 | 2,97,64,113 | 11,33,32,687 |
| 1840-'41 | 8,06,05,651 | 1,04,41,658 | 4,35,08,533 | 7,05,43,881 | 6,40,11,961 | 13,45,55,842 | 14,62,061 | 8,93,005 | 13,09,793 | 36,64,859 | 8,20,67,712 | 1,13,34,663 | 4,48,18,326 | 13,82,20,701 |
| 1841-'42 | 8,06,63,841 | 1,24,25,824 | 4,51,62,511 | 7,12,07,484 | 6,70,44,692 | 13,18,52,176 | 15,91,555 | 18,04,817 | 17,54,385 | 51,50,757 | 8,22,55,396 | 1,42,30,641 | 4,69,16,896 | 14,34,02,933 |
| 1842-'43 | 7,36,34,357 | 1,30,19,916 | 4,88,63,973 | 5,82,09,658 | 7,73,08,588 | 13,55,18,246 | 7,29,341 | 2,53,172 | 11,75,453 | 21,57,966 | 7,43,63,698 | 1,32,73,088 | 5,00,39,426 | 13,76,76,212 |
| 1843-'44 | 9,89,11,098 | 1,20,86,551 | 6,15,37,123 | 7,76,01,283 | 9,49,33,489 | 17,25,34,772 | 18,57,947 | 2,16,000 | 53,86,816 | 74,60,763 | 10,07,69,045 | 1,23,02,551 | 6,69,23,939 | 17,99,95,535 |
| 1844-'45 | 9,82,21,971 | 1,64,14,627 | 5,12,65,526 | 7,24,06,197 | 9,34,95,927 | 16,59,02,124 | 39,65,434 | 6,50,533 | 64,52,435 | 1,10,68,402 | 10,21,87,405 | 1,70,65,160 | 5,77,17,961 | 17,69,70,526 |
| 1845-'46 | 9,81,56,759 | 1,41,12,172 | 5,80,17,805 | 6,65,89,433 | 10,36,97,303 | 17,02,86,736 | 28,70,792 | 6,57,644 | 46,31,848 | 81,60,284 | 10,10,27,551 | 1,47,69,816 | 6,26,49,653 | 17,84,47,020 |
| 1846-'47 | 9,23,43,934 | 1,51,61,468 | 4,60,48,973 | 6,51,16,865 | 8,84,37,510 | 15,35,54,375 | 28,54,043 | 6,81,699 | 36,02,954 | 71,38,696 | 9,51,97,977 | 1,58,43,167 | 4,96,51,927 | 16,06,93,071 |
| 1847-'48 | 7,96,18,571 | 1,27,72,963 | 4,97,32,436 | 5,68,38,267 | 7,62,85,703 | 13,31,23,970 | 90,50,711 | 21,42,626 | 30,67,043 | 1,42,60,380 | 8,86,69,282 | 1,49,15,589 | 4,37,99,479 | 14,73,84,350 |
| 1848-'49 | 9,03,88,639 | 1,21,24,629 | 5,83,71,750 | 6,19,19,593 | 9,89,65,425 | 16,08,85,018 | 78,08,785 | 73,38,483 | 1,02,50,157 | 2,53,97,425 | 9,81,97,424 | 1,94,63,112 | 6,86,21,907 | 18,62,82,443 |
| 1849-'50 | 10,14,80,387 | 1,27,28,842 | 5,89,13,764 | 7,02,64,706 | 10,28,58,287 | 17,31,22,993 | 35,42,058 | 7,26,378 | 54,44,005 | 97,12,441 | 10,50,22,445 | 1,34,55,220 | 6,43,57,769 | 18,28,35,434 |
| 1850-'51 | 9,99,75,278 | 1,56,69,765 | 6,59,96,453 | 8,10,40,164 | 10,06,01,332 | 18,16,41,496 | 27,63,295 | 10,41,407 | 16,08,189 | 54,12,891 | 10,27,38,573 | 1,67,11,172 | 6,76,04,642 | 18,70,54,387 |
| 1851-'52 | 10,42,39,706 | 1,65,88,082 | 7,79,64,749 | 7,13,88,884 | 12,74,05,175 | 19,87,92,537 | 25,05,884 | 21,57,681 | 45,27,324 | 91,90,889 | 10,67,45,590 | 1,87,45,763 | 8,24,92,073 | 20,79,83,426 |
| 1852-'53 | 10,73,85,547 | 2,12,16 139 | 7,60,44,644 | 4,37,78,348 | 16,08,67,982 | 20,46,46,330 | 47,63,750 | 3,63,823 | 54,24,726 | 1,05,52,299 | 11,21,49,297 | 2,15,79,962 | 8,14,69,370 | 21,51,98,629 |
| 1853-'54 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

*Note*—The Indian port-to-port trade is not included in the above statement

*Number and Tonnage of all Vessels entered and cleared at the Ports in each Presidency*—1840 *to* 1852 :—

| Years. | Entered. | | Cleared. | | Total. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ves. | Tons. | Ves. | Tons. | Ves. | Tons. |
| BENGAL | | | | | | |
| 1840 | 686 | 234,808 | 689 | 233,300 | 1,375 | 468,108 |
| 1841 | 913 | 295,596 | 882 | 279,688 | 1,795 | 575,284 |
| 1842 | 655 | 231,672 | 725 | 263,436 | 1,380 | 495,108 |
| 1843 | 772 | 254,519 | 813 | 271,754 | 1,585 | 526,273 |
| 1844 | 729 | 252,491 | 773 | 267,058 | 1,502 | 519,549 |
| 1845 | 1,045 | 282,674 | 1,052 | 292,315 | 2,097 | 574,989 |
| 1846 | 996 | 274,634 | 1,024 | 289,587 | 2,020 | 564,221 |
| 1847 | 1,117 | 332,688 | 1,108 | 326,972 | 2,225 | 659,660 |
| 1848 | 862 | 308,347 | 845 | 301,157 | 1,707 | 609,504 |
| 1849 | 1,020 | 349,614 | 1,046 | 362,290 | 2,066 | 711,904 |
| 1850 | 1,033 | 356,502 | 1,029 | 357,799 | 2,062 | 714,301 |
| 1851 | 998 | 393,322 | 980 | 373,330 | 1,978 | 766,652 |
| 1852 | 839 | 433,739 | 811 | 414,795 | 1,650 | 848,534 |
| MADRAS | | | | | | |
| 1840 | 5,879 | 371,644 | 6,727 | 427,872 | 12,606 | 799,516 |
| 1841 | 6,271 | 368,924 | 6,781 | 432,474 | 13,052 | 801,398 |
| 1842 | 6,016 | 400,728 | 6,476 | 441,808 | 12,492 | 842,536 |
| 1843 | 5,580 | 375,375 | 6,790 | 479,046 | 12,370 | 854,421 |
| 1844 | 6,181 | 430,295 | 7,292 | 490,588 | 13,473 | 920,883 |
| 1845 | 6,495 | 456,854 | 7,818 | 533,564 | 14,313 | 990,418 |
| 1846 | 6,168 | 475,038 | 7,405 | 534,935 | 13,573 | 1,009,973 |
| 1847 | 5,868 | 448,712 | 6,531 | 486,316 | 12,399 | 935,028 |
| 1848 | 5,711 | 441,891 | 7,108 | 528,781 | 12,819 | 970,672 |
| 1849 | 5,876 | 439,807 | 7,693 | 549,573 | 13,569 | 989,380 |
| 1850 | 5,813 | 488,800 | 7,780 | 620,465 | 13,593 | 1,109,265 |
| 1851 | 5,136 | 435,153 | 6,687 | 557,409 | 11,823 | 992,612 |
| 1852 | 5,787 | 490,276 | 7,184 | 620,948 | 12,971 | 1,111,224 |

| Years. | Entered. | | Cleared. | | Total. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ves. | Tons. | Ves. | Tons. | Ves. | Tons. |
| BOMBAY | | | | | | |
| 1840 | 19,322 | 444,435 | 19,173 | 469,301 | 38,495 | 913,736 |
| 1841 | 19,864 | 578,716 | 15,051 | 462,226 | 34,915 | 1,040,942 |
| 1842 | 19,237 | 611,271 | 16,980 | 477,539 | 36,217 | 1,088,810 |
| 1843 | 20,529 | 527,626 | 19,201 | 589,836 | 39,730 | 1,117,462 |
| 1844 | 19,227 | 524,850 | 20,485 | 574,206 | 39,712 | 1,099,056 |
| 1845 | 17,274 | 494,469 | 19,856 | 689,969 | 37,130 | 1,184,438 |
| 1846 | 18,143 | 530,011 | 14,610 | 430,929 | 32,753 | 960,940 |
| 1847 | 18,199 | 559,276 | 19,201 | 592,777 | 37,400 | 1,152,053 |
| 1848 | 24,441 | 685,165 | 21,487 | 652,265 | 45,928 | 1,337,430 |
| 1849 | 29,714 | 804,193 | 28,981 | 779,241 | 58,695 | 1,583,434 |
| 1850 | 32,126 | 804,956 | 33,130 | 829,873 | 65,256 | 1,634,829 |
| 1851 | 36,706 | 867,514 | 37,694 | 893,005 | 74,400 | 1,760,519 |
| 1852 | 42,241 | 907,447 | 42,218 | 908,328 | 84,459 | 1,815,775 |
| TOTALS | | | | | | |
| 1840 | 25,887 | 1,050,887 | 26,589 | 1,130,473 | 52,476 | 2,181,360 |
| 1841 | 27,048 | 1,243,236 | 22,714 | 1,174,388 | 49,762 | 2,417,624 |
| 1842 | 25,908 | 1,243,671 | 24,181 | 1,182,783 | 50,089 | 2,426,454 |
| 1843 | 26,881 | 1,157,520 | 26,804 | 1,340,636 | 53,685 | 2,498,156 |
| 1844 | 26,137 | 1,207,636 | 28,550 | 1,331,852 | 54,687 | 2,539,488 |
| 1845 | 24,814 | 1,233,997 | 28,726 | 1,515,848 | 53,540 | 2,749,845 |
| 1846 | 25,307 | 1,279,683 | 23,039 | 1,255,451 | 48,346 | 2,535,134 |
| 1847 | 25,184 | 1,340,676 | 26,840 | 1,406,065 | 52,024 | 2,746,741 |
| 1848 | 31,014 | 1,435,403 | 29,440 | 1,482,203 | 60,454 | 2,917,606 |
| 1849 | 36,610 | 1,593,614 | 37,720 | 1,691,104 | 74,330 | 3,284,718 |
| 1850 | 38,972 | 1,650,258 | 41,939 | 1,808,137 | 80,911 | 3,458,395 |
| 1851 | 42,840 | 1,695,989 | 45,361 | 1,823,794 | 88,201 | 3,519,783 |
| 1852 | 48,867 | 1,831,462 | 50,213 | 1,944,071 | 99,080 | 3,775,533 |

*Shipping entering these Ports between* 1802 *and* 1835.

| Years. | Calcutta. | | Madras. | | Bombay. | | Total. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Vessels. | Tons. | Vessels. | Tons. | Vessels. | Tons. | Vessels. | Tons. |
| 1802–'3 | 520 | 150,154 | 1,476 | 149,571 | 105 | 49,022 | 2,101 | 348,748 |
| 1803–'4 | 594 | 171,229 | 1,851 | 198,218 | 143 | 62,635 | 2,588 | 432,082 |
| 1811–'12 | 601 | 151,224 | 5,826 | 267,888 | 79 | 32,161 | 6,506 | 451,273 |
| 1812–'13 | 527 | 148,866 | 6,691 | 410,894 | 139 | 54,953 | 7,357 | 614,653 |
| 1823–'24 | 498 | 139,773 | 8,094 | 485,297 | 122 | 52,720 | 8,714 | 677,790 |
| 1824–'25 | 539 | 157,039 | 5,642 | 305,422 | 129 | 54,239 | 6,310 | 516,700 |
| 1830–'31 | 475 | 134,805 | 5,157 | 262,127 | 149 | 60,379 | 5,781 | 457,311 |
| 1831–'32 | 492 | 110,767 | 4,885 | 255,296 | 145 | 56,051 | 5,459 | 422,114 |
| 1832–'33 | 478 | 121,544 | 4,826 | 256,344 | 165 | 71,929 | 5,469 | 449,827 |
| 1833–'34 | 830 | 183,471 | 5,031 | 318,417 | 170 | 69,803 | 6,031 | 571,691 |
| 1834–'35 | 648 | 164,485 | 5,012 | 306,727 | 181 | 73,175 | 5,841 | 544,387 |
| 1835–'36 | 522 | 151,019 | 5,379 | 311,694 | 204 | 75,830 | 6,105 | 538,543 |

*Number and Tonnage of Vessels of each Nation entered and cleared at Ports in British India, since* 1850-'51.

| Nationality of Vessels. | Entered. | | | | | | Cleared. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1850–'51. | | 1851–'52. | | 1852–'53. | | 1850–'51. | | 1851–'52. | | 1852–'53. | |
| UNDER— | Ves. | Tons. | Ves. | Tons. | Ves. | Tons. | Ves. | Tons. | Ves. | Tons. | Ves. | Tons. |
| British Colours . | 1,861 | 682,762 | 1,778 | 683,179 | 1,789 | 722,035 | 2,339 | 754,254 | 2,202 | 726,807 | 2,277 | 820,707 |
| American . . . | 67 | 33,299 | 74 | 34,888 | 89 | 57,207 | 66 | 33,860 | 79 | 33,782 | 37 | 24,358 |
| Arabian . . . . | 296 | 36,623 | 230 | 32,461 | 252 | 37,476 | 430 | 45,621 | 259 | 43,841 | 284 | 36,491 |
| Austrian . . . | — | — | 1 | 522 | 1 | 425 | — | — | 1 | 566 | — | — |
| Belgian . . . . | — | — | — | — | 3 | 1,380 | — | — | — | — | 3 | 1,380 |
| Bhownugger . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 176 | — | — |
| Bombay . . . . | — | — | 121 | 6,691 | 154 | 7,632 | — | — | 219 | 12,027 | 240 | 12,208 |
| Bremen . . . . | — | — | 6 | 2,845 | 4 | 1,165 | — | — | 1 | 573 | 1 | 600 |
| Burmese . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 220 |
| Danish . . . . | 4 | 1,328 | 2 | 1,070 | 6 | 2,274 | 4 | 1,171 | 2 | 1,338 | 4 | 2,071 |
| Dutch . . . . | 6 | 2,284 | 3 | 1,790 | 6 | 3,232 | 7 | 2,469 | 2 | 1,474 | 4 | 1,969 |
| French . . . . | 139 | 42,682 | 146 | 44,210 | 263 | 65,647 | 148 | 47,548 | 176 | 57,031 | 295 | 66,606 |
| Hamburg . . . | 5 | 1,668 | 9 | 4,179 | 3 | 875 | 3 | 886 | 4 | 1,489 | 6 | 2,681 |
| Norwegian . . . | — | — | — | — | 1 | 350 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Portuguese . . . | 130 | 2,039 | 234 | 4,179 | 179 | 3,692 | 180 | 3,171 | 238 | 3,772 | 168 | 3,463 |
| Russian . . . . | — | — | 3 | 1,682 | 4 | 1,348 | 1 | 475 | 1 | 356 | — | — |
| Sardinian . . . | — | — | — | — | 1 | 504 | — | — | — | — | 1 | 504 |
| Spanish . . . . | 1 | 405 | — | — | — | — | 1 | 800 | — | — | — | — |
| Swedish . . . . | 6 | 1,358 | 6 | 2,456 | 10 | 3,339 | 6 | 2,012 | 3 | 1,023 | 8 | 4,045 |
| Turkish . . . . | — | — | — | — | 1 | 650 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Native . . . . | 36,424 | 822,692 | 40,181 | 842,610 | 46,019 | 859,566 | 38,716 | 893,076 | 42,122 | 905,824 | 46,821 | 919,722 |
| Steamers . . . . | 33 | 23,118 | 46 | 33,224 | 82 | 62,665 | 38 | 22,794 | 51 | 33,665 | 63 | 47,046 |
| Total . . . | 38,972 | 1,650,258 | 42,840 | 1,695,989 | 48,867 | 1,831,462 | 41,939 | 1,808,137 | 45,361 | 1,823,744 | 50,213 | 1,944,071 |

*Land Revenue in British India, since 1789 (to show its progress.)*

| Land Revenues. | 1789-'90. | 1799-1800. | 1809-'10. | 1819-'20. | 1829-'30. | 1834-'35. | 1839-'40. | 1844-'45 | 1850-'51. | 1851-'52. | 1852-'53. | 1853-'54. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | Company's Rupees. | Company's Rupees. | Company's Rupees. | Company's Rupees. | Company's Rupees. | Company's Rupees. |
| BENGAL, BEHAR, AND ORISSA:— | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Revenues, Current . . . . . . S. Rs. | 2,56,06,200 | 2,33,67,056 | 2,60,82,136 | 2,71,99,225 | 2,63,26,818 | 2,25,75,674 | | | | | | |
| Balances . . . . . . . . . do. | 9,67,989 | 31,82,947 | 11,45,267 | 22,71,617 | 31,64,538 | 60,14,331 | | | | | | |
| Not in Jumma . . . . . . . do. | 1,19,021 | 2,13,569 | 39,267 | 4,37,171 | 4,61,383 | 4,13,656 | | | | | | |
| Miscellaneous . . . . . . . do. | 1,42,996 | 38,422 | 84,645 | 1,36,059 | 4,03,506 | 11,55,723 | | | | | | |
| Total. . . . . . . . | 2,68,38,206 | 2,68,01,994 | 2,73,51,275 | 3,00,44,072 | 3,03,56,245 | 3,01,59,384 | | | | | | |
| BENARES:— | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Revenues, Current . . . . . . S. Rs. | 36,24,823 | 32,63,420 | 37,44,142 | 43,80,451 | 43,15,612 | | | | | | | |
| Balances . . . . . . . . . . do. | 3,94,241 | 4,28,287 | 1,27,108 | 36,058 | 5,52,891 | | | | | | | |
| Not in Jumma . . . . . . . . do. | — | 45,138 | 59,271 | 39,207 | 56,296 | | | | | | | |
| Total . . . . . . . . | 40,19,064 | 37,36,845 | 39,30,521 | 44,55,716 | 49,24,799 | | | | | | | |
| BENGAL.—*Ceded and Conquered Provinces:* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Revenues, Current, Ceded Provinces S.Rs. | — | — | 1,40,27,596 | 1,82,23,863 | 1,21,83,716 | 3,53,20,976 | | | | | | |
| Do. . . . Conquered do. do. | — | — | 90,83,338 | 1,14,51,287 | 1,56,63,394 | | | | | | | |
| Balances . . . Ceded do. do. | — | — | 14,38,854 | 7,22,104 | 11,28,581 | 39,54,554 | | | | | | |
| Do. . . . Conquered do. do. | — | — | 10,70,981 | 6,21,800 | 12,29,239 | | | | | | | |
| Not in Jumma . Ceded do. do. | — | — | 41,503 | 1,84,081 | 47,021 | 8,35,556 | | | | | | |
| Do. . . . Conquered do. do. | — | — | 1,02,941 | 1,37,184 | 5,30,387 | | | | | | | |
| Miscellaneous. . Ceded do. do. | — | — | 46,704 | 1,31,216 | 75,856 | 2,28,566 | | | | | | |
| Do. . . . Conquered do. do. | — | — | 2,17,582 | 65,738 | 1,08,010 | | | | | | | |
| Total . . . . . . . . | — | — | 2,60,29,499 | 3,15,37,273 | 3,09,57,204 | 3,79,77,701 | 7,34,81,157 | 7,92,51,673 | 8,55,95,113 | 8,52,60,438 | 8,49,60,110 | No returns. |
| MADRAS.—*Ancient Possessions:** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Revenues, Current. . . . . Pagodas | 12,74,477 | 15,58,812 | 16,29,562 | 19,84,857 | 19,67,513 | | | | | | | |
| Arrears of do. . . . . . . do. | 2,99,625 | 5,58,788 | 5,01,410 | 2,35,024 | 1,82,184 | | | | | | | |
| Total . . . . . . . . | 15,74,102 | 21,17,600 | 21,30,972 | 22,19,881 | 21,49,697 | | | | | | | |
| MADRAS.—*Ceded & Conquered Provinces:* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Revenues, Current . . . . . Pagodas | — | 20,25,093 | 75,93,033 | 71,21,358 | 65,19,888 | 82,12,644 | | | | | | |
| Arrears of do. . . . . . . do. | — | 1,98,658 | 5,98,564 | 4,84,965 | 4,22,856 | 6,41,847 | | | | | | |
| Total . . . . . . . . | — | 22,23,751 | 81,91,597 | 76,06,223 | 69,42,744 | 88,84,491 | 3,22,56,007 | 3,37,81,887 | 3,51,59,696 | 3,61,06,460 | 3,68,78,112 | 3,40,23,335 |
| BOMBAY.—*Ancient Possessions:—* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Revenues, Current, and Arrears Rupees | — | 2,70,465 | 3,96,853 | 3,07,043 | 14,28,240 | 1,48,20,058 | | | | | | |
| *Ceded and Conquered Provinces:—* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Revenues, Current, and Arrears Rupees | — | 19,06,304 | 30,53,010 | 1,30,24,793 | 1,28,80,465 | | | | | | | |
| Total . . . . . . . . | — | 21,76,769 | 34,49,853 | 1,33,31,836 | 1,43,08,075 | 1,48,20,058 | 1,70,02,676 | 1,92,07,005 | 2,28,60,748 | 2,28,96,236 | 2,23,68,826 | No returns. |
| THE PUNJAB . . . . . . . . . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1,02,08,891 | 96,53,529 | 94,45,453 | 94,73,917 |
| SINDE.† | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PEGU.‡ | | | | | | | | | | | | |

* The ancient and modern possessions are not stated separately after 1829-'30.
† The Land Revenue is not shown separately, but is included in the general head "Receipts of the Province of Sinde," in the Bombay accounts. ‡ No return.

*Locality and Physical Aspect of Districts, Provinces, and States of India.*

PUNJAB, or region of the "five rivers;" adjoining Afghanistan on the E.,—A plain, sloping from N.E. to S.W.; north part, near Himalayas, hilly and mountainous. Pasturage and grazing-grounds.

CIS-SUTLEJ TERRITORY,—Between Sutlej and Jumna, and a strip of land between the Ghara river and Rajpootana. Bhawulpoor and Sirhind, a plain; hill-slates on Himalaya ridges, mountainous and richly wooded.

CASHMERE,—Western Himalaya. Cashmere Proper, a fertile valley, enclosed by mountains. Elevation of bottom, 5,500 to 6,000 ft.: lofty snow-clad ranges, N.W. to S.E., constitute the general configuration.

BUSSAHIR,—Wonderful maze of some of the highest mountains in the world; general rise from S. to N.

GURHWAL,—Ranges of enormous height, with several valleys; the whole drained by the Ganges. Slope from N. and N.E.

SINDE,—Lower course and delta of Indus; between Beloochistan mountains and Great Desert. Low and flat. Some short ridges of hills in the W. part; towards the E. a desert. Mouths of Indus continually changing.

CUTCH,—S.E. of Sinde. Two parallel hilly ranges nearly intersect province.

WESTERN RAJPOOTANA,—Between Sinde and Bhawulpoor and Arravulli range. Mostly a plain, interspersed with sand-hills: rocky ridges extend in various directions.

EASTERN RAJPOOTANA,—Between Arravulli mountains and Malwa. Near the Arravulli a table-land, declining to N.E.: continuous parallel hilly ranges extend N.E. to the vicinity of Delhi.

GUZERAT,—S. of Cutch and Rajpootana. Very rugged, especially in Kattywar: hills connected with Vindhya, and part of W. Ghauts.

MALWA (Central India),—Between Guzerat and Bundelcund. A plateau, supported by Vindhya range; elevation diminishing towards Northern Gangetic valley.

BHOPAL, MALWA,—Greater part a table-land, resting on N. side of Vindhya; declivity to N. A few streams find their way, through gorges in the chain, into Nerbudda, which flows along the S. frontier.

GWALIOR, or SCINDIAH,—Central India. N.E. part level, bare, and much cut up by ravines; S., the country becomes hilly; middle part, a plateau; slope to the N.; S. part crossed by Nerbudda valley.

AHMEDABAD and KAIRA,—Head of the Gulf of Cambay. Almost a perfect level; appearing as if the sea had abandoned it at no very remote period.

KANDEISH,—Both banks of Taptee river. Valley of Taptee, enclosed by hills 1,000 to 1,800 ft. high. Tracts formerly cultivated; now covered with jungle and infested with tigers.

NORTHERN and SOUTHERN CONCANS,—Along the sea from lat. 16° to lat. 20°, including Bombay. Valleys enclosed by spurs from W. Ghauts, through which a clear stream flows, until influenced by the tides. Ravines and gorges filled with jungle, harbouring beasts of prey, especially tigers.

POONA,—Deccan. High table-land; slope from N.W. to S.E. Intersected by numerous spurs from W. Ghauts: elevation diminishing towards S.E.

SATTARA,—Deccan. High table-land; slope from N.W. to S.E. Gradual but rugged declivity from W. Ghauts to S.E.

DHARWAR, BELGAUM, and SHOLAPOOR,—Deccan. Undulating plains, elevated from about 2,000 to 2,500 ft.; slope to the E. and N.E.

HYDERABAD, or NIZAM'S DOMINIONS,—Deccan. For the most part an undulating plain; declivity from W. to E.: many isolated hills and ranges, of moderate elevation.

WESTERN DIVISION: MADRAS PRESIDENCY,—Malabar coast. Low sea-coast, rising towards culminating ridge of W. Ghauts. Numerous narrow shallow rivers flowing E. to W. from Ghauts. Country hilly.

TRAVANCORE,—Malabar coast. Low sandy sea-coast; behind the W. Ghauts; attaining in some places an altitude of 7,000 ft.

SOUTHERN DIVISION: MADRAS PRESIDENCY,—Between Mysoor and Travancore, and Coromandel coast. E. parts level; towards the W. rising into mountains: Neilgherries and E. Ghauts supporting table-land of Mysoor.

MYSOOR,—S. of Deccan. High table-land; here and there huge masses of rock, apparently thrown tumultuously together.

CENTRAL DIVISION: MADRAS PRESIDENCY,—Between Mysoor and Coromandel coast. Bellary and Cuddapah district; a table-land, resting on stupendous wall of mountains. Coast districts low, interspersed with hills.

NORTHERN DIVISION: MADRAS PRESIDENCY,—W. side of Bay of Bengal. Low sea-coast (except a ridge extending along sea-shore in Vizagapatam district), hilly and mountainous to W. delta of Godavery and Kistna rivers.

CUTTACK,—Orissa coast. Low sandy shore; delta of Mahanuddy; inland, the Moghalbandi, a dry tract; then rises the hill country, closing down to the sea near Chilka lake, and near Balasore.

CUTTACK MEHALS,—Inland of Cuttack province. Very hilly. Forests of fine timber.

SOUTH-WEST FRONTIER OF BENGAL. Table-lands of Chota-Nagpoor, Sirgooja, and Mynpat; and mountains of Palamow, &c.

ORISSA,—Inland of Northern Circars. Table-land, supported by E. Ghauts: slope to W., to Godavery; to S., to Bay of Bengal, the rivers flowing through *ghats*, or passes; and to N. and N.E., to Mahanuddy.

NAGPOOR, or BERAR,—Between Saugor and Nerbudda, and the Circars; and the Godavery and Wein-Gunga, and upper course of Mahanuddy. In general of considerable elevation; slope from N.W. to S.E. Lanjhee range divides the territory into two basins—one into Mahanuddy, and the other into Godavery. N. part rugged and mountainous; S.E. part hilly and woody.

SAUGOR and NERBUDDA TERRITORY,—On each bank of upper course of Nerbudda river. Considerably elevated tract: E. part a table-land, declining to W., to valley of Nerbudda; to the S. are the Sautpoora and Mahadeo mountains; to the N. the Vindhya, which is but the brow of a rugged plateau; elevation diminishing towards the N.

REWAH,—Adjoining Nerbudda territories on the N.E. W. and N.W. mountainous, rising in three successive plateaux: intersected by valley of Sone from W. to E. S. of this a table-land, contiguous to that of Sirgooja.

BUNDELCUND STATES,—Between Nerbudda territory and N. W. Provinces. Plain, little elevated above valley of Jumna; on the W. and S. a continuous range of hills; to the E. they close down upon the Ganges. Some of the rivers flow through the plain, or are precipitated in cascades over the brow of the high land.

ALLAHABAD,—N. W. Provinces. Plain, sloping from N.W. to S.E. Banks of Jumna high in some parts of Banda district.

AGRA,—N. W. Provinces. Plain, sloping from N.W. to S.E. A slightly elevated ridge extends along the Dooab, about midway between the Ganges and Jumna.

BHURTPOOR,—Gangetic plain. Level; slope to E. Small detached hills in N. part.

MEERUT,—N. W. Provinces. Plain; slope in Suharunpoor, Mozuffurnuggur and Meerut districts, from N. to S.; in Boolundshuhur and Allyghur, N.W. to S.E.

DELHI,—N. W. Provinces. Mostly level. Ridges in Goorgaon district 400 to 600 ft. above surrounding country.

KUMAON,—N. W. Provinces. Well-defined mountain system. S. limit, Ghagur mountain; successive ranges rise higher and higher, until ultimately crowned by the culminating ridge of the stupendous Himalaya.

ROHILCUND,—N. W. Provinces. Level; slope from N.W. to S.E., and from N. to S.

Oude,—Gangetic plain. Plain; declivity (avg. 7 in. per m.) from N.W. to S.E. Sub-Himalaya range on N. frontier.

Nepaul,—S. of Himalaya; sustained by sub-Himalaya. Table-land average about 4,000 ft. Valleys, enclosed by lofty chains; sides covered with forests, surmounted by culminating ridge of snow-clad Himalaya.

Sikkim,—Himalaya. Spurs from Himalaya; enclosing deep valleys.

Benares,—N. W. Provinces. Plain on either side of Ganges. Declivity from N.W. to S.E., and from W. to E. In S. part of Mirzapoor dist., surface rises into a rugged table-land, being a continuation of the Vindhya chain.

Patna,—Gangetic plain, Bengal. Sarun and Patna districts; and along Ganges, level; table-land in S.W. part of Shahabad, descent very abrupt; a rocky ridge in S. part of Behar district.

Bhagulpoor,—Gangetic plain, Bengal. Generally flat: slope from W. to E. Rajmahal hills rise on river bank of Ganges, and stretch S. and S.W. through Bhagulpoor district. Tirhoot diversified by undulations.

Moorshedabad,—Bengal. Rungpoor and Pubna dists. low; Rajeshaye flat; hilly to W.; W. parts of Moorshedabad and Beerbhoom hilly.

Jessore,—Delta of Ganges, and river bank of Hooghly river (Calcutta district.) Greater part level; even depressed in Jessore district; in W. parts of Hooghly, Burdwan, and Bancoora, rises into slight eminences.

Dacca,—E. Bengal. Declivity from N. to S.; intersected by Brahmapootra. Jyntea, hilly; Silhet, a hollow, swampy basin, enclosed on three sides by mountains.

Garrow and Cossyah States,—Assam. Hilly and mountainous; numerous streams.

Cooch Behar,—Bengal. Level; slope to S.E.

N.E. Frontier: Assam,—N. of Burmah. Intersected by Brahmapootra, which receives the drainage of the sub-Himalaya from the N.; Garrows, Cossyahs, and Nagas from the S.: numerous clumps of abrupt hills.

Bhotan,—Foot of E. section of Himalaya. Imperfectly known: a table-land resting on the sub-Himalaya, which rise from 5,000 to 6,000 ft. above Assam.

Naga Tribes,—Upper Assam. Range of mountains dividing Burmah from the British dominions.

Tipperah,—Bengal. Wild hilly regions: fertile tracts on Megna.

Muneepoor,—Burmese frontier. Valley, enclosed by precipitous mountains.

Chittagong,—Mouths of Brahmapootra, and N.E. side of Bay of Bengal. Sea-coast: plains,—backed by parallel ranges of lofty mountains, throwing off spurs in a W. direction. Drainage from E. to W.

Arracan,—E. side of Bay of Bengal. Extensive flats, intersected by numerous navigable salt-water creeks: ranges of mountains extending N. and S. Islands and fine harbours.

Pegu,—Lower course and delta of Irawaddy. Gradual slope from N. to S. N. of Prome, hilly: range skirting E. shore of Bay of Bengal, diminishing in height towards C. Negrais. Numerous passes.

Tenasserem Provinces,—E. side of Bay of Bengal. Generally rugged: parallel ranges N. and S., and E. and W.: also extensive plains. High, bold islands, with many harbours.

*Islands on the Coast of India—Name, Locality and Position, Extent, Physical Features, and Remarks.*

Karoomba,—Gulf of Cutch; lat. 22° 27′, lon. 69° 47′. 1½ m. broad, and 3 m. long.

Beyt, or Bet,—Gulf of Cutch; lat. 22° 28′, lon. 69° 10′. About 3 m. long, and greatest breadth about ½ m. On the banks are situate a castle or fort, compact and imposing; lofty massive towers, mounted with iron ordnance. Many temples and shrines in honour of Crishna.

Diu,—Kattywar; lat. 20° 42′, lon. 71°. About 7 m. long; breadth, varying from 1½ to 2 m. (See *Diu*—"Ports and Havens.")

Perim,—Gulf of Cambay; lat. 21° 38′, lon. 72° 19′. About 2 m. long, and ½ m. broad. Numerous organic remains embedded in conglomerate: various antiquities extant.

Bassein,—Concans; lat. 19° 25′, lon. 72° 50′. About 11 m. long, and 3 m. broad; 35 sq. m. Irregular surface; amongst other eminences a high hill of tabular form, and a conical peak not quite so elevated.

Salsette,—Concans; lat. 19°—19° 18′, lon. 72° 54′—73° 3′. 18 m. long, 10 m. broad; about 150 sq. m. Diversified by hills, some of considerable elevation. Keneri commands an extensive view.

Bombay,—Concans; lat. 18° 57′, lon. 72° 52′. Length, 8 m.; average breadth, 3 m. Two parallel ranges of rocks of unequal length are united at their extremities by hills of sandstone. Malabar, Mazagon, and Parell hills are the principal elevations.

Elephanta, or Gara-pori,—Bombay harbour; lat. 18° 57′, lon. 73°. Rather less than 6 m. in circumference. Composed of two long hills, with a narrow valley. Famed for its excavated temples.

Kolabah,—Concans; lat. 18° 38′, lon. 72° 56′. Long neglected, as a barren rock, but fortified by the Mahratta, Sevajee.

Malwun,—Concans; lat. 16° 4′, lon. 73° 31′. Little elevated above the sea, and not easily distinguished from the main-land.

Ramiseram,—Gulf of Manaar; lat. 9° 18′, lon. 79° 21′. 14 m. long, and 5 m. broad. Low, sandy, and uncultivated. Sacred in Hindoo mythology; great pagoda.

Saugor,—Mouths of Ganges; lat. 21° 42′, lon. 88° 8′. 7 or 8 m. long, and 4 m. broad. Salt manufacture formerly carried on. Island held in great veneration by the Hindoos.

Don Manick Islands,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 21°55′, lon. 90° 43′. Flat.

Labador,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 22′, lon. 90° 48′. Low.

Deccan Shabazpore,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 30′, lon. 91°. Flat.

Hattia,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 35′, lon. 91°. Level.

Sundeep,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 30′, lon. 91° 32′. About 18 m. long, and 6 m. broad. Level; fertile, and abounding with cattle.

Kootubdea Islands,—Chittagong; lat. 21° 50′, lon. 91° 55′. About 12 m. long. Low and woody.

Muscal,—Chittagong; lat. 21° 35′, lon. 92°. 15 m. long, and 7 m. broad. Some small elevations.

Shaporee,—Arracan; lat. 20° 46′, lon. 92° 24′.

St. Martin,—Arracan; lat. 20° 36′, lon. 92° 25′. Two divisions united by a dry ledge of rocks.

Bolongo,—Arracan; lat. 20°, lon. 93°. Mountainous, woody, and rugged.

Peny Kyoung,—Arracan; lat. 20°, lon. 93° 4′. 26 m. long; 6 m. broad. Mountainous, woody, and rugged.

Angey Kyoung,—Arracan; lat. 19° 50′, lon. 93° 10′. 20 m. long; 3 m. broad. Mountainous, woody, and rugged.

Ramree,—Arracan; lat. 19° 5′, lon. 93° 52′. About 50 m. long; extreme breadth, 20 m.

Cheduba,—Arracan; lat. 18° 40′—56′, lon. 93° 31′—50′. About 20 m. long, and 17 broad; 250 sq. m. Hill and dale; some parts picturesque. Hills in the north part covered with jungle.

Flat,—Arracan; lat. 18° 37′, lon. 93° 50′. About 4 m. long. High towards the centre.

Negrais,—Pegu; lat. 15° 58′, lon. 94° 24′. Circumference, about 18 m.; area, 10 sq. m. Rendered conspicuous by a hill forming the E. high land on the coast.

Pelew Gewen,—Mouth of Saluen river; lat. 16° 20′, lon. 97° 37′.

Kalegouk,—Tenasserim; lat. 15° 32′, lon. 97° 43′. 6 m. long; 1 m. broad.

Moscos Islands,—Tenasserim; lat. 13° 47′—14° 28′, lon. 97° 53′. Safe channel between them and the coast.

Tavoy,—Tenasserim; lat. 12° 55′—13° 15′, lon. 98° 23′. About 20 m. long, and 2 m. broad. Of moderate height.

CAROSSA,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 12° 48′, lon. 97° 58′. Moderately high.

KING,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 12° 31′, lon. 98° 28′. Length, 26 m.; breadth, 10 m.

ELPHINSTONE,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 12° 21′, lon. 98° 10′. 13 m. long; 4½ m. broad.

ROSS,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 12° 54′, lon. 98° 12′.

BENTINCK,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 11° 45′, lon. 98° 9′. 20 m. long; 6 m. broad.

DOMEL,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 11° 40′, lon. 98° 20′. 26 m. long; 5 m. broad.

KISSERANG,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 11° 34′, lon. 98° 36′. 20 m. long; 10 m. broad.

SULLIVAN'S,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 10° 50′, lon. 98° 20′. 36 m. long, and 3 m. broad.

CLARA,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 10° 54′, lon. 98° 4′. High; having small peaks, one very sharp, like a sugar-loaf.

*Harbours and Havens on the Coast of India—Name, District, Position, Dimensions, Soundings, and Remarks.*

KURRACHEE,—Sinde; lat. 24° 51′ N., lon. 67° 2′ E. Spacious; about 5 m. N. from Munoora point, and about the same from town. Entrance, 1¼ fath. at low-water; 3 ft. at spring-tides. W. side, from 2 to 4 fath. at low-water. Position of great importance: the only safe port in Sinde. Population, 22,227. Railway from port to navigable part of Indus.

POORBUNDER,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 37′, lon. 69° 45′. Entrance obstructed by a bar. Much frequented by craft from 12 to 80 tons burthen; trading with Africa, Sinde, Beloochistan, Persian Gulf, and Malabar coast. Exp., grain and cotton. Imp., various kinds.

NUVVEE-BUNDER,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 28′, lon. 69° 54′. Available only for small craft. River Bhader, navigable for 18 m. above town.

DIU,—Kattywar (on an island); lat. 20° 42′, lon. 71°. Good haven, 3 and 4 fath. Small harbour E. of Diu head, from 2 to 3½ fath. A Portuguese town, well fortified; little traffic.

MOWA,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 3′, lon. 71° 43′. 7 to 10 fath. Anchorage without shelter from the S.; with the flood-tide a vessel must lie with a reef of rocks right astern; considerable traffic.

GOGO,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 39′, lon. 72° 15′. Excellent anchorage; safe during S.W. monsoon; water always smooth. Ships touching here may procure water and refreshments, or repair damages.

BHOWNUGGUR,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 45′, lon. 72° 10′. Good and safe harbour. Place of extensive trade.

BROACH,—Bombay; lat. 21° 42′, lon. 73° 2′. River (Nerbudda) 2 m. wide, but shallow; at flood-tide there is a deep but intricate channel. Navigable only for craft of 50 tons burthen at all times. Town walled.

SURAT,—Bombay; lat. 21° 10′, lon. 72° 52′. A barred harbour. Roadstead dangerous in spring, when S. and W. winds prevail.

DAMAUN,—Bombay; lat. 20° 24′, lon. 72° 53′. 2 ft. on bar at low-water; spring-tides, 18 or 20 ft. inside. Rise of tide, 17 or 18 ft. Outside bar, a roadstead 8 fath. Excellent place for small vessels during S.W. monsoon, and for repairs. Portuguese town fortified.

BOMBAY,—Concans; lat. 18° 57′, lon. 72° 52′. Excellent and extensive haven. Continuous breakwater for nearly 10 m. Lighthouse, 150 ft. above sea, at S. extremity of Colaba Island. Great facilities for shipbuilding. Large docks, and strongly fortified.

JINJEERA, or RAJAPOOR,—Concans; lat. 18° 18′, lon. 73° 1′. 4 to 5 fath. at entrance, and same depth inside at low-water. No bar; shelter from all winds. Fortified.

BANKOTE,—Concans; lat. 17° 58′, lon. 73° 8′. 5 fath. low-water. Small haven at the mouth of the Savitree. Fort Victoria, on a high barren hill, S. side of entrance.

GHERIAH, or VIZIADROOG,—Concans; lat. 16° 32′, lon. 73° 22′. 5 to 7 fath. entrance, and 3 to 4 fath. inside at low-water. Excellent harbour; land-locked and sheltered from all winds. No bar.

VINGORLA,—Concans; lat. 15° 50′, lon. 73° 41′. Small bay; sheltered from every point except the S. About 2 m. from the main-land are the Vingorla rocks, —dangerous.

GOA,—W. coast, S. India; lat. 15° 30′, lon. 74°. Fine harbour, formed by an arm of the sea, into which flows a small river. Ancient Portuguese city, now falling into decay.

SEDASHEVAGHUR,—Malabar coast; lat. 14° 52′, lon. 74° 12′. Entrance to river 25 ft. at high tide; hazardous and intricate. Anchorage outside in Carwar Bay, sheltered by several islets. Fortified.

HONAHWAR,—Malabar coast; lat. 14° 17′, lon. 74° 30′. 7 m. long; 3 m. broad; 15 sq. m.; 5 or 6 fath. Though not a good haven, it can receive large ships.

MOOLKY,—Malabar coast; lat. 13° 6′, lon. 74° 51′. Place of shelter for coasting and fishing craft. Mulki rocks outside.

MANGALORE,—Malabar coast; lat. 12° 52′, lon. 74° 54′. Estuary, a fine expanse of water, separated from the sea by a beach of sand. The utility of the haven is greatly impaired, as the depth at the entrance is liable to vary.

CANANORE,—Malabar coast; lat. 11° 52′, lon. 75° 26′. Small bay, open to the S., but sheltered on the W. 5 and 5½ fath. abreast of the fort. Water-shoals and rocky bottom near the fort.

TELLICHERRY,—Malabar coast; lat. 11° 45′, lon. 75° 33′. Abreast of the fort is a ledge of rocks, between which and the land small craft may anchor. A shipping-place for produce of coast.

MAHE,—Malabar coast; lat. 11° 42′, lon. 75° 36′. 5 or 6 fath. from 1½ to 3 m. from shore. Vessels of considerable burthen must anchor in the road. In fair weather, small craft can cross the bar of the river safely. A small French possession.

CALICUT,—Malabar coast; lat. 11° 15′, lon. 75° 50′. 5 or 6 fath. from 2 to 3 m. from land. No river or haven. A capacious haven said to have existed formerly; now filled up by drifted sand.

PONANY,—Malabar coast; lat. 10° 48′, lon. 75° 58′. 3 or 4 m. to sea is a shoal, but anchorage between it and land. 4 fath. on shoal, 6 fath. inside between it and shore. River navigable only for small craft. A railway from Madras is contemplated.

COCHIN,—Malabar coast; lat. 9° 58′, lon. 76° 18′. Outside the mouth of the Backwater there is a bar with 14 or 15 ft., inside about 25 or 30 ft. Injuriously affected by the S.W. monsoon.

QUILON,—Malabar coast; lat. 8° 53′, lon. 76° 39′. A bight where ships may anchor, under shelter, at about 2½ or 3 m. from the fort. Formerly a place of note.

TUTICORIN,—Gulf of Manaar; lat. 8° 48′, lon. 78° 12′. Safe roadstead; good anchorage, sheltered on all points. Pearl oyster banks exist in the vicinity.

NAGORE,—Coromandel coast; lat. 10° 49′, lon. 79° 54′. 8 ft. on the bar at high-water. Several vessels of 200 or 300 tons burthen belong to this place.

PORTO-NOVO,—Coromandel coast; lat. 11° 31′, lon. 79° 49′. Ships must anchor 2 m. off shore, in 6 or 7 fath. River small at its mouth; admits only coasting craft.

CUDDALORE,—Coromandel coast; lat. 11° 43′, lon. 79° 50′. River small, and mouth closed up by a bar. Admits coasting craft; good anchorage off shore 1½ m.

PONDICHERRY,—Coromandel coast; lat. 11° 56′, lon. 79° 54′. 7 or 8 fath., about ¾ of a mile from land; 12 or 14 fath. in the outer road. Mouth of a small river, capable of admitting coasting craft. French possession; lighthouse, 89 ft.

MADRAS,—Coromandel coast; lat. 13° 5′, lon. 80° 21′. Anchorage 2 m. from shore, 9, 10, or 11 fath.; 300 yards from beach, varying from 12 to 25 ft. Vessels obliged to anchor 2 m. from shore, exposed to a heavy swell rolling in from seaward. Surf at all times sufficient to dash to pieces any European boat. During the S.W. monsoon no communication with the shore can be held without great danger. Fort St. George, strong.

NIZAMPATNAM,—Coromandel coast; lat. 15° 55', lon. 80° 44'. No vessel of great burthen can approach the place. A considerable coasting trade.

MASULIPATAM,—Golconda coast; lat. 16° 10', lon. 81° 13'. Very shallow, ½ fath. for nearly a mile. Ships must anchor 4 or 5 m. from the land, and abreast of the town.

CORINGA,—Golconda coast; lat. 16° 49', lon. 82° 19'. Bar at entrance, with 12 or 14 ft. at spring-tides. Within, from 2½ to 4 fath. Best place on this coast for building or repairing small vessels.

VIZAGAPATAM,—Orissa coast; lat. 17° 41', lon. 83° 21'. Bar at entrance passable for vessels of from 150 to 200 tons burthen. 8 or 10 ft. on bar; anchorage off land, 8 fath. In the S.E. monsoon, ships anchor S. of the Dolphin's Nose; in the N.E. monsoon, from 1½ to 1¾ m. from land.

JUGGURNATH, or POOREE,—Orissa coast; lat. 19° 49', lon. 85° 53'. No harbour for town. Surf here very violent; landing can be effected only by boats similar to those used on the Coromandel coast.

BALASORE,—Orissa coast; lat. 21° 30', lon. 87°. 12 to 15 ft. on bar at spring-tides. Large ships cannot enter the river; they must lay in Balasore-roads, where they are in some degree sheltered. Dry docks, to which vessels may be floated during spring-tides.

KEDJEREE,—Bengal; lat. 21° 53', lon. 88°. 6 or 7 fath.; a bank has reduced the depth to 2 or 2½ fath. at low-water. Telegraphic communication with Calcutta, to announce arrivals and intelligence.

DIAMOND HARBOUR,—Bengal; lat. 22° 12', lon. 88° 10'. So called as a part of Hooghly river. Formerly the resort of the large "Indiamen."

CHITTAGONG,—Bengal; lat. 22° 29', lon. 91° 54'. Formerly a place of considerable trade, but now declining; other ports having supplanted it.

AKYAB,—Arracan; lat. 20° 10', lon. 92° 54'. Good harbour. Suited for a commercial town.

KHYOUK PHYOU,—Arracan; lat. 19° 24', lon. 93° 34'. Harbour said to be one of the finest in the world. Safe ingress for largest-sized ships at any season of the year.

GWA, or GOA,—Arracan; lat. 17° 33', lon. 94° 41'. Barred. Harbour for vessels of 200 tons burthen.

BASSEIN,—Pegu; lat. 16° 45', lon. 94° 50'. Deep river channel affords a safe passage for large ships.

RANGOON,—Pegu; lat. 16° 46', lon. 96° 17'. Anchorage off the town in river. Rangoon river, a branch of the Irawaddy river.

MOULMEIN,—Tenasserim; lat. 16° 30', lon. 79° 42'. An excellent well-sheltered haven. Fine seaport town. Forests in the neighbourhood, with other advantages favourable for ship-building.

AMHERST,—Tenasserim; lat. 16° 4', lon. 97° 40'. Harbour large, difficult of access, and, during the S.W. monsoon, dangerous.

TAVOY,—Tenasserim; lat. 14° 7', lon. 98° 18'. Obstructed by shoals and banks. Inaccessible for large ships within some miles of the town.

MERGUI,—Tenasserim; lat. 12° 27', lon. 98° 42'. Harbour spacious, secure, and easy of access and egress for ships of any size. Town inaccessible for vessels of large burthen, as a bank obstructs the stream.

---

*Military Stations.**—1. Agra; 2. Ahmedabad; 3. Ahmednuggur; 4. Akyab; 5. Allahabad; 6. Allyghur; 7. Allypoor; 8. Almora; 9. Arcot; 10. Arnee; 11. Asseerghur; 12. Baitool; 13. Bareilly; 14. Barrackpoor; 15. Bancoorah; 16. Bandah; 17. Bangalore; 18. Balmer; 19. Baroda; 20. Broach; 21. Beawr; 22. Benares; 23. Berhampoor; 24. Bellary; 25. Belgaum; 26. Bhagulpoor; 27. Bhooj; 28. Bhopawur; 29. Bhurtpoor; 30. Bishnath; 31. Bombay; 32. Burdwan; 33. Buxar; 34. Cannanore; 35. Cawnpoor; 36. Chicacole; 37. Chinsurah; 38. Chirra-poonjee; 39. Chittagong; 40. Chunar; 41. Cuddapah; 42. Cuttack; 43. Dacca; 44. Dapoolee; 45. Delhi; 46. Dehra; 47. Deesa; 48. Dharwar; 49. Dinapoor; 50. Dindigul; 51. Dorunda; 52. Dumdum; 53. Durrumgaun; 54. Etawah; 55. Frazerpett; 56. Ft. William; 57. Futtehghur; 58. Ghazeepoor; 59. Goruckpoor; 60. Gowhatty; 61. Gurrawarra; 62. Gwalior; 63. Hansi; 64. Hawil-Bagh; 65. Hazareebagh; 66. Hoosungabad; 67. Hursole; 68. Hydrabad (Deccan); 69. Hydrabad (Sinde); 70. Kaira; 71. Khyou-phyou; 72. Kirkee; 73. Kulladjee; 74. Kurnaul; 75. Kurrachee; 76. Jounpoor; 77. Jubbulpoor; 78. Jumalpoor; 79. Lahore; 80. Lohooghaut; 81. Loodiana; 82. Lucknow; 83. Malligaum; 84. Mangalore; 85. Masulipatam; 86. Meerut; 87. Midnapoor; 88. Mirzapoor; 89. Mhow; 90. Moradabad; 91. Moorshedabad; 92. Mudduckray; 93. Mullye; 94. Mundlaisir; 95. Mynpooree; 96. Nagpoor; 97. Neemuch; 98. Noagaum; 99. Nusseerabad; 100. Ootacamund; 101. Palamcotta; 102. Palavera; 103. Palgatcheri; 104. Peetoraghur; 105. Peshawur; 106. Poona; 107. Poonamallee; 108. Prome; 109. Quilon; 110. Rangoon; 111. Rajkote; 112. Russell-Koondah; 113. Samulkotta; 114. Sattara; 115. Saugor; 116. Seerolee; 117. Seetapoor; 118. Secunderabad; 119; Suharunpoor; 120. Seroor; 121. Shahjehanpoor; 122. Sholapoor; 123. Silhet; 124. St. Thomas's Mt. (Ft. St. George); 125. Subathoo; 126. Sultanpoor (Benares); 127. Sultanpoor (Oude); 128. Surat; 129. Trichinopoly; 130. Vellore; 131. Vizianagrum; 132. Vizagapatam; 133. Wallajahbad.

*Principal Native Cities.*—1. Ahmedabad; 2. Ajmere; 3. Amritsir; 4. Azimghur; 5. Bandah; 6. Banswarra; 7. Bareilly; 8. Baroda; 9. Beejapoor; 10. Beekaneer; 11. Benares; 12. Bhawulpoor; 13. Bhooj; 14. Bhopal; 15. Boondee; 16. Burdwan; 17. Burranpoor; 18. Calcutta; 19. Calpee; 20. Cuddapah; 21. Culna; 22. Cuttack; 23. Dacca; 24. Dholpoor; 25. Dinajepoor; 26. Dohud; 27. Dutteah; 28. Ellichpoor; 29. Ellore; 30. Etawah; 31. Ferozabad; 32. Furruckabad; 33. Futtehpoor; 34. Fyzabad; 35. Garakota; 36. Gayah; 37. Goruckpoor; 38. Guntoor; 39. Gwalior; 40. Hurdwar; 41. Hydrabad (Deccan); 42. Hydrabad (Sinde); 43. Indore; 44. Kashmir; 45. Khatmandoo; 46. Kolapoor; 47. Jamoo; 48. Jansi; 49. Jeypoor; 50. Joudpoor; 51. Lahore; 52. Leia; 53. Lucknow; 54. Lukkur; 55. Madura; 56. Midnapoor; 57. Mittunkote; 58. Moorshedabad; 59. Muttra; 60. Nagpoor; 61. Oodeypoor; 62. Patna; 63. Putteeala; 64. Rangoon; 65. Sattara; 66. Sikri; 67. Silhet; 68. Tanjore; 69. Trichinopoly.

*Principal Maritime Stations.*—1. Akyab; 2. Amherst; 3. Arracan; 4. Balasore; 5. Broach; 6. Bombay; 7. Calcutta; 8. Cambay; 9. Cannanore; 10. Cochin; 11. Coringa; 12. Dalhousie; 13. Diu; 14. Kedjeree; 15. Kurrachee; 16. Madras; 17. Mangalore; 18. Masulipatam; 19. Mergui; 20. Moulmein; 21. Poorbunder; 22. Quilon; 23. Ramoo; 24. Rangoon; 25. Surat; 26. Vizagapatam.

*Sanitaria.*—Aboo, (Mt.); Chunar; Darjeeling; Ootacamund; Landour; Simla; Mahabulishwar; Murree (on a spur of the Suttee hills in the Hazara district); Chumba (at the head of the Baree Dooab.)

* *Seats of Government.*—1. Agra; 2. Bombay; 3. Calcutta, or Fort William; 4. Hydrabad (Sinde); 5. Lahore; 6. Madras, or Fort St. George.

# TABLE OF DISTANCES BETWEEN DIFFER

To find the Distance between two places, such as Bombay and Poonah, look along the column parallel to th
in the intersectio

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agra | 460 | 660 | 200 | 296 | 1205 | 625 | 579 | 1019 | 1207 | 125 | 379 | 705 | 848 | 839 | 185 | 1104 | 1473 | 1060 | 980 | 984 | 400 | 120 | 794 | 836 | 70 | 98 | 760 | 1048 | 1952 |
| Ahmedabad | | 388 | 280 | 625 | 850 | 320 | 800 | 640 | 921 | 600 | 680 | 245 | 321 | 1234 | 600 | 740 | 1183 | 888 | 681 | 1304 | 104 | 570 | 1085 | 903 | 500 | 550 | 840 | 678 | 798 |
| Ahmednuggur | | | 610 | 735 | 602 | 68 | 1047 | 340 | 530 | 875 | 700 | 627 | 181 | 1038 | 640 | 400 | 883 | 440 | 270 | 321 | 523 | 965 | 1000 | 370 | 640 | 690 | 670 | 250 | 350 |
| Ajmere | | | | 504 | 1214 | 545 | 787 | 973 | 1161 | 335 | 587 | 400 | 650 | 1035 | 395 | 1058 | 1407 | 1058 | 870 | 1194 | 220 | 220 | 997 | 930 | 260 | 304 | 953 | 995 | 977 |
| Allahabad | | | | | 1110 | 635 | 279 | 975 | 1096 | 283 | 80 | 805 | 977 | 498 | 143 | 1060 | 1391 | 965 | 905 | 690 | 610 | 429 | 493 | 934 | 190 | 238 | 510 | 1030 | 1099 |
| Arcot | | | | | | 649 | 1392 | 262 | 135 | 1312 | 1180 | 1198 | 722 | 1850 | 1165 | 273 | 390 | 145 | 360 | 1227 | 1125 | 1329 | 1252 | 323 | 1115 | 1230 | 685 | 530 | 209 |
| Aurungabad | | | | | | | 980 | 428 | 616 | 782 | 704 | 596 | 260 | 963 | 638 | 513 | 882 | 513 | 412 | 1275 | 492 | 749 | 1210 | 523 | 610 | 700 | 630 | 423 | 440 |
| Bahar | | | | | | | | 1267 | 1455 | 509 | 196 | 1121 | 1236 | 297 | 400 | 1352 | 1673 | 1247 | 1237 | 407 | 889 | 703 | 230 | 1115 | 502 | 467 | 430 | 1312 | 1201 |
| Ballary | | | | | | | | | 176 | 1110 | 1045 | 977 | 455 | 1090 | 1030 | 85 | 454 | 149 | 130 | 1192 | 863 | 1143 | 1288 | 325 | 1000 | 1079 | 450 | 240 | 53 |
| Bangalore | | | | | | | | | | 1324 | 1162 | 1141 | 632 | 1161 | 1147 | 138 | 317 | 155 | 260 | 1327 | 1011 | 1331 | 1352 | 423 | 1107 | 1242 | 753 | 396 | 176 |
| Barcilly | | | | | | | | | | | 345 | 830 | 1036 | 910 | 177 | 1195 | 1623 | 1135 | 1105 | 904 | 525 | 142 | 737 | 1175 | 120 | 82 | 830 | 1215 | 1151 |
| Benares | | | | | | | | | | | | 875 | 950 | 428 | 226 | 1130 | 1461 | 1035 | 995 | 559 | 690 | 503 | 410 | 873 | 270 | 321 | 460 | 1100 | 989 |
| Bhooj | | | | | | | | | | | | | 556 | 1415 | 749 | 985 | 1510 | 1109 | 888 | 1639 | 219 | 669 | 1748 | 1148 | 699 | 747 | 1085 | 923 | 1043 |
| Bombay | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1301 | 939 | 494 | 780 | 609 | 364 | 1475 | 452 | 880 | 1400 | 779 | 710 | 956 | 851 | 292 | 487 |
| Calcutta | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 700 | 1173 | 1498 | 997 | 1172 | 177 | 1226 | 976 | 233 | 719 | 768 | ... | 369 | 1300 | 1017 |
| Cawnpoor | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1115 | 1446 | 1020 | 980 | 833 | 530 | 309 | 636 | 655 | 80 | 95 | 653 | 975 | 974 |
| Chittledroog | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 397 | 190 | 130 | 1348 | 923 | 1228 | 1373 | 444 | 490 | 1164 | 784 | 257 | 20 |
| Cochin | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 472 | 442 | 1673 | 1306 | 1597 | 1698 | 76[illegible] | 1396 | 1541 | 1070 | 467 | 472 |
| Cuddapah | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 279 | 1172 | 1005 | 1184 | 1197 | 268 | 970 | 1085 | 608 | 389 | 96 |
| Dharwar | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1344 | 684 | 1105 | 1260 | 420 | 1022 | 1112 | 720 | 80 | 173 |
| Dacca | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1140 | 1108 | 190 | 904 | 829 | 880 | 546 | 1505 | 1192 |
| Deesa | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 450 | 1100 | 810 | 450 | 500 | 870 | 730 | 873 |
| Delhi | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 911 | 960 | 175 | 185 | 880 | 1172 | 1125 |
| Dinajepoor | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 919 | 691 | 692 | 544 | 1620 | 1217 |
| Ellore | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 808 | 923 | 340 | 691 | 288 |
| Etawah | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 55 | 660 | 1033 | 924 |
| Furruckabad | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 748 | 1134 | 1069 |
| Ganjam | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 843 | 590 |
| Goa | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 293 |
| Gooty | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Hansi ...

Hydra

## DISTANCES FROM CALCUTTA.

| | |
|---|---|
| Adoni | 1030 |
| Allyghur | 803 |
| Almora | 910 |
| Anjengo | 1577 |
| Arracan | 557 |
| Azimghur | 448 |
| Backergunge | 125 |
| Balasore | 116 |
| Baocoorah | 101 |
| Banda | 560 |
| Barrackpoor | 16 |
| Beder | 980 |
| Bednore | 1290 |
| Beerbhoom | 127 |
| Beitool | 677 |
| Bijnour | 800 |
| Broach | 1228 |
| Bhaugulpoor | 268 |
| Bhopal | 790 |
| Burdwan | 74 |
| Buxar | 398 |
| Cabool | 1815 |
| Calingapatam | 480 |
| Calpee | 648 |
| Cambay | 1253 |
| Candahar | 2047 |
| Cashmere | 1564 |
| Chunar | 437 |

### Distances from Calcutta (contd.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Comorin Cape | 1770 |
| Catmandoo | 560 |
| Dinapoor | 411 |
| Ellichpoor | 700 |
| Ferozpoor | 1181 |
| Futtyghur | 703 |
| Ghazeepoor | 431 |
| Golconda | 907 |
| Guntoor | 807 |
| Gwalior | 772 |
| Hoosungabad | 924 |
| Indore | 1030 |
| Jeypoor | 850 |
| Lahore | 1356 |
| Lassa | 850 |
| Midnapoor | 69 |
| Mirzapoor | 448 |
| Monghyr | 304 |
| Moorshedabad | 124 |
| Muttra | 831 |
| Mysoor | 1246 |
| Oude | 562 |
| Purneah | 283 |
| Seronj | 849 |
| Sumbulpoor | 309 |
| Tattah | 1602 |
| Vellore | 1029 |

## DISTANCES FROM MADRAS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Adoni | 270 |
| Arnee | 74 |
| Azimghur | 1220 |
| Backergunge | 1246 |
| Balasore | 922 |
| Bandah | 1102 |
| Beder | 470 |
| Bednore | 360 |
| Belgaum | 519 |
| Bimlipatam | 518 |
| Broach | 947 |
| Burdwan | 1066 |
| Cabool | 2134 |
| Callcut | 335 |
| Cannanore | 345 |
| Cashmere | 1882 |
| Chinglepot | 36 |
| Chunar | 1146 |
| Comorin Cape | 440 |
| Condapilly | 285 |
| Conjeveram | 42 |
| Cuddalore | 100 |
| Dindigul | 247 |
| Dowlutabad | 655 |
| Ellichpoor | 600 |
| Golconda | 358 |
| Guntoor | 225 |
| Gwalior | 1164 |
| Indore | 975 |
| Juggurnauth | 595 |
| Kamptee | 722 |
| Kurnool | 289 |
| Lahore | 1675 |
| Moorshedabad | 1138 |

### Distances from Madras (contd

| | |
|---|---|
| Naggery | |
| Neermull | |
| Negapatam | |
| Nundidroog | |
| Oojein | 1 |
| Oude | 1 |
| Paniput | 1 |
| Ponany | |
| Pubna | 1 |
| Pulicat | |
| Quiloo | |
| Raichoor | |
| Ramnad | |
| Rhotuk | 1 |
| Rungpoor | 1 |
| Ruttunpoor | |
| Suharunpoor | 1 |
| Sadras | |
| Secunderabad | |
| Sherghotty | 1 |
| Shahabad | 1 |
| Tattah | 1 |
| Seronj | |
| Tinnevelly | |
| Trivandrum | |
| Tranquebar | |
| Tuticorin | |
| Vencatagherry | |
| Warangul | |
| Yelwall | |

until it intersects the vertical column immediately over the termination of the word Poonah. The figures
ber of Miles.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 00 | 916 | 480 | 150 | 777 | 202 | 1158 | 1469 | 1288 | 981 | 538 | 210 | 1305 | 454 | 1372 | 796 | 918 | 1315 | 920 | 856 | 250 | 160 | 1215 | 994 | 778 | 380 | 680 | 1400 | 1279 | 1406 | 1173 | 960 | 898 |
| | 35 | 1145 | 24 | 480 | 1032 | 640 | 1049 | 1177 | 896 | 820 | 440 | 280 | 1021 | 820 | 1101 | 413 | 770 | 1061 | 860 | 478 | 400 | 615 | 941 | 1285 | 571 | 675 | 158 | 1161 | 995 | 1131 | 840 | 648 | 880 |
| | 35 | 1060 | 384 | 540 | 853 | 660 | 613 | 720 | 503 | 470 | 360 | 605 | 580 | 995 | 682 | 76 | 520 | 610 | 550 | 120 | 440 | 750 | 500 | 1180 | 129 | 690 | 262 | 700 | 698 | 680 | 597 | 260 | 580 |
| | 30 | 1037 | 290 | 310 | 960 | 445 | 1152 | 1421 | 1242 | 975 | 553 | 20 | 1265 | 747 | 1297 | 730 | 903 | 1261 | 910 | 790 | 305 | 364 | 1185 | 1197 | 710 | 580 | 455 | 1403 | 1150 | 1331 | 1214 | 920 | 923 |
| | 50 | 620 | 625 | 140 | 484 | 127 | 1055 | 1375 | 1244 | 979 | 405 | 430 | 1226 | 243 | 1167 | 788 | 650 | 1175 | 652 | 856 | 220 | 180 | 1149 | 760 | 735 | 70 | 765 | 1314 | 1239 | 1245 | 1075 | 935 | 933 |
| | 30 | 1218 | 986 | 1025 | 798 | 1215 | 73 | 265 | 360 | 305 | 705 | 1134 | 210 | 1340 | 81 | 636 | 383 | 120 | 413 | 542 | 915 | 1235 | 210 | 1395 | 462 | 1170 | 870 | 165 | 290 | 170 | 9 | 458 | 503 |
| | 35 | 1033 | 353 | 510 | 774 | 688 | 689 | 824 | 697 | 533 | 293 | 460 | 720 | 664 | 739 | 144 | 470 | 716 | 490 | 209 | 380 | 725 | 640 | 1347 | 174 | 694 | 231 | 858 | 610 | 828 | 639 | 349 | 550 |
| | 00 | 270 | 840 | 400 | 455 | 353 | 1237 | 1657 | 1536 | 1160 | 717 | 709 | 1508 | 40 | 1326 | 1138 | 640 | 1150 | 630 | 1147 | 440 | 360 | 1431 | 410 | 1057 | 170 | 1060 | 1444 | 1527 | 1566 | 1390 | 1077 | 600 |
| | 5 | 1210 | 698 | 890 | 834 | 1080 | 317 | 396 | 269 | 345 | 460 | 830 | 292 | 1205 | 343 | 357 | 370 | 288 | 400 | 265 | 770 | 1050 | 212 | 1413 | 200 | 1035 | 640 | 430 | 260 | 353 | 220 | 230 | 480 |
| | 16 | 1263 | 914 | 1011 | 898 | 1197 | 208 | 262 | 198 | 378 | 687 | 1066 | 130 | 1382 | 170 | 534 | 473 | 100 | 503 | 463 | 891 | 1181 | 65 | 1477 | 388 | 1152 | 809 | 209 | 160 | 165 | 110 | 360 | 522 |
| | 0 | 772 | 605 | 210 | 940 | 156 | 1297 | 1577 | 1345 | 1185 | 575 | 335 | 1458 | 472 | 1386 | 940 | 970 | 1316 | 935 | 981 | 330 | 85 | 1381 | 927 | 810 | 321 | 842 | 1516 | 1328 | 1409 | 1235 | 1020 | 1216 |
| | 10 | 420 | 685 | 220 | 430 | 189 | 1103 | 1445 | 1314 | 748 | 475 | 510 | 1296 | 155 | 1286 | 930 | 660 | 1155 | 600 | 915 | 280 | 234 | 1170 | 600 | 815 | 10 | 905 | 1384 | 1305 | 1286 | 1180 | 1035 | 570 |
| | 35 | 1349 | 234 | 669 | 1277 | 779 | 1167 | 1281 | 1116 | 1098 | 685 | 410 | 1125 | 1044 | 1279 | 620 | 1065 | 1306 | 1105 | 685 | 645 | 865 | 1186 | 1475 | 778 | 865 | 365 | 1383 | 1196 | 1306 | 1188 | 820 | 1125 |
| | 37 | 1312 | 313 | 660 | 1034 | 923 | 774 | 862 | 518 | 686 | 552 | 560 | 699 | 1143 | 805 | 98 | 705 | 736 | 740 | 146 | 555 | 855 | 622 | 1605 | 258 | 1120 | 177 | 674 | 615 | 845 | 675 | 270 | 761 |
| | 10 | 214 | 1206 | 600 | 251 | 649 | 1030 | 1336 | 1313 | 764 | 722 | 1106 | 1268 | 340 | 1130 | 1208 | 665 | 1192 | 619 | 1232 | 806 | 694 | 1170 | 325 | 934 | 455 | 1238 | 1236 | 1312 | 1238 | 1029 | 1252 | 557 |
| | 50 | 763 | 540 | 88 | 627 | 40 | 1182 | 1430 | 1199 | 700 | 460 | 340 | 1281 | 220 | 1271 | 841 | 793 | 1200 | 820 | 789 | 220 | 82 | 1204 | 903 | 709 | 216 | 738 | 1369 | 1290 | 1383 | 1120 | 981 | 1076 |
| | 0 | 1383 | 784 | 975 | 919 | 1165 | 345 | 400 | 184 | 432 | 655 | 973 | 220 | 1290 | 354 | 396 | 494 | 228 | 524 | 310 | 850 | 1195 | 152 | 1498 | 260 | 1120 | 671 | 380 | 188 | 303 | 230 | 225 | 614 |
| | 1 | 1580 | 1165 | 1344 | 1244 | 1496 | 459 | 150 | 252 | 751 | 986 | 1370 | 110 | 1121 | 360 | 770 | 790 | 180 | 820 | 622 | 1224 | 1524 | 190 | 1794 | 555 | 1451 | 1045 | 316 | 140 | 180 | 290 | 482 | 900 |
| | 5 | 1108 | 730 | 880 | 743 | 1070 | 165 | 410 | 380 | 223 | 560 | 900 | 285 | 1195 | 226 | 507 | 318 | 205 | 348 | 414 | 750 | 1000 | 231 | 1308 | 300 | 1025 | 725 | 349 | 331 | 250 | 110 | 379 | 438 |
| | 5 | 1368 | 645 | 658 | 948 | 920 | 446 | 496 | 190 | 478 | 520 | 875 | 340 | 1475 | 260 | 268 | 470 | 360 | 500 | 180 | 676 | 976 | 260 | 1492 | 196 | 985 | 523 | 502 | 270 | 485 | 340 | 100 | 580 |
| | 9 | 110 | 1120 | 690 | 429 | 748 | 1211 | 1492 | 1488 | 931 | 1011 | 1069 | 1445 | 447 | 1319 | 1377 | 842 | 1202 | 812 | 1109 | 720 | 818 | 1403 | 130 | 1109 | 565 | 1413 | 1438 | 1495 | 1377 | 1225 | 1462 | 716 |
| | 8 | 1130 | 110 | 450 | 1052 | 560 | 1129 | 1259 | 896 | 848 | 470 | 220 | 1103 | 845 | 1205 | 416 | 840 | 1044 | 1057 | 581 | 420 | 560 | 1023 | 1260 | 664 | 680 | 261 | 1134 | 954 | 1166 | 1120 | 611 | 880 |
| | 5 | 896 | 500 | 270 | 882 | 280 | 1295 | 1594 | 1412 | 1109 | 662 | 230 | 1435 | 661 | 448 | 900 | 1022 | 1402 | 1022 | 958 | 370 | 210 | 1355 | 1103 | 898 | 505 | 675 | 1533 | 1323 | 1473 | 1230 | 1098 | 1072 |
| | ) | 80 | 1050 | 630 | 454 | 581 | 1236 | 1517 | 1513 | 964 | 740 | 920 | 1628 | 234 | 1324 | 1325 | 824 | 1317 | 794 | 1170 | 650 | 631 | 1428 | 190 | 1080 | 420 | 1258 | 1443 | 1528 | 1422 | 1240 | 1300 | 714 |
| | 3 | 840 | 758 | 718 | 475 | 705 | 314 | 588 | 584 | 45 | 398 | 838 | 558 | 945 | 395 | 681 | 50 | 425 | 80 | 510 | 598 | 1114 | 499 | 1044 | 378 | 863 | 735 | 514 | 599 | 518 | 310 | 490 | 160 |
| | ) | 698 | 470 | 90 | 707 | 110 | 1114 | 1180 | 1076 | 853 | 410 | 260 | 1231 | 400 | 1220 | 754 | 755 | 150 | 770 | 819 | 210 | 110 | 1055 | 870 | 690 | 265 | 540 | 1319 | 1240 | 1189 | 1070 | 959 | 1156 |
| | 3 | 727 | 530 | 140 | 858 | 111 | 1165 | 1495 | 1348 | 968 | 465 | 280 | 1376 | 481 | 1365 | 858 | 870 | 1295 | 796 | 909 | 250 | 65 | 1299 | 921 | 730 | 312 | 760 | 1434 | 1155 | 1434 | 1215 | 1049 | 935 |
| | 8 | 579 | 816 | 570 | 90 | 637 | 697 | 938 | 860 | 370 | 400 | 940 | 855 | 445 | 735 | 720 | 290 | 813 | 260 | 742 | 510 | 690 | 839 | 694 | 610 | 455 | 860 | 889 | 939 | 855 | 660 | 800 | 170 |
| | 0 | 1385 | 602 | 933 | 1076 | 1025 | 589 | 629 | 215 | 611 | 625 | 825 | 375 | 1260 | 611 | 265 | 651 | 410 | 681 | 160 | 803 | 1148 | 393 | 1620 | 210 | 1090 | 469 | 638 | 305 | 618 | 487 | 30 | 762 |
| | 1 | 1128 | 734 | 834 | 763 | 1024 | 264 | 438 | 322 | 295 | 514 | 830 | 300 | 1149 | 290 | 350 | 338 | 250 | 368 | 310 | 714 | 954 | 230 | 1342 | 230 | 979 | 652 | 418 | 280 | 320 | 190 | 273 | 448 |
| | 5 | 976 | 500 | 350 | 962 | 360 | 1358 | 1514 | 1313 | 1181 | 738 | 230 | 1416 | 741 | 1360 | 790 | 1083 | 1412 | 1098 | 930 | 450 | 290 | 1336 | 1183 | 924 | 584 | 665 | 1449 | 1360 | 1471 | 1344 | 1070 | 1148 |
| | 5 | 1157 | 556 | 650 | 683 | 840 | 388 | 640 | 509 | 218 | 330 | 670 | 491 | 900 | 480 | 387 | 225 | 410 | 250 | 302 | 530 | 770 | 417 | 1227 | 170 | 735 | 565 | 569 | 500 | 549 | 330 | 350 | 320 |
| | 9 | 250 | 1456 | 919 | 501 | 888 | 1280 | 1586 | 1563 | 1014 | 740 | 1199 | 1518 | 500 | 1380 | 1458 | 915 | 1442 | 869 | 1482 | 1056 | 933 | 1429 | 190 | 1184 | 704 | 1488 | 1486 | 1562 | 1488 | 1279 | 1502 | 807 |
| | 0 | 990 | 300 | 480 | 690 | 1600 | 668 | 756 | 535 | 468 | 230 | 470 | 652 | 865 | 682 | 168 | 430 | 643 | 506 | 210 | 350 | 650 | 572 | 1277 | 155 | 695 | 247 | 790 | 580 | 713 | 540 | 370 | 500 |
| | . | 460 | 675 | 190 | 470 | 135 | 1143 | 1425 | 1294 | 788 | 410 | 517 | 1276 | 160 | 1233 | 861 | 700 | 1195 | 705 | 840 | 270 | 185 | 1202 | 603 | 750 | 40 | 815 | 1354 | 1285 | 1334 | 1115 | 970 | 610 |
| oor.. | | 1110 | 640 | 460 | 609 | 1240 | 1483 | 1660 | 974 | 760 | 930 | 1393 | 300 | 1340 | 1211 | 830 | 1567 | 810 | 1190 | 740 | 659 | 1434 | 143 | 1120 | 430 | 1160 | 1446 | 1657 | 1388 | 1223 | 1340 | 720 | |
| ra........ | | | 460 | 1033 | 580 | 1025 | 1153 | 872 | 768 | 416 | 270 | 997 | 840 | 1077 | 377 | 746 | 1037 | 766 | 443 | 400 | 620 | 917 | 1253 | 513 | 675 | 122 | 1084 | 911 | 1064 | 981 | 572 | 908 | |
| Kaitah........ | | | | 583 | 137 | 1024 | 1290 | 1040 | 763 | 330 | 308 | 1147 | 375 | 1140 | 654 | 675 | 1070 | 685 | 690 | 130 | 170 | 1077 | 783 | 660 | 210 | 539 | 1219 | 1050 | 1209 | 990 | 850 | 670 | |
| Kuttack...... | | | | | 619 | 812 | 1063 | 1059 | 520 | 582 | 790 | 1028 | 570 | 670 | 1002 | 380 | 900 | 350 | 869 | 490 | 664 | 974 | 576 | 680 | 430 | 1042 | 988 | 1074 | 993 | 785 | 1033 | 260 | |
| Lucknow...... | | | | | | 1232 | 1480 | 1249 | 750 | 510 | 380 | 1331 | 316 | 1321 | 897 | 777 | 1250 | 779 | 897 | 250 | 50 | 1251 | 752 | 730 | 165 | 786 | 1419 | 1180 | 1389 | 1170 | 979 | 1060 | |
| Madras........ | | | | | | | 289 | 446 | 265 | 704 | 1058 | 283 | 1266 | 86 | 672 | 370 | 219 | 394 | 616 | 918 | 1282 | 284 | 1355 | 465 | 1093 | 903 | 206 | 405 | 207 | 87 | 566 | 498 | |
| Madura....... | | | | | | | | 366 | 570 | 970 | 1226 | 148 | 1605 | 200 | 764 | 648 | 137 | 678 | 676 | 1170 | 1410 | 236 | 1661 | 596 | 1435 | 1036 | 105 | 242 | 80 | 245 | 566 | 768 | |
| Mangalore.... | | | | | | | | | 572 | 639 | 1108 | 198 | 1474 | 480 | 480 | 634 | 240 | 664 | 370 | 860 | 1160 | 130 | 1638 | 380 | 1304 | 755 | 376 | 90 | 355 | 335 | 230 | 744 | |
| Masulipatam .. | | | | | | | | | | 443 | 883 | 515 | 1090 | 378 | 546 | 80 | 428 | 100 | 520 | 643 | 800 | 464 | 1064 | 388 | 738 | 745 | 496 | 564 | 475 | 290 | 533 | 190 | |
| Nagpoor...... | | | | | | | | | | | 440 | 821 | 635 | 811 | 451 | 374 | 740 | 388 | 430 | 200 | 542 | 744 | 1047 | 340 | 380 | 460 | 909 | 720 | 879 | 660 | 560 | 410 | |
| Nusseerabad... | | | | | | | | | | | | 1122 | 673 | 1150 | 560 | 814 | 1176 | 828 | 725 | 300 | 370 | 1100 | 1073 | 634 | 502 | 435 | 1260 | 1070 | 1183 | 1010 | 755 | 850 | |
| Ootacamund... | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1391 | 209 | 608 | 603 | 88 | 633 | 520 | 1021 | 1261 | 80 | 1593 | 492 | 1288 | 782 | 165 | 105 | 135 | 209 | 405 | 723 | |
| Patna ........ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1291 | 1067 | 704 | 1400 | 693 | 1065 | 440 | 366 | 1217 | 443 | 975 | 165 | 1020 | 1544 | 1400 | 1481 | 1255 | 1195 | 627 | |
| Pondicherry .. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 673 | 445 | 121 | 482 | 608 | 1010 | 1371 | 231 | 1443 | 543 | 1276 | 953 | 118 | 308 | 118 | 91 | 360 | 586 | |
| Poonah........ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 612 | 626 | 637 | 65 | 524 | 869 | 525 | 1498 | 158 | 920 | 255 | 776 | 504 | 750 | 577 | 195 | 686 | |
| Rajahmundry.. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 475 | 30 | 527 | 574 | 1230 | 549 | 984 | 395 | 655 | 790 | 548 | 649 | 553 | 380 | 540 | 120 | |
| Salem ........ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 505 | 540 | 940 | 1180 | 110 | 1515 | 488 | 1145 | 928 | 90 | 195 | 70 | 121 | 435 | 623 | |
| Samulcottah... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 552 | 530 | 832 | 579 | 954 | 420 | 595 | 721 | 578 | 679 | 583 | 411 | 570 | 80 | |
| Sattara ........ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 560 | 860 | 140 | 1477 | 132 | 904 | 320 | 705 | 450 | 655 | 485 | 135 | 622 | |
| Saugor........ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 300 | 982 | 840 | 480 | 265 | 450 | 1099 | 930 | 1079 | 860 | 729 | 570 | |
| Seetapoor....... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1286 | 802 | 780 | 236 | 820 | 1339 | 1262 | 1319 | 1100 | 1063 | 1113 | |
| Seringapatam ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1533 | 412 | 1160 | 702 | 245 | 100 | 225 | 176 | 330 | 659 | |
| Silhet ........... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1256 | 605 | 1507 | 1560 | 1633 | 1565 | 1395 | 1577 | 864 | |
| Sholapoor......... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 805 | 391 | 630 | 425 | 541 | 420 | 220 | 528 | |
| Sultanpoor (Benares) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 710 | 1335 | 1235 | 1284 | 1170 | 940 | 562 | |
| Surat ............. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1051 | 789 | 927 | 811 | 455 | 740 | |
| Tanjore ........... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 270 | 33 | 165 | 575 | 668 | |
| Tellicherry ....... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 240 | 276 | 335 | 759 | |
| Trichinopoly...... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 165 | 525 | 673 | |
| Vellore............ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 517 | 503 | |
| Vingorla......... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 670 | |
| Vizagapatam. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

STANCES

FROM

MBAY.

| | |
|---|---|
| ... ... ... | 754 |
| ... ... | 290 |
| ... ... ... | 977 |
| ... ... ... | 390 |
| ... ... ... | 245 |
| ... ... ... | 318 |
| ... ... ... | 449 |
| ... ... ... | 190 |
| ... ... ... | 803 |
| ... ... ... | 952 |
| ... ... ... | 101 |
| ... ... ... | 345 |
| ... ... ... | 475 |
| ... ... ... | 680 |
| ad ... ... | 460 |
| ... ... ... | 745 |

Distances from Bombay (contd.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Indore ... ... ... | 377 |
| Loodiana ... ... ... | 1077 |
| Malligaum ... ... ... | 175 |
| Mirzapoor ... ... ... | 890 |
| Mhow ... ... ... ... | 360 |
| Mysoor ... ... ... | 636 |
| Nassick ... ... ... | 100 |
| Oude ... ... ... ... | 1013 |
| Oojein ... ... ... | 408 |
| Rajkote ... ... ... | 458 |
| Rutnagheriah ... ... | 198 |

Distances from Bombay (contd.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ruttunpoor ... ... | 772 |
| Tattah ... ... ... | 773 |
| Sironj ... ... ... | 595 |
| Viziadroog ... ... ... | 245 |

*Anglo-Indian Army.—Total Number of Europeans and Natives employed in all India, from the Year* 1800.

| Years. | Europeans. | Natives. | Total. | Years. | Europeans. | Natives. | Total. | Years. | Europeans. | Natives. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1800 | 22,832 | 115,300 | 138,132 | 1817 | 31,056 | 195,134 | 226,190 | 1834 | 32,310 | 155,556 | 187,866 |
| 1801 | 23,012 | 132,864 | 155,876 | 1818 | 32,161 | 211,079 | 243,240 | 1835 | 30,822 | 152,938 | 183,760 |
| 1802 | 24,341 | 122,506 | 146,847 | 1819 | 29,494 | 215,878 | 245,372 | 1836 | 32,733 | 153,306 | 186,039 |
| 1803 | 24,930 | 115,211 | 140,141 | 1820 | 28,645 | 228,650 | 257,295 | 1837 | 32,502 | 154,029 | 186,531 |
| 1804 | 23,042 | 155,671 | 178,713 | 1821 | 28,914 | 228,068 | 256,982 | 1838 | 31,526 | 153,780 | 185,306 |
| 1805 | 24,891 | 167,674 | 192,565 | 1822 | 29,065 | 216,175 | 245,240 | 1839 | 31,132 | 176,008 | 207,140 |
| 1806 | 26,445 | 156,421 | 182,866 | 1823 | 30,933 | 206,799 | 237,732 | 1840 | 35,604 | 199,839 | 235,443 |
| 1807 | 26,460 | 153,623 | 180,083 | 1824 | 30,585 | 212,842 | 243,427 | 1841 | 38,406 | 212,616 | 251,022 |
| 1808 | 29,798 | 151,120 | 180,918 | 1825 | 30,423 | 246,125 | 276,548 | 1842 | 42,113 | 212,624 | 254,737 |
| 1809 | 31,387 | 154,117 | 185,504 | 1826 | 30,872 | 260,273 | 291,145 | 1843 | 46,726 | 220,947 | 267,673 |
| 1810 | 31,952 | 157,262 | 189,214 | 1827 | 32,673 | 240,942 | 273,615 | 1844 | 46,240 | 216,580 | 262,820 |
| 1811 | 34,479 | 166,665 | 201,144 | 1828 | 34,557 | 224,471 | 259,028 | 1845 | 46,111 | 240,310 | 286,421 |
| 1812 | 33,835 | 165,622 | 199,457 | 1829 | 35,786 | 207,662 | 243,448 | 1846 | 44,014 | 240,733 | 284,747 |
| 1813 | 34,171 | 165,900 | 200,071 | 1830 | 36,409 | 187,067 | 223,476 | 1847 | 44,323 | 247,473 | 291,796 |
| 1814 | 31,651 | 162,787 | 194,438 | 1831 | 35,011 | 161,987 | 196,998 | 1848 | 44,270 | 220,891 | 265,161 |
| 1815 | 31,611 | 195,572 | 227,183 | 1832 | 34,767 | 158,201 | 192,968 | 1849 | 47,893 | 229,130 | 277,023 |
| 1816 | 32,399 | 198,484 | 230,883 | 1833 | 33,785 | 156,331 | 190,116 | 1850 | 49,280 | 228,448 | 277,728 |
| | | | | | | | | 1851 | 49,408 | 240,121 | 289,529 |

*East India Banks.*[a]

| Name. | Date of Establishment. | Capital. | | Notes in Circulation. | Specie in Coffers. | Bills under Discount. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Subscribed. | Paid up. | | | |
| Bank of Bengal | 1809 | £1,070,000 | £1,070,000 | 1,714,771 | 851,964 | 125,251 |
| „ of Madras[b] | 1843 | 300,000 | 300,000 | 123,719 | 139,960 | 59,871 |
| „ of Bombay[c] | 1840 | 522,500 | 522,500 | 571,089 | 240,073 | 195,836 |
| Oriental Bank[d] | 1851[e] | 1,215,000 | 1,215,000[f] | 199,279[g] | 1,146,529 | 2,918,399 |
| Agra and U. S. Bank[h]—head office, Calcutta | 1833 | 700,000 | 700,000 | — | 74,362 | — |
| N. W. Bank[i]—head office, Calcutta | 1844 | 220,560 | 220,000 | — | — | — |
| London and Eastern Bank | 1854 | 250,000 | — | 325,000 | — | — |
| Commercial Bank[k]—head office, Bombay | 1845 | 1,000,000 | 456,000 | — | — | — |
| Delhi Bank[l]—head office, Delhi | 1844 | — | 180,000 | — | — | — |
| Simla Bank | 1844 | — | 63,850 | — | — | — |
| Dacca Bank | 1846 | 30,000 | — | — | — | — |
| Mercantile Bank[m]—head office, Bombay | — | 500,000 | 328,826 | 777,156[n] | 77,239 | 109,547 |
| Bank of Asia | 1853'-4 | not commenced business yet. | | | | |
| India, China, & Australian Bank | — | | | | | |

[a] The accounts of most of these banks are vague and unsatisfactory; there is a mystification which renders it difficult to ascertain their solvency. [b] Last dividend, 8 per cent. [c] Last dividend, 9 per cent.
[d] Last dividend, 10 per cent. [e] Corporation date of charter, 30th of August, 1851. [f] At 27th Sept., 1855.
[g] Bills of exchange and promissory notes not bearing interest. [h] A lending bank; and from its accounts in June, 1855, I can derive no definite view of its assets and liabilities. *Branches.*—Agra, Madras, Lahore, Canton, and London.
[i] *Branches.*—Bombay, Simla, Mussouri, Agra; and they draw on Delhi and Cawnpoor.
[k] Agents in London, Calcutta, Canton, and Shanghae. [l] Agents in London, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.
[m] *Branches.*—London, Calcutta, Colombo, Kandy, Canton, and Shanghae. Last dividend, 8 per cent.
[n] Drafts and bills in circulation.

Commercial Tariff of India.—The chief provisions of the tariff of 1855 may be thus stated:—*British imports*—Cotton and silk piece goods and manufactures, woollens, marine stores, metals, porter, beer, ale, cider, and similar fermented liquors, and all manufactured articles not named, 5; *foreign imports* of above, 10—per cent. Cotton thread, twist, and yarn, British, 3½; foreign, 7—per cent. Bullion and coin, grain, coal, ice, horses and other animals, free. Books, British, free; foreign, 3 per cent. Coffee, 7½ per cent. Alum, camphor, cassia, cloves, coral, nutmeg and mace, pepper, vermillion, and tea, 10 per cent. Spirits (London proof), 1 rupee 8 annas per imperial gallon; wine and liqueur, 1 rupee per imperial gallon. There are a few export duties: viz., indigo, 3 rupees per maund (about 82 lbs); lac, 4 per cent; silk wound, 3 annas; silk, raw filature, 3½ rupees per seer; sugar and rum to foreign ports, 3 per cent.; tobacco, 4 annas per maund. These duties refer to Bengal: there is little difference at Bombay and Madras, except in the export dues. With regard to salt, the duty on import into Bengal, is 2 rupees 8 annas per maund of 80 tolas; at Madras, 12 annas per maund; at Bombay, free; salt exported from Bombay to Madras, pays ¼ anna per maund; salt exported to Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, 1 anna per maund; and it may be exported free to foreign or British ports not in India or Ceylon. Salt exported to Bengal pays excise duty, but receives credit for amount in adjustment of local duty. The shipper exporting salt to Madras has to give security for payment of full duty failing to produce certificate from place of import. All port-to-port trade throughout British India, except in the articles of salt and opium, was rendered free by Act 6 of 1848, and Act 30 of 1854.

Coins, Weights and Measures.—*Bengal Coins.*—2 double = 4 single pysa; 12 pie small = 1 anna; 16 annas = 1 rupee; 16 rupees = 1 gold mohur. When accounts are kept in sicca rupees, they use the imaginary pie of twelve to an anna. Small shells, called cowries, are also made use of for paying coolies, &c., which are reckoned as follows: viz., 4 cowries = 1 gunda; 20 gundas = 1 pun; 5 puns = 1 anna. These rates vary from time to time. *Gold and Silver Weights.*—4 punkhos or quarter grain = 1 gram or dahn; 4 dahns = 1 rutty; 6 3-8ths rutty = 1 anna; 8 rutty = 2 massa; 100 rutty, or 121 massa or 16 anna = 1 tola or sicca rupees; 1061 rutty, or 13, 28, 152 massa, or 17 annas = 1 gold mohur. A gold mohur weighs 722 and nine-tenths troy weight, containing 187,651 fine gold and 17,051 alloy. A sicca rupee weighs 7, 11 and two-thirds ditto, containing 175,928 fine silver and 15,993 alloy. *Cloth Measure.*—3 corbe = 1 angualæ; 3 angualæ = 1 gheriah; 8 gherries = 1 haut, or cubit, 18 inches; 2 haut = 1 guz or yard.



GIBRALTAR
FROM THE

DEDICATED BY SPECIAL AUTHORITY

TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

# THE BRITISH COLONIES;

THEIR

## History, Extent, Condition, and Resources:

BY R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN, ESQ.,

LATE TREASURER TO THE QUEEN AT HONG-KONG; AND MEMBER OF HER MAJESTY'S LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL IN CHINA.

VOL. VI.

## CEYLON, EAST INDIA, AND MEDITERRANEAN SETTLEMENTS.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY,

LONDON AND NEW YORK.



CEYLON
NORTHERN PROVINCE
WESTERN PROVINCE
SOUTHERN PROVINCE
Adams Bridge
Ramesaram
Trincomalee
Colombo
Negombo
Chilaw
Calpentyn
Caltura
Galle
Belligam
Matura
Dondra Head
Hambantotte
Batticaloa
WELLASSE
Kornegalle
Anurajapoora
Longitude East from Greenwich

# TABULAR INDEX TO VOL. VI.—CEYLON, EAST INDIA, AND MEDITERRANEAN SETTLEMENTS.

[CLASSIFIED ACCORDINO TO DIVISIONS OF THE WORK.]

| Islands, &c. | Position and Area. | Acquisition. | History. | Topography. | Geology and Soil. | Climate and Diseases. | Population. | Religion, Education, &c. | Government. | Finance. | Monies, &c. | Commerce. | Products. | Agriculture, &c. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pp. | Pp. | Pages | Pages | Pp. | Pages | Pages | Pages | Pp. | Pp. | Pp | Pages | Pp. | Pages |
| Ceylon | 14 | 5 | 1—14 | 15 | 17 | 18 | 20 | 22 | 26 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 28 | 30 |
| Mauritius, or Isle of France | 31 | 34 | 31—34 | 35 | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 39 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 |
| Seychelles, &c. | 40 | 41 | 41 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | — | — | — | — | 42 | 42 | 42 |
| Aden | 49 | 47 | 43—49 | 49 | 50 | 50 | 49—51 | — | — | — | — | 53—55 | 51 | — |
| Penang | 56 | 56 | 56 | 56 | 57 | 57 | 58 | | | | | | 58 | — |
| Malacca | 58 | 59 | 58 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 62 | 62 | 60 | 60 | 60 | — |
| Singapore | 60 | 60 | 60 | 61 | 61 | 61 | 61 | | | | | 62 | 62 | — |
| Labuan, &c. | 72 | 72 | 73 | 73 | 73 | 73 | 73 | — | 73 | 74 | — | 74 | — | — |
| Hong-Kong | 63 | 63 | 63 | 63 | 64 | 65-'6 | 67 | — | — | 69 | — | 71 | 74 | — |
| Sarawak—Borneo | 77 | 77 | 77—86 | — | — | 86 | 86 | 82 | — | — | — | 86 | — | — |
| Gibraltar | 87 | 88 | 87—96 | 97 | 102 | 103 | 105 | 105 | 105 | 105 | 105 | — | 104 | — |
| Malta | 106 | 115 | 106—115 | 116 | 121 | 123 | 124 | 126 | 127 | 127 | 128 | 129 | 129 | — |
| Corfu and Ionian Islands | 130 | 131 | 131—133 | 133 | 136 | 137 | 139 | 143 | 154 | 155 | — | 148 | 138 | — |

# INDEX.

# ILLUSTRATIONS.

# BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN THE INDIAN AND PACIFIC OCEANS, RED SEA, MEDITERRANEAN, ETC.

## SECTION I.—CEYLON.

Ceylon, known in ancient writings under the terms Singhala, Serendib, Taprobane, Lanka, and other designations, has been, from very remote times, an island of great celebrity. It was visited by Onescritus, the Macedonian admiral, during the Indian expedition of Alexander: it was imperfectly described by Diodorus Siculas, B.C. 44. Ovid refers to Taprobane as a place so far distant, that it would be no advantage for his fame to be extended thither. Pliny extolled the isle for the purity of its gold and the size of its pearls; and during the reign of Claudius, the Singhalese monarch sent one of his rajahs, or head-men, on an embassy to the imperial city.*

Oriental researches furnish some knowledge of the civilised state of Ceylon previous to the Christian era.† Anuradpoora, the capital, founded B.C. 437, had a walled area sixteen miles square; a list of streets is said to be still in existence. To the north of the ruins of this site there are, or were, not long since, six immense *dagobas* (temples) of hemispherical, or rather bell-shaped form, with spires,—completed A.D. 310; the largest, named Jayatawanarama, was originally 315 feet high, built of brick, and entirely covered with chunam (prepared lime, polished like marble.) In 1832, the elevation was 269 feet; and with the materials of which it is composed, a wall of brick might be constructed twelve feet high, two feet wide, and ninety-seven miles long. There are many other extraordinary ruins, comprising the sites of cities; vast tanks or water reservoirs, sixteen miles in extent, formed by huge blocks of well-cut stone; excellent arched bridges; extensive canals, one estimated at five to fifteen feet deep, and forty to one hundred feet wide; and various buildings, ascribed by the natives to a race of giants,—those who dug the great canal especially, are traditionally mentioned as men of forty feet in height. The *Abhayagiri* dagoba, built by King Waldgam between the period of his restoration to the throne, B.C. 88, and his death, B.C. 76, is stated by Major Forbes to be the largest ever erected in Ceylon; its elevation was originally 405 feet, and the platform on which it stands, the fosse and surrounding wall, proportionately extensive. The height of the ruin was, in 1828, 230 feet; and the length of the outer wall, one mile and three-quarters. *Toopharamaya* dagoba, constructed B.C. 307, was more elegant in design; low, broad at the top, and surrounded by four lines of pillars, twenty-seven in each line (fixed in an elevated granite platform); height, twenty-four feet; bases, square; shafts, octagonal; capitals, circular; base and shaft, cut in one stone, fourteen inches thick and twenty-two feet long; capitals much broader than base, and highly ornamented. *Ruwanwelli-saye* dagoba, nearly completed B.C. 140, stands on the usual elevated square platform; it is formed of large dressed granite slabs,—each side of the square about 500 feet, and surrounding fosse seventy feet broad. The scarp of the platform is sculptured to represent the fore parts and heads of elephants, projecting and appearing to support the massive structure. The *Lowa-Maha-Paya* dagoba, or Brazen Palace, erected B.C. 142, had an altitude of 270 feet, and was covered with one sheet of metal. It contained 1,000 apartments for priests; the loftiest chambers nine stories high. Of this building there are still extant 1,600 stone pillars, placed in forty parallel lines, forty pillars in each, and occupying a square space, each side of which is 234 feet in

* For various details, traditions, and historical notices of facts which are beyond the limits of this work, *see* Mr. C. Pridhave's *Historical, Political, and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, in 2 vols.: Major Forbes' *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, in 2 vols.: Sir J. E. Tennent's instructive work, *Christianity in Ceylon*, in 1 vol.: Lt.-colonel Campbell's *Excursions in Ceylon*, in 2 vols.; and the writings of Turnour, Knox, Cordiner, Bennett, Sirr, and Knighton.

† According to Singhalese and Pali records, Wijaya, a leader of 700 followers, landed in Ceylon B. C. 543, founded a government at Tamana-oowara, and married the daughter of a native prince. A narrative yet extant of the proceedings of successive sovereigns, for upwards of 2,000 years, relates the maritime expeditions, foreign wars, internal contests, intestine feuds, famines, pestilences, and murders, which form the chief incidents in Asiatic history.

length. The columns in the middle of the ruin are eleven-and-a-half feet above ground, two feet in breadth, and one-and-a-half feet thick, slightly ornamented.* Some of the carvings in granite, strewn for miles around Anuradpoora, which (excepting one reign) was, for upwards of 1,200 years, the capital of Ceylon,† attest the high degree of art the Singhalese had attained. In the figures of men and animals the proportions are more correct, and the action more animated, than is usually seen in modern Oriental sculptures.

Near Mantotte, on the north-west coast, there are ruins of a very large city, whose houses were built with bricks and mortar. At a short distance there is an artificial tank, the basin of which covers an area of about sixteen miles; an embankment nine miles in length is formed of huge stones eight feet long, four feet broad, and three feet thick, cemented together by lime; the length of the dam is 600 feet; breadth, about sixty feet; height, eight to twelve feet. Mantotte is said to have been the capital of a kingdom which the Hindoos established in the northern part of Ceylon. In some of the structures of more remote date, in other parts of the island, no mortar has been used; the stone blocks are neatly cut, and morticed into each other. Kandelly Lake (near Trincomalee), fifteen miles in circumference, is formed by a parapet which connects two hills; the stones twelve to fourteen feet long, broad and thick in proportion; base of parapet, 150 feet wide; summit, thirty feet: there are arches on it; some traversed conduits like those constructed by the Romans in Italy.

The wedge and chisel were used for splitting and shaping huge granite blocks, and were probably similar to those still employed by the Chinese, who, at the present day, cut immense columns of granite from its native quarry; one I measured was twenty-five feet in length. Sir J. E. Tennent, in 1848, visited, at some hazard from wild beasts and malaria, the ruins of Pathavie tank, in the great central forest of the Wanny, about seventy miles N. of Trincomalee, and twenty-five miles from the sea. His notes furnish a graphic description of "the largest as well as most perfect of these extraordinary works."‡ The tank occupies the basin of a broad and shallow valley, about twelve to fifteen miles long, with a breadth varying from six to ten miles. The embankment by which the waters were accumulated within this area is nearly seven miles long, 300 feet broad at the base, tapering to twenty at the top, and upwards of sixty feet high, faced throughout its whole length by layers of squared stone. One of the existing sluices examined, consists of hewn stones six to twelve feet long: these rise into a ponderous wall immediately above the vents, which regulate the escape of the water; each layer of the work is kept in its place by the frequent insertion endways of long plinths of stone, whose extremities project from the surface, with a flange to prevent the several courses being forced out of their places. The ends of these retaining stones are carved with elephants' heads and other devices, like the extremities of Gothic corbels. The front embankment has been estimated to contain 7,744,000 cubic yards of stone, and the cost to have been, for that portion of the work, above £870,000 sterling. At some unknown period, a breach about 200 feet broad and 100 feet deep, in the embankment, injured the efficiency of the work, and was not repaired. The surrounding country, which must have been at one time thickly peopled, is now desolate; elephants, buffaloes, alligators, pelicans, flamingoes, and other sea-birds, being the only living things seen for miles. There are

* I visited several of these extraordinary ruins; but am indebted to Major Forbes for the measurements and accurate descriptions.

† Robert Knox, who saw Anuradpoora in 1679, when escaping from captivity, mentions in his account of Ceylon, published in 1681, "a world of hewn stone pillars, and other heaps of hewn stones, and, in three or four places, ruins of bridges built of stone, some of them yet standing upon stone pillars: they report ninety kings have reigned there successively." It is remarkable that Mr. Turnour, in his valuable historical epitome, names ninety-two kings who reigned at this capital between 437 B.C. and 729 A.D. = 1,166 years, which would give an average of nearly thirteen years sovereignty to each. In India there were sixty-five Mohammedan rulers between Mahmood the Ghaznivede, in 1001, and Shah Alum, in 1760 = 759 years, showing an average duration, for each reign, of nearly twelve years. In England, between William I. (1066) and William IV. (1837) = 770 years, there have been (including Oliver Cromwell and son) thirty-five rulers;—average for each, twenty-two years. In France, between the reign of Pharamond (A.D. 427) and Louis Philippe (1848) = 1,421 years, there were (including Napoleon Buonaparte) seventy-nine rulers;—average for each, eighteen years: or from the reign of Hugh Capet (A.D. 987) to that of Louis Philippe = 861 years, thirty-nine rulers, or little more than twenty-two years to each,—about the same duration as that of the sovereigns of England. In China, between 1001 B.C. and 1850, there have been about 166 rulers;—average to each, seventeen years.

‡ Tennent's *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 337.

about thirty immense tanks, and from five to seven hundred scattered over the island; many still repairable. Sculptured stones, with inscriptions in an unknown tongue, are still extant, and probably, if readable, would reveal the names of the founders of these gigantic and useful structures.

The cave temples which abound in Western India, and which seem to have been identified with Buddhistic rather than Brahminical worship, have their counterparts in Ceylon. One at Dambool, constructed B.C. 100, has been formed under a mass of gneiss, which is nearly 500 feet high; it is profusely decorated. Another singular rock temple, called *Gal-Wihare*, situated about a mile from the numerous ecclesiastical, pallatial, and other vast ruins which indicate the site of *Jayatawanarama*, has the perpendicular face of a sloping cliff, sculptured into colossal statues of Buddh: one, forty-five feet long, in a reclining posture; a second twenty-five feet high, erect (similar to those at Bamian in the Hindoo-Koosh); a third, in the sitting posture, has an altitude of sixteen feet. In another place there is a statue of Buddh, fifty-eight feet high, constructed of brick, with a coating of polished chunam, which gives it the appearance of marble.

In the great forest near Kornegalle, an European, when hunting recently, suddenly came on a magnificent erect and dressed statue of Buddh, fifty feet high; the right hand, as usual, elevated, with the fore-arm bent, and the left hand resting on the shoulder. The figure is carved in the solid stone of the mountain, to which it is still connected at two parts, to maintain the sculpture in its place; the rock is scarped to serve as a wall on either side, on which a timbered roof formerly rested. The work is of unknown antiquity. Some years since, when travelling on a then unfrequented route from Baddula to Kandy, I saw in the forests several gigantic statues, near each of which a priest had his solitary residence; my Singhalese guide was rather unwilling to let me see these venerated spots to which pilgrims resort at stated seasons, and I was unable to find my way thither again.

At Topare, the site of Pollanarua (the Kandian capital between 700 and 1400 A.D.), the forest, for many miles around a vast tank, contains immense ruins of temples and other edifices erected during the 10th and 12th centuries, which, in the opinion of Sir James Tennent, "display a beauty of design, and an excellence of execution, far surpassing anything, either of a remote or more recent origin, to be seen in other parts of the island." Sir James—himself an experienced connoisseur in the fine arts, as his interesting work on Belgium demonstrates, and whose testimony on these beautiful relics of Oriental architecture is therefore valuable—says, that in many points the ruins of Topare present a striking similarity to the ancient buildings discovered in Mexico and Central America.

It is probable that Ceylon was, before the Christian era, a commercial emporium* for Eastern and Western Asia, and that the Chinese, in their former extensive maritime traffic, made it a station of resort. Marco Polo, A.D. 1284, and Sir John Mandeville, half a century after, visited the island. In 1505, Lorenzo de Almeida (son of the viceroy of Goa), while in command of a fleet of nine vessels, was accidentally driven on the coast of Ceylon. The Portuguese allege that the Singhalese monarch entered into an engagement to furnish them with 250,000 lbs. weight of cinnamon, in return for their defence against all enemies. This is apocryphal, as the Portuguese did not again visit Ceylon for twelve years; when, in 1518, Alvarenzo arrived with a large fleet, commenced erecting a fort, and was attacked by the natives. Despite opposition, the fort was built, in 1519-'20, at Colombo. Contests ensued with the Singhalese; the invaders were shut up for five months in the citadel; a reinforcement of fifty men arrived from Goa, and with a force of 300 soldiers, a successful sortie was made, and the king compelled to sue for peace.

In 1524, the garrison at Colombo was reduced to a factor, secretary, and fifteen men; but these, aided by strong defences, were able to resist the attacks of a body of Malabars, who arrived by sea to aid in their expulsion. It would be tedious to narrate the varied contests, successes, and defeats of the Portuguese and Singhalese for many years; as usual, rival aspirants for power sought European aid,—were throned or de-

* A work, of which only one copy (Arabic text) is known to be extant, entitled *The Travels of the Two Mohammedans*, written in the year 237 of the *Hegira* (A.D. 851), and translated by the Abbé Renaudot in 1718, contains the recital of a merchant named Soleyman, who voyaged to Ceylon and to China; to this is superadded a narrative compiled by Abu Zeyd Hassan, a geographer, from the travels of several navigators. In this valuable record the extensive commerce and extraordinary riches of Ceylon are mentioned, and likewise the unhappy passion for gambling which still characterises the people.

throned as puppets: war and bloodshed, public crime and private assassinations fill the record. At the close of the 16th century the Portuguese army in Ceylon consisted of 1,500 well-appointed Europeans, together with numerous "half-breed" and native auxiliaries; yet they were, on one occasion, driven back from the interior, and forced to take refuge at Colombo. In 1630 they marched to Ouva, in the interior, but were routed, and their commander slain. In 1638 they again attacked the Kandian territories, with 2,300 regulars and 6,000 native troops, occupied the capital, and committed many atrocities, in return for the king having previously caused several Portuguese to be trampled to death by elephants. Deserted by the Asiatic soldiery, the Europeans retreated to a small fort three miles from Kandy,—were surrounded and defeated by Rajah Singa, the commanders killed, seventy prisoners taken, and none escaped from the rout. The heads of the fallen enemies were cut off and piled before the heir-apparent. The Portuguese do not appear to have again attempted the conquest of the interior, but restricted their exertions to the subjugation of the peaceable and timid natives of the coast, where they built forts at Point de Galle, Jaffna, and other places. The Dutch, in pursuance of the policy practised towards the Portuguese for their expulsion from the coasts of India (*see* Division X. of this work), did not long leave their rivals unmolested in Ceylon, and obtained sufficient influence at the court of Kandy, so early as 1614, to induce the king to refuse permission to the Portuguese to erect a church and convent at his capital. In 1636, the king addressed a letter to the Dutch governor of Palliacotta, complaining of the dishonourable and violent conduct of the Portuguese, and inviting the Dutch to enter into an alliance for their expulsion from the coast of Ceylon. An embassy was sent to the king from Batavia, who plainly declared that no union with the Portuguese was safe; that, despite all treaties and engagements, they violated his territory, plundered his country, fired the villages; and so long as they had any footing in the island, there could be no protection from their tyranny, and no security from their insults.* An agreement was entered into, under which the Dutch were to be permitted to erect forts on the eastern coast, to facilitate their operations against the Portuguese on the west coast; the King of Kandy was to bear all the expenses of the war, and the Hollanders were to place in his possession all the fortresses and positions wrested from their common enemy. The Dutch, inflamed with personal hostility and religious zeal against the Portuguese, assaulted them with great violence, and treated the Romanists in pretty much the same spirit that Moslems would have evinced towards idolaters.†

Aided by the Kandians, the Dutch captured Colombo, Galle, Jaffna; and, in 1656, finally expelled the Portuguese from the island. The king, however, discovered that he had only exchanged one set of European neighbours for another: the Dutch refused to surrender the territories which they had been the chief instruments in conquering, and soon became involved in a war with their recent ally; but every effort to obtain a position in the interior was frustrated, either by open resistance or by treachery, until 1763, when a powerful Dutch force penetrated to Kandy, after considerable opposition, but were unable to retain the city, which, with surrounding conquests, to the extent of twenty miles, was abandoned under a humiliating treaty.

The attitude assumed by the English in India towards the close of the 18th century, and the necessity for a good haven on or near the Coromandel coast, naturally induced the government to covet the possession of at least a part of Ceylon; the more so as Holland was coalescing with France and Spain as an enemy of Britain. In 1782, the governor of Madras, Lord Macartney, dispatched a body of troops under Sir Hector Munro, on board the royal fleet, commanded by Sir Edward Hughes. Trincomalee was captured after a brief resistance, and an envoy (Mr. Boyd) was dispatched to Kandy to secure the favour of the Singhalese monarch; but with little effect. Hughes, after several indecisive naval engagements with the French admiral (Suffrein), then cruising with a large combined fleet in the Indian Ocean, returned to Madras, to embark the E. I. troops he had on board. Suffrein landed, on the 27th of August, a body of troops at Trincomalee,—

* Baldæus, chap. xix., p. 703.

† The Captain-general of Colombo, in describing to his government the siege of that fort, says, "his pen wants words to describe the affronts put on their holy things by the heretics, who took the statue of the apostle St. Thomas, and after they had cut off the nose, knocked it full of great nails, and shot it out of a mortar into our ditch."

besieged the small British detachment there, which capitulated on being permitted to march out with the honours of war, and return immediately to Madras. Three days after, Hughes appeared with twelve sail off the harbour, and finding the French flag hoisted, stood out to sea. Suffrein, with a superior force, followed him, and fought a desperate action, only a part of the Gallic ships being engaged: the enemy suffered severely; the English very little. Suffrein retired to Trincomalee; Hughes to Madras.

By the peace of 1783, Trincomalee was restored to the Dutch, but was again attacked by the English in 1795, on the union of the Batavian government with that of France. A large force was sent from Madras, under General Stuart, to expel the Hollanders from the island. After much fatigue and some loss during the siege, the fortress of Trincomalee surrendered; as did also the forts of Jaffuapatam and Negombo, on the first summons. Early in 1796, Stewart, accompanied by a fleet along the coast, marched from Negombo by land, with three European, three native regiments, and a detachment of artillery, to attack Colombo on the land side. The road for twenty miles might have been defended by a small force, but no resistance was offered. At the Kalane-Gunga, four miles from Colombo, where there was a small fort to protect the Grand Pass, or little neck of land on the south side of an insulated tract, the British paused; but ere two days elapsed, it was found that the guns had been dismounted, the fort evacuated, and that the troops had retreated to Colombo. There the garrison were in a state of complete disorganisation: a small body of Malays, headed by a gallant Frenchman, made an ineffectual resistance near the fort, but Governor Van Angelbeck surrendered to Stuart without firing a shot; Galle, and other Dutch forts, were similarly abandoned, together with a belt of land of unequal breadth all round the island. By the treaty of Amiens, in 1801, this territory was finally annexed to the British Crown.* For a few years, the provinces thus acquired remained under the direction of the Madras authorities, who again opened a fruitless negotiation with the Kaudian monarch. In 1798, the Hon. F. North (afterwards Earl of Guilford) was sent from England in a nondescript position, but was ultimately appointed governor-in-chief, under the direct control of the minister of the Crown. The proceedings of Mr. North, in reference to the invasion of Kandy in 1802–'3, and the subsequent destruction of the British troops there by the king, have been variously related. I avail myself, therefore, of a manuscript memorandum, drawn up from official documents for the governor-general in 1803, which I found among the Marquis Wellesley's papers. It accords with some of the published statements which refer to this epoch, but is fuller and more explicit:—

"A short time after the return from Madras to Ceylon of Mr. North, in July, 1799, there was reason to believe that the court of Kandy† began to entertain suspicions of the intentions of the British government, in consequence of an embassy, which it had been taught to expect, not having been sent to that court. These suspicions were increased by the measures which were adopted by Mr. North to place the Malay corps on a respectable footing; and at last assumed so serious an appearance, as to induce Mr. North to send a confidential native agent for the purpose of demanding an explanation from the first

* The Marquis Wellesley, in 1798, urged his Majesty's ministers to retain the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon in case of any treaty hereafter. Respecting the island, he said—"The possession of Ceylon is universally held to be indispensable to the preservation both of our power on the continent, and of our commerce on the seas of India. I am persuaded that the possession of Ceylon, either in the hands of France or of her bond-slave Holland, would enable the French interest in India to rise, within a very short period, to a degree of formidable strength never before possessed by them. On this subject I find no difference of opinion in the minds of any persons acquainted with India."—(*Despatches of the Marquis Wellesley*, when governor-general of India, vol. i., p. 31.) The advice thus given was followed; but a similar suggestion, with regard to the Cape of Good Hope, was rejected: that colony was nominally restored to the Dutch, but really given over to the French at the definitive treaty of peace signed at Amiens 27th March, 1802; and its recapture by England in 1806 became an urgent necessity.

† At the period of the British occupation, the form of government at the court of Kandy, and the administration of the laws, are thus described:—"Before a king dies, he girds his eldest prince with the golden sword, and delivers to him the government, in presence of the two chief *adigaars* (ministers) and the four greatest dessaves, and the heads of five provinces (Udoonoowana, lattanoowany, Haraseepattoo, Toonpamaha, and Doombara), after which each of them ought to kneel down before the prince. In case of their refusing, the father encourages them by kneeling himself down. Should the king die without having appointed a successor, the priests of four temples, the two adigaars, and four of the chief dessaves, after consultation, nominate the next heir to it, invite the inhabitants of the aforesaid five provinces to inform them of it, and with their consent they deliver to the new-selected king the government, with the devotion above-mentioned. His Majesty goes hereafter, with the people and priests, to the three temples (Wishnoo, Kadragamay, and Patieny), to offer there the necessary sacrifices. From hence he proceeds to Nateeivalley, where the greatest sacrifices are to be performed, and his instalment as king takes place. He himself puts on his head the diadem, and girds himself with the golden sword: after this, he goes with his whole suite to the principal temple (Dalledagay); pays, according to

adigaar or minister of the government of Kandy.* In consequence of this communication, the first adigaar requested Mr. North to grant him an audience at Setaraea, on the frontiers, as he had something to communicate which was of the greatest importance to the British government.

"Accordingly an interview took place on the 5th of January, 1800, between Mr. North and the first adigaar. Previously to this interview, Mr. North had reason to think, from the information of the native agent whom he had deputed to Kandy, that the object of the first adigaar was to establish an English military force in Kandy, and to pay for it a tribute in areka-nut and other productions, to the British government; and that this military force was to protect his own power, together with that of his nominal master the King of Kandy, in whose name it was supposed the first adigaar intended to continue to govern the kingdom. At the interview, however, on the 5th of January, 1800, the first proposal made by the adigaar to Mr. North, was to *depose* the reigning king, who had been placed on the throne by the first adigaar, in direct violation of the laws of the kingdom of Kandy. This proposal was rejected in the most positive manner; as Mr. North, very justly, did not think himself warranted to join in a conspiracy against a prince in perfect amity with the British government, and who had been recognised by Mr. North as the legitimate sovereign, on the grounds of his being in possession of the throne on

custom, the usual worship, receiving the blessings and good wishes from the four high priests; ascends the throne, and passes about a whole month in festivals. If there be no prince to succeed, one of the nearest relations of the royal family is chosen, and if still in his minority, the kingdom is managed by the adigaar, and he educates the prince by wise instructions and admonitions till he arrives to his majority. If the king be without issue, and no prince of the royal blood exists, a prince is brought over from Madura, and appointed to be king. Some state affairs are settled by the king alone, and some by conferring with his ministers: it often happens that the latter, influenced by envy and malice, or bribery and avarice, gives such information to the king, that the guilty are acquitted, and the innocent sentenced to the death or other punishments. If a decree shall be made, the two adigaars, the four great dessaves, the two mohottiaers of Attapattoo court, and the rataralas ought to be previously consulted. Without the consent of the ministers and dessaves, the king cannot declare war of his own accord. Office is granted only by the king, consulting first with the two adigaars. If by the above-mentioned members of the council any affair is determined and represented to the king, he either accepts it and gives his sanction, or rejects if it does not agree with his opinion. If a subject wishes to petition the king, and cannot get it delivered by the adigaars, he must address himself to the public treasury, or in a lesser court in the village, on which the chief of it is obliged to represent his cause to the king; and if any should suffer injustice, he climbs upon a tree next to the palace, and cries so loud that the king may hear it, bid him to come down, and inquiring into his case, may grant him relief. When the adigaars, the four great dessaves, the mahamohottiaer, the mohottiaer of the Attapattoo, and the rataralas have examined any cause, and represent to the king their opinion that a guilty person is deserving death, he is either killed or punished in another way, and banished to a miserable place. When the king goes out in state, he is attended by high officers, with elephants, and the mohandarum of the stable, with the horses. Various flags are borne—one with a crescent moon, another with a lion, another with a goose; also white and red flags, appropriate to particular districts; and music of various descriptions. Four times in the month or more, the priests are obliged to give instruction in their religion, and such books are also given to the king. He who is well acquainted with the principles of the law, and exercises himself therein, may be employed, without regarding the caste, as priest and high priest; but to be the chief of one of the four temples, or the highest priest, one of the caste of Bellaby is necessary. If priests advance to the station of high priest, they are called before twelve of the latter, who are well versed in religious law; and when they have been examined, and have read and explained some of their sacred books, the most able one is confirmed by the senior high priest; after which an oath is taken from him. Neither priests nor high priests are allowed to marry. Those priests who do not observe the religious laws, act against the duties of their priesthood, and keep concubines, are neither honoured nor trusted, but are regarded as devils, and despised as enemies of the law. Formerly there was only one adigaar, called Pallegampuha; but the king, Rajah Singa, intending to go to Colombo with the said adigaar to turn out the Portuguese, placed a second to take care of the court, and intrusted to him the management of the half of his kingdom. From that period there were two adigaars, who are equal in rank. There are four great dessaves; viz., one of the four Korles, another of the seven Korles; the third of Dowry, and the fourth of Matooley. The other dessaves enjoy the privileges granted to the four great dessaves, only in their districts, but nowhere else. The four latter are authorised to be preceded by the beating of tom-toms, in both the Upper and Lower districts. Both the superior and inferior dessaves have the power of punishing the guilty, according to their offences, in different manners; but not to kill or torture. The two adigaars are permitted to make use of whips, which is a particular honour. When they retire from the palace to the foot of the mountain, the other side of the river Mahavillagunga, from thence the beating of tom-toms is permitted; everywhere else in the dessavinces they may use both insignia of rank—viz., whips and tom-toms. Everything is determined and settled according to the law laid down in several old books. An adulterous woman may be deserted by the husband, either arbitrarily, or with a previous knowledge of the dessaves; but if a husband is guilty of the same crime, his wife cannot separate from him as she pleases, but must address herself to the judges: a reconciliation is allowed. A man deserting his wife is sentenced by the dessaves to give the half of his estate to her; but if the wife deserts him, she gets nothing, except the children issued from him. A man may keep concubines besides his lawful wife. [The shameful practice of polyandria is thus sanctioned.] Two or three brothers may keep one and the same wife, if they agree upon it. In case four or five brothers live together, and a bride is brought for one of them, whom he does not like, another may choose her. None of a low caste can be raised to a higher one; a male of the high class may be reduced to a lower one. Delinquents of the nobility are beheaded; but others are hanged, killed by elephants, put on a pike, or punished after their crimes. A testator disposes of his property by writing in presence of witnesses. The estates of intestates devolve on the children; after them on the brothers; after which follow the other nearest relations; but if there be none existing, it falls to the public treasury."—[MS. prepared for Ceylon government, and found among Lord Wellesley's papers.]

* "This event took place about the year 1798. The account given by the adigaar was, that the country had formerly been inhabited by *devils*, who had been expelled by *Seredin*. From this period, a regular succession of kings of the Singhalese race followed for ages. These, in return, were afterwards expelled by the accession to the throne of Kandy of the race of Malabar kings. About the year 1781, the adigaar's brother, who had also been adigaar, placed on the throne a prince of Malabar extraction; and, in 1798, the existing adigaar, in the midst of civil discord, succeeded in obtaining the throne for the reigning prince, although he had no legal pretensions to it, and was in fact illegitimate."

Mr. North's accession to the government of Ceylon. But although Mr. North did not think himself justified in contributing, in any degree, to the deposition of the King of Kandy, he was not disposed to insist on that prince's retaining any large portion of authority in his dominions, and conceived 'that he provided much more effectually for the king's security and happiness, by placing him under the protection of a British military force, than by leaving him in the hands of a daring and ambitious minister, or of a faction which had proclaimed him an illegitimate usurper.'

"Mr. North, therefore, felt no hesitation to promise the adigaar support 'in obtaining all authority *short of royalty* in the country, in case he should be able to prevail on the king to ask for a British subsidiary force, and to put himself and his country under the British protection.' The motive for inducing Mr. North to take this resolution, was the hope which he entertained that the measure was the best mode of ascertaining the extent of the minister's power, which he had reason to think was greatly weakened. 'If he (the first adigaar) succeeds,' Mr. North says, 'in inducing his majesty to make such an application, it may, I think, be complied with without hesitation; for it would prove either that his power is so great, that the establishment and recognition of it would take nothing from the king of what he really possesses; or, that they both are in such a state of alarm, that they would willingly sacrifice their independence for their safety. If he should not succeed, it will prove that his power is no longer what it was, and that the king is in a state of independence in his own dominions, which we have no right to diminish, and which it would be both impolitic and unjust to attack.' Mr. North, in this conference, informed the first adigaar of his intention to send General Macdowall as ambassador to the King of Kandy, with valuable presents. Major-general Macdowall was instructed to negotiate the treaty with the King of Kandy, founded on the principles stated in the conference which took place between the first adigaar and himself on the 5th of January, 1800, to which the first adigaar had agreed, and which he had promised to carry into effect. Another important object of the embassy was to obtain a perfect knowledge of the situation of the court of Kandy, which was essential to the improvement of our general interests, as well as to prevent the dangers which it was apprehended would attend the implicit observance, on the part of Mr. North, of the directions of the first adigaar, whose intentions Mr. North 'knew to be atrocious, and such as he could never abet.'

"General Macdowall arrived on the frontier of Kandy on the 20th of March, 1800, where, according to appointment, he met the first adigaar, accompanied by two officers of inferior rank, and by a great number of followers. On the 8th of April, General Macdowall arrived at Gunarora, and, on the 9th, had his first audience of the King of Kandy. He was received with every demonstration of respect and kindness, and soon after his audience entered on the subject of his mission. The treaty proposed by General Macdowall embraced the following objects:—1. The preservation of the reigning king: 2. The permanent establishment of a British force in the Kandian territories: 3. The obtaining some commercial advantages: 4. The prevention of immediate bloodshed and future civil war, by the delivery of the chiefs of the persecuted party into the hands of the British government: and, 5. The procuring the administration of the revenues of the country, or at least such powers as might prevent the continuance of the wretched system which had hitherto prevailed, to the detriment of its natural resources.

"The treaty, however, was rejected by the ministers of the court of Kandy, who proposed a counter-project, nearly similar to one which had been formerly offered to the government of Madras. The general refused to enter on the discussion of the counter-project, and demanded his audience of leave. The ministers then consented to the proposed treaty, with the exception of the article which provided for the establishment of a considerable body of troops near the town of Kandy. They wished to reduce the number to 400; but, as such a modification was little calculated to afford security to the British territories, General Macdowall declined the proposal, and quitted the town of Kandy. The ministers also rejected three modified proposals from Mr. North; and the negotiation here terminated.

"The whole of these transactions were officially submitted to the notice of the supreme government of India, who have stated their sentiments on the subject in a letter under date the 28th of May, 1800. The governor-general in council observes:—'We agree in opinion with your excellency respecting the advantages which would result to the British interests in India from establishing a subsidiary force at Kandy, whenever a favourable opportunity may offer for that purpose. At the same time, we highly approve the motives which induced your excellency to reject the adigaar's unwarrantable proposal for the deposition of the King of Kandy. The other objects which your excellency proposes to obtain by the embassy of Major-general Macdowall, and which are detailed in the project of the treaty transmitted with your letter of the 15th of March, are certainly important, and many of them extremely desirable. We confess, however, that we entertain considerable doubts, not only of the sincerity, but of the power of the adigaar to aid your excellency in the accomplishment of the proposed plan. Under circumstances of such delicacy, we trust that your excellency's prudence and discretion will be exerted to avoid any step which might eventually expose the British character to the hazard of any invidious reflection, or might provoke discontent or jealousy at the court of Kandy.'"

Mr. North was amiable and learned, but unfit for the position in which he had been placed, and in the interior he injudiciously persisted in interfering in the political intrigues carried on.

The Marquis Wellesley, as governor-general of India, advised the governor of Ceylon to pause in the proceedings contemplated with regard to Kandy; and in private letters which I found among his lordship's papers, the same caution is reiterated. Thus, on 28th November, 1800:—"My dear North,—I have this moment received your official despatch of the 28th October, and I lose not a moment in acknowledging it in this private form, for the purpose of urging you in the most earnest

manner to avoid, by all possible means, any rupture with the court of Kandy.*

* * * * "I am, &c.,

"WELLESLEY."

---

In 1802, the administration in Ceylon was rendered entirely independent of the supreme government of India; and on 29th January, 1803, Mr. North assembled a force for the purpose of invading the Kandian territories, the king having refused to accept the terms proposed by the governor, on the plea of avoiding further collisions, and preventing incursions on the British frontiers. One portion of the army, under Major-general Macdowall, marched from Colombo; another from Trincomalee, under Colonel Barbut: the whole, amounting to about 3,000 men, were to unite on the banks of the Mahavillagunga, a river which nearly surrounds Kandy, at a distance of three miles from the city. (The ensuing details are given in small type to economise space.)

Hostilities commenced on the 19th of February, by the attack and capture, by Colonel Logan of the 51st regiment, of two strong posts called Gallegederah and Giriagamme. On the same day, Colonel Barbut, of his Majesty's 73rd regiment, advanced with a detachment towards Mahavillagunga river, the banks of which, together with the village of Wallapoala and the neighbouring hills, were occupied by the enemy in force. A few shots from two mortars and one 6-pounder soon, however, compelled the Kandians to retire, and the detachment crossed the river on the morning of the 20th of February, and took possession of the village of Wallapoala, situated within one English mile and a-half of the town of Kandy.

General Macdowall marched into Kandy on the evening of the 20th, and found it totally deserted, the king having left it with the adigaar on the 19th of February, 1803, and removed all the treasure from the palace, and the inhabitants from their houses. Prior to his flight, the king caused the magazines to be blown up, set fire to his palace, and to the principal temples, and then retired into the distant province of Ouva to the south-west. The fugitive monarch refused to accept the terms previously offered him, and did not even prepare to negotiate with General Macdowall; but, after the delay of a fortnight, answered Mr. North's letter to him, without taking the least notice of the conditions which had been formally proposed for his acceptance. "The abdicated throne" was thereupon offered to, and accepted by, Prince Budha Sawmy, who would have succeeded to it on the demise of the last king, if the intrigues of the adigaar had not intruded the present fugitive prince, in the intention of deposing him to make way for himself. Colonel Barbut was in consequence detached, soon after the capture of Kandy, to Trincomalee, for the purpose of escorting him to that capital. The inauguration was witnessed by but few of the inhabitants of Kandy; and his whole suite, exclusive of the British force, did not exceed fifty followers. The detachments sent out in pursuit of the former king met with some losses, and failed in effecting his capture.

About this period, a dreadful endemial fever broke out in the interior of the island, and deprived the English of several valuable public officers, and a very large portion of the European troops employed in the Kandian territories. This most fatal malady appeared under the form of a violent bilious remittent, and was attended with nearly the same symptoms in all cases. The extent of the disease will be fully comprehended from the following facts. The 51st regiment, which marched from Colombo 560 strong, lost before its return one-fifth of the men, besides having 170 men sick in the hospital. A detachment of the 65th regiment, consisting of one captain, three subalterns, and eighty men, employed in keeping open the communication with Kandy, and covering a depôt of stores and provisions, lost twenty-seven men, besides having fifty in the hospital: of the four officers, one died, and two returned dangerously ill. The native troops, however, did not suffer in an equal proportion; and it is a curious circumstance, that a journey of eight or ten miles from the sea-coast should lead to a country where the influence of this endemial disease is so powerful as to affect almost every European constitution exposed to its influence.

The circumstances that immediately followed the capture of the town of Kandy are imperfectly known:† but a treaty was entered into between the new king and Mr. North, for the restoration of peace and the general security of the inhabitants of the island. By this arrangement, it was stipulated that restoration should be made to Mootoo Sawmy of the town of Kandy, and all the possessions dependent on the crown of Kandy, then occupied by the British troops, excepting the province of the seven Korles, the two hill forts of *Giriagamme* and *Gallegederah*, and a line of land across the Kandian territories, sufficient to form a direct road from Colombo to Trincomalee, which province, forts, &c. were ceded to his Britannic Majesty in perpetual sovereignty. Provision was made for the identification of the interests of the British government with those of Budha Sawmy, the former party engaging to recognise their *protégé* as the legitimate sovereign of Kandy, so soon as he should have assumed that title with the usual solemnities, and they consented to maintain a British subsidiary force for the preservation of his authority, whenever it might be required. The remaining articles provided for the future intercourse between the subjects of the two states, for the regulation of the internal duties and commerce, the safety and maintenance of the king lately on the throne, and for the residence at Kandy, whenever it might be required, of a public minister on the part of the British government. After the conclusion of this treaty, Mr. North determined to hold a conference with the two adigaars of Kandy, for the purpose of procuring their consent to the establishment of a secure and permanent peace. In consequence of this

* Foreseeing the danger which might arise from Ceylon being placed beyond the control of the supreme authority in India, which would, however, have to furnish men and money for its defence, Lord Wellesley strongly deprecated the plan of making a comparatively small island independent of the adjacent general government: patronage, however, was sought by the minister of the day, and cogent arguments were unheeded. (*Despatch* to Lord Hobart, 23rd November, 1803; *Despatches*, vol. iii., p. 476.)

† Sir J. E. Tennent's new work on Ceylon elucidates several matters hitherto unexplained.

resolution, Mr. North left Colombo on the 28th of April, and reached Dombaderria on the 1st of May. On the 3rd of May a conference took place at Mr. North's bungalow,* in which it was proposed that the adigaars and the principal nobles of Kandy should become parties to the treaty lately concluded between the British government and the prince Budha Sawmy, on certain additional conditions, which, after some discussion, were finally agreed to by the adigaars, and sealed, signed, and delivered by the respective parties on the following day.

This convention stipulated that the new king, Budha Sawmy,† should deliver over the administration of the province belonging to the crown of Kandy to the first adigaar, with the title of "grand prince" during the term of his natural life: that he should reside at Jaffnapatam, or in such other part of the British territories as might be agreed upon between Budha Sawmy and the British government: that the first adigaar should engage to pay an annual sum of 90,000 rix dollars for the maintenance of Budha Sawmy; and that for the better payment of this sum, as well as for the allowance proposed to be granted to the king lately on the throne of Kandy, the first adigaar should deliver to the British government, in the course of every year, a certain gratuity of areka-nut (20,000 ammonams), taken at a specified valuation (six British dollars per ammonam), the price of which should be paid to the agents of the first adigaar by the British government, in coined copper, or in such other articles as might be agreed upon between the parties; in which case, the British government agreed to charge‡ itself with the payment of the allowances (about 40,000 rix dollars) stipulated for Mootoo Sawmy, and for the king lately on the throne: that the first adigaar should cede in perpetuity to the British government the village and district of Gungavelle (now called Fort Macdowall), in exchange for the hill fort of Giriagamme, which the British government agreed to cede again to the first adigaar: that all the princes and princesses of the royal family then in confinement, should be set at liberty, and be allowed to retire with their property wherever they might think proper; and that a general amnesty should be proclaimed, on both sides, to all who might have supported or opposed the claims of Budha Sawmy in the late or any former contest: finally, that the preceding articles should be carried into effect as soon as the prince lately on the throne of Kandy should be delivered into the hands of the British government; and that until that event should take place, a truce and cessation of hostilities should continue between all the contracting parties.

This truce continued until the month of June, when it was broken by the treachery of the Kandians, who, under the first adigaar, did not scruple to avail themselves of the earliest opportunity to make war upon the British garrison at Kandy. Colonel Barbut was seized with fever while attending the governor at Dombaderria, and died at Colombo on the 21st of April. General Macdowall returned to Kandy on the 23rd of May—was similarly attacked, and proceeded to Colombo on the 11th of June, leaving Major Davie, of the Ceylon regiment, in command; but the major was devoid of energy, and utterly unfit for such a duty. On 1st April, the Kandian garrison§ consisted of 300 Europeans and 700 Malays, and Indian artillery, besides a considerable number of sick in hospital. When the siege commenced (23rd June), the British force consisted of seventeen European officers, twenty European soldiers, 250 Malays, 140 gun Lascars, and 150 sick soldiers in hospital, of whom 120 were English, belonging to H.M. 19th regiment.

Mr. North had already made preparations, towards the middle of June, for evacuating Kandy, and a detachment of Malays was on its march to that place from Trincomalee, with a number of doolies to bring away the sick and wounded. The governor of Ceylon had also agreed to a proposal from the adigaars to relinquish Kandy, provided the garrison might be permitted to retire unmolested. Accordingly, Major Davie, the commander above-mentioned, vacated Kandy, under a capitulation with the first adigaar, on the 24th of June. He was permitted to retire with his arms and ammunition, and was promised every mark of attention.‖

The remainder of this distressing statement may be given as recorded in the sworn depositions of Mahommed Gani, a free Malay, and late servant to Ensign Robert Barry, of the Malay corps in Ceylon, who deposed—

"That he went to Kandy from Trincomalee, in February last, as a servant to Ensign Barry. About four o'clock on the morning of Friday, the 24th of June, the Kandians began to fire upon the palace where the British troops were quartered. About five o'clock, the Malays in the service of the King of Kandy, headed by Sanguylo, their chief, attempted to force the palace. Sanguylo entered, and was seized by Lieutenant Blackney, of the 19th regiment, and struggling with him, they both fell on the ground, when Sanguylo, with his crise,¶ stabbed Lieutenant Blackney near the eye, of which he died instantly; and while Sanguylo was still on the ground, Lieutenant-adjutant Plenderleath thrust a bayonet through his body, and a soldier gave him also a stab, of which Sanguylo died on the spot.—That the second in command of the Kandian Malays, who followed Sanguylo in the attack, was shot without the door of the palace. These deaths

* It was subsequently ascertained that the adigaar had planned to seize the governor, and was only prevented by the timely arrival of Colonel Barbut with a strong detachment of Malay soldiers.

† On account of the inertness of his own character, and the timidity of his friends, Mr. North says—"If he consents by his own signature to exchange a turbulent power, which he never could fully obtain, nor securely exercise, for the peaceable enjoyment of high power and an affluent income, we have no reason to oppose his wishes."

‡ The advantage of this arrangement was as follows:—The areka was to be sold to the British government at six rix dollars per ammonam. That article, however, pays a duty, on exportation, of ten rix dollars, and is sold at Colombo, before the payment of that duty, at from fourteen to eighteen rix dollars per ammonam. The clear gain to government, therefore, is about twenty rix dollars per ammonam; and, on the whole quantity (viz., 20,000 ammonams), is 360,000 rix dollars, after paying the specified allowance of 40,000 rix dollars.

§ The governor of Ceylon, on learning the weak state of the Kandian garrison, ordered a native regiment from Colombo; but the soldiers were unable to march for want of coolies (attendants to carry baggage), who had suffered much in the campaign, and were deterred by the Kandians from re-entering the British service. The strongly fortified posts of Giriagamme and Gallegederah were surprised and taken by the Kandians, whereby communication with Colombo was intercepted.

‖ Memorandum drawn up from commissariat documents.

¶ A *crise* is a long knife or dagger worn by the Malays.

frightened the Kandian Malays, and they retreated. In this attack the adjutant of the 19th regiment was wounded in the thigh, and two Malay soldiers were killed, and one man of the artillery was also killed.—That, after this, no attack was made by the Kandians near the palace; but they continued in great numbers, all around upon the hills, firing on the garrison with their grasshopper guns, of which the shot reached the palace, until about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, when the British officers, having consulted together, hoisted a white flag, on which the firing ceased on both sides. Many of the Kandians then approached, and Major Davie and the Malay captain, Nouradin, went out and conversed with them; on which the Kandians who conversed with Major Davie, went away to speak to the adigaar, who was at a considerable distance: and when they returned, Major Davie and Nouradin went also to the adigaar; and when they returned, preparations were made by the whole garrison to leave Kandy, except such of the sick as could not walk, who were to remain behind; the adigaar having promised (as the deponent was told) to take care of the sick, and send them down to Colombo when they could be removed. Accordingly, between five and six o'clock, the whole garrison that could move marched out with their arms, and, without molestation, came to the banks of the river on the road towards Trincomalee, about two miles from Kandy. Here they stopped all night, as the river was not fordable, and no boats to cross it. On the morning of Saturday they began to cut bamboos to make rafts; but, from the rapidness of the current in the river, they could not get a rope taken across it. About seven o'clock it was observed that Kandians in numbers began to assemble near them, and many also on the other side of the river. About mid-day some Kandians of the rank of Arratzies and Canganis came from Kandy, and spoke with Major Davie, telling him that the king had been angry with the adigaar for allowing the garrison to go away, and had thrown him into prison on that account; but, if they would give up Mootoo Sawmy, the king would send them boats and every sort of assistance to cross the river and proceed to Trincomalee. Major Davie said he would not give Mootoo Sawmy unless they brought a written order from the king to the above effect. Upon this the Kandians went away, and returned not long after, and again discoursed with Major Davie, who talked with Mootoo Sawmy, and delivered him up to the Kandians who were sent to take charge of him, who conducted him away towards Kandy. About four or five o'clock in the afternoon, some Kandians came, and seemed to make some preparations for enabling the troops to pass the river; but night came on before anything sufficient was completed, and they went away, promising to return in the morning with boats. On the morning of Sunday, the Kandians, armed, again assembled in numbers near them; but no boats or other preparations were made by them to pass the river. Captain Humphreys had, however, succeeded in fixing a rope on the other side. About eleven A.M. some Kandians came out from Kandy, and told Major Davie that it was the king's order that all the garrison should again return into Kandy, without arms; to which, if they did not consent willingly, they would all be killed. On this, Major Davie *ordered the troops to ground their arms*, which was done; and the officers also gave up their swords and pistols, and all proceeded towards Kandy: when near that town, a crowd of Kandians were drawn up, leaving room for the English, Malays, &c., to pass. When in the middle of this line of Kandians, a Malay of the King of Kandy came up and ordered them to halt, saying it was the king's order that the English Malays should march on before; on which all the Malays (except Captain Nouradin and his brother, a lieutenant, and the deponent, who attended his master, and had refused to go on before) were separated from the English officers and troops. When the Malays were separated and out of sight, a mohottiaer came from the adigaar (who was at this time in sight, accompanied by several other chiefs), and called Major Davie and Captain Nouradin to come and speak with him, which they did; and, after conversing with them, Captain Nouradin's brother was sent for, and all three were sent on into Kandy. After this a man came, with a sword in his hand, from the adigaar, and said that all the rest of the officers were to go and speak with him; which they all did. When they came before the adigaar, he inquired what was the rank of each. When this was explained, Captain Humphreys and Captain Rumley were ordered away into Kandy under a guard of Kandians. There now remained Mr. Holloway, Lieutenant Phantaum, Lieutenant Ormsby, Ensign Barry, Lieutenant Mercer, Ensign Smith, with two other officers, whose names the deponent does not know, who were all seized in consequence of the adigaar's order, and separated. The deponent wished to follow his master, but was prevented by the Kandians, who now put all the officers seized as above-mentioned to death.

"*Question.* How do you know that they were put to death?—*Answer.* I saw the mangled bodies of some of them lying on the ground, and I understood from common report that the others were also murdered.

"*Question.* When the garrison marched out of Kandy, as you have mentioned, how many men were there do you think?—*Answer.* I think about thirty Europeans, including the artillerymen; 300 Malays, sick and well; twelve royal Lascars, and thirty pioneers.

"*Question.* What became of the European soldiers when the officers were murdered, as you have mentioned?—*Answer.* At the time the officers were murdered, the Kandians fell upon them, and killed them also; and some of the Bengal Lascars and pioneers were also killed along with them, and some got off into the wood.

"*Question.* What became of the sick that were left in the hospital?—*Answer.* I heard that their brains were beat out with stones."

The foregoing document too truly set forth the facts of the case: the sick were stoned to death; the troops, at the orders of Major Davie, finding they could not cross the river, and faint after two days' fasting, grounded their arms, and were taken aside in small numbers to a sloping bank, and there all butchered, except the Malay corps, as the king wished to induce them to enter his service. One English soldier (Corporal Barnsley) whose head had been nearly severed from his body, was thrown down the hill, and lay some time among the dead,

but escaped by swimming across the river, and making his way to Fort Macdowall. Mootoo Sawmy and five relatives were surrendered by the British to the infuriated king, and instantly massacred; one of the temporary monarch's followers (a deserter) was impaled alive, and eight of the unfortunate prince's attendants were deprived of their noses and ears. Major Davie, captains Rumby and Humphreys, and a sub-assistant-surgeon were not slain; the sub-assistant escaped in September, the two captains died of sickness, and Davie lived a prisoner until his death, about the year 1810. The Malay prisoners were kept for some time; several entered the service of the king, but escaped ultimately, having failed in the endeavour to carry him off to the British. Their two native officers refused to join the Malay corps in the Kandian employ, in which their brother held a command,—they were beheaded, and their bodies thrown to the jackals. The small British detachment at Fort Macdowall, on hearing of the proceedings at Kandy, evacuated the place, and marched to Trincomalee. Ensign Grant bravely held the post of Dombaderria, in the seven Korles, until relieved by a force from Colombo. Thus ended this disastrous expedition—undertaken, like the Afghan war, without just cause or adequate means, and conducted without ability.

The Kandians, elated with success, attacked different outposts on the British frontier, but were in every instance repulsed; the king advanced with a large force to Hangwelle, within eighteen miles of Colombo, which was garrisoned by only one hundred men, who behaved so well that the Kandians were routed, leaving 270 bodies on the field of battle, while the British had only two wounded. Many Malays and gun Lascars escaped from the enemy, and retired to their respective corps. Captain Johnson, with 305 men, penetrated to Kandy, passed through the capital, and then fought his way for 130 miles to Trincomalee. The maritime provinces were cleared of the invaders, and all remained quiescent until 1812, when Pilime Talawa, the treacherous adigaar who had been the main instrument in the tragedy of 1803, having failed in a plot to assassinate the tyrant, was himself, together with his nephew and six inferior chiefs, put to death by the king. The second adigaar, Eheylapola, succeeded Pilime Talawa; but two years afterwards fled for his life to Colombo, leaving his wife, children, relations, and adherents at the mercy of his sovereign, by whom they were massacred in the most cruel manner.* The sanguinary character of the king now fully developed itself: the second high priest was executed, various chiefs† beheaded, and ten British subjects (traders) so tortured, that only three survived to reach the English territories. Sir Robert Brownrigg saw the time had arrived for dethroning the despot and assuming the dominion of the whole island; and to that effect measures were judiciously planned and well carried out. War was declared 10th of Jan., 1815; the principal chiefs joined the British forces, who entered Kandy on the 14th of February: on the 18th, the king was captured in the mountains of Donobora.‡ On the 2nd of March the native chiefs proclaimed his dethronement, and their allegiance to the British monarch.

After the deposition of the king, the Kandian nobles were retained in their respective offices, and the people left, to a great extent, under their rule; the chiefs and the Buddhist priests soon began to chafe against a foreign government, which overlooked and controlled them. A rebellion was organised, extensively and secretly; many head-men and leaders (including Eheylapola, whose wife and children had been destroyed as below described), while

* The wife of Eheylapola, and her four young children (the eldest eleven years of age, and the youngest at the breast), were brought to Kandy; the children were beheaded in front of the queen's apartments in the palace; each of the heads put in a rice mortar, and the mother, under fear of disgraceful tortures, was compelled to pound the mangled faces of her children,—the milk in the mouth of the babe actually mingling with its life-blood. After this fiendish act, the mother, who conducted herself with singular fortitude, was thrown into a lake with a heavy stone round her neck: three female companions shared her untimely fate; another narrowly escaped being impaled.—(*See* Forbes' *Ceylon.*)

† Petty chiefs are designated "Head-men."

‡ The ex-king, Sri Wikrema Rajah Singa, was removed to Vellore fortress, in the Madras presidency,—received a large annual pension, and died there of dropsy, 30th January, 1832, æt 52. Major Forbes says—"His features were handsome, his figure manly, and his general appearance dignified; but the qualities of his mind appear to have been a compound of the meanest with the most violent passions, without one redeeming virtue to weigh against selfishness, cruelty, and cowardice: he was equally destitute of any amiable quality which could excite compassion for his fate, even among those who had served about his person, or had been advanced by his power."—(*Eleven Years in Ceylon*, i., 477.)

still professing allegiance to British authority, favoured and aided the rebels, and sanctioned the setting up of a pretender who was really a low-caste man, and had been a priest, but who was now alleged to be a scion of the deposed royal family. Mr. Wilson, of the Ceylon civil service, was killed at Welasse: the insurrection spread rapidly through the Kandian provinces; a protracted warfare ensued at the numerous detached military posts scattered throughout the country; the troops were harassed for nine months by incessant marches through a mountainous and wooded district, in pursuit of the rudely armed population, who followed the leading of their chiefs; and upwards of a thousand of our soldiers died of disease: few fell in actual combat with an enemy who was often heard, but seldom seen. Our government, annoyed at the conduct of the chiefs, contemplated abandoning the interior; but disunion among the conspirators led to the exposure of the fraud of setting up a pretender: the insurgents gradually dispersed; their leaders were captured; two were beheaded, and a few, including Eheylapola, were banished to the Mauritius.

The paramount authority of the chiefs was now set aside. British officers, civil and military, were placed in the different districts to collect the revenue and administer justice; and the inferior head-men, instead of being nominated by their chief, received the appointment direct from government. Sir Edward Barnes, who succeeded Sir Robert Brownrigg as governor, spared no exertions or expense to form good roads throughout the interior: mountains were turned into valleys, tunnels cut, viaducts constructed, substantial bridges erected, every province rendered readily accessible by carriage-ways, available at all seasons;—and the Singhalese experienced the blessings of peace.

In 1831, Sir Wilmot Horton, who had distinguished himself as an advocate for colonisation, and who had been under-secretary of state in the colonial department, was appointed governor. During the ensuing year, a commission of inquiry sent from England investigated the state of the island, and suggested various amendments which were carried out, the most important of which was the abolition of compulsory service—a custom which the Kandian government had enacted. Major Forbes says, "the native inhabitants passed in a day from a state more bitter than slavery to the most perfect freedom."* A charter providing for the due administration of justice by supreme, district, and circuit courts, followed this righteous act; trial by jury was adopted; every situation was thrown open to the competition of the Singhalese, and three gentlemen, natives of Ceylon, were appointed members of her Majesty's Legislative Council, on a footing of perfect equality with the other unofficial European members.

In 1835, several chiefs and priests endeavoured to organise another insurrection: it was proposed to poison and massacre all the isolated Europeans residing in the interior. The conspiracy was early discovered; several of the ringleaders were tried before the supreme court for treason, by a jury composed of six Europeans, and seven Singhalese of high rank; the evidence against them was strong, but the prisoners were saved by their countrymen forming the majority. The chiefs who were unworthy of confidence were removed from office, the supporters of government rewarded, tranquillity was restored, and agriculture and commerce advanced with rapid strides, by means of the influx of British capital for investment in coffee planting, which became a mercantile mania, and led to much speculation. One more event, which occupied the attention of parliament for two years, requires notice in this unavoidably brief historic sketch.

Viscount Torrington was appointed governor in 1847. He states that when he arrived in Ceylon, he "found the finances in a most unsatisfactory state; the revenue declining and commerce sinking; and that unless some measure of relief were instantly adopted, the island would become an unproductive colony." The net deficit for 1846 was £74,857. The financial and commercial measures proposed by the governor for the relief of the settlement, and adopted by the Executive and Legislative Councils, are thus set forth by his lordship when addressing the Hours of Peers on the subject, 1st April, 1851:—

"The export duties were abolished except the duty upon cinnamon, which was reduced by two-thirds, viz., from one shilling to fourpence the pound. The import duties were equalised, differential duties being abolished. Generally the taxes reduced were to be estimated at £42,163. As to the export duties, which were abolished, he (Lord Torrington) estimated the relief given to certain classes as follows:—to the cinnamon growers, about

* Vol. i., p. 57.

£15,000 per annum, estimated upon the crop of 1847; to the coffee growers, about £12,000 per annum; to the tobacco growers of the northern districts, the cocoa-nut planters, and native cultivators, about £3,000 per annum. The judicious removal of duties pressing upon production, and the general revival of trade and credit since the mercantile depression of 1847 and 1848, were concurrent with the improvement in the trade of the island, which was shown by the following returns:—In 1846 the coffee exported amounted in value to £328,791; in 1847, to £387,150; in 1848, to £456,624; in 1849, to £534,456. The increase in the first quarter of 1850, beyond that of 1849, was £122,797. The cinnamon exports of 1846 amounted to £40,165; and in 1849 to £73,387, while the increase in the first quarter of 1850, beyond that of 1849, was £4,081. The cocoa-nut oil exports, in 1846, amounted in quantity to 192,723 gallons, and in 1849 to 401,672 gallons; the increase in the first quarter of 1850, beyond that of 1849, being 8,693 gallons. The sale of salt also increased, in 1849, £4,580 beyond 1848; and the tolls increased in 1849, £2,348 beyond 1848. An amendment of the Stamp Act, which was found to be desirable in consequence of the increasing wants of the European community, was passed, and was found to be exceedingly beneficial to the island. A road ordinance had also been passed, with the unanimous concurrence of the Legislative Council, by which every male from the age of sixteen to sixty was required to contribute six days' labour to the improvement of the roads, or to pay a commutation tax not exceeding three shillings for the six days. This measure was carried through in 1849, and was found exceedingly beneficial to the island; for, while attempts were made to excite the people against it, they were so satisfied of the benefits resulting from it, that in many instances they gave double and even treble the time to it that they were obliged to do."*

A gun license, passed by the council, was deemed a salutary precautionary measure, as the Kandians had then probably 60,000 stand of serviceable fire-arms.† A police-tax was also imposed on dogs, these animals having become by their numbers a great nuisance, and given rise to much barbarous slaughter, which was repugnant to the feelings of the Buddhists, who are averse to the taking of life.

The public expenditure was reduced, in 1847, £53,441; in 1848, £15,223; in 1849, £11,115 = total in three years, £78,780 less than in 1846; and in the first nine months of 1850, a further saving of £16,408 was effected, exclusive of that made in the road department. A revised tariff for the relief of trade was enacted, as the *Chamber of Commerce* declared, on 5th August, 1848, that "both the agricultural and commercial interests were labouring under the most severe depression."

* *Times*, 2nd April, 1851.

† When disarmed in 1818, they had no more than 10,000, of which two-thirds were matchlocks, and almost useless.

While reformatory measures were in progress, a rebellion broke out in some of the Kandian provinces in 1848. It was alleged that this insurrection was caused by the imposition of new and oppressive taxes. Such was not the case; a conspiracy had long been organising by the head-men and the Buddhist priests, with a view to the overthrow of the British government. As before, a pretender was set up as king of the Kandians, and solemnly crowned by a large body of deluded people at an ancient temple where the former rulers of the country received royal investiture. The confederates planned the simultaneous attack of the British posts scattered all over the territory, and garrisoned by about 800 men. At Kornegalle, the town was to be occupied while the troops were at church. Lord Torrington naturally felt solicitous, not only for the preservation of the military detachments, but for that of the numerous European coffee planters, with capital invested to the amount of two to three million sterling, whose crop for 1848 was valued at £748,311; the duty paid thereon in England amounting to £661,551. The governor, on receiving this alarming intelligence from Kandy, immediately consulted Quartermaster-general Frazer, who had been instrumental in suppressing the rebellion in 1818. That officer advised the proclamation of martial law, which was promptly done, and subsequently approved by the council. The insurrection was nipped in the bud; but unhappily some excesses were alleged to have been committed, and a Buddhist priest was hanged; but for these, it is asserted, the governor could not be held accountable; "martial law" simply meaning the law laid down by the military officer commanding, his will or authority being supreme. Viscount Torrington vindicated his proceedings, and set forth the motives which actuated his conduct, in a speech to the House of Peers on 1st April, 1851. It affords strong evidence of the exaggerated and, in many respects, utterly unjustifiable censure cast upon his lordship: he demonstrated that the cordial approval of the independent mercantile community, and European coffee planters and gentry, was given to his proceedings, and that his resignation was considered by them a grievous misfortune to the island. Some personal knowledge of the Kandian provinces,—of the credulous character of the people,—of the hopes cherished by the head-men for the recovery

of their despotic power, and of the ardent desire of the Buddhist priests (who dread the destruction of their religious influence) to extinguish British sway, leads me to the conclusion that measures of severity were indispensable, not merely for the maintenance of our supremacy, but for the protection of the lives of the Europeans, who would have been as ruthlessly and treacherously massacred by the rebels, as were the unarmed soldiers under Major Davie, on the confines of Kandy, in 1803. Furthermore, the contiguity of Ceylon to British India, rendered it necessary to adopt prompt and stringent measures for the suppression of any insurrectionary proceedings in the island. Lord Torrington left England with a good business character, acquired as chairman of a large railway company; and he maintained his reputation by the manner in which the finances of the colony were improved, and its commerce renovated, during his administration. Into the private correspondence, petty intrigues, calumnious statements, counter-statements, and misrepresentations which marked two years of acrimonious parliamentary warfare respecting the Ceylon rebellion, it is not my province to enter; they were of little interest except to those engaged therein.* Viscount Torrington candidly admitted, and feelingly deplored, before his compeers, the single act of indiscretion committed in reference to a private letter; and the position which his lordship has since maintained at the court of his sovereign, demonstrates that his character is unsullied. No event worthy of comment has since occurred in this island.†

Physical Features.—The position of Ceylon, near the southern extremity of India, and at the western entrance of the Bay of Bengal, is very advantageous, and especially so to a maritime power possessing, as England does, sway over the adjacent shores. On the north-west the island is separated from the Coromandel coast by the Gulf of Manaar, which is about 120 miles from east to west and 100 from north to south. This gulf is divided from Palk's Strait, to the northward, by a ridge of rocky islets and sandbanks, about seventy miles in length, termed *Adam's Bridge*. The strait is about eighty miles wide, with a similar length. The distance from nearest point of Ceylon to that of the mainland is forty miles.‡ The shape is somewhat pyramidal, with the apex to the north: length, from Point Pedro to Dondera Head in the south, 275 miles; extreme breadth, from east to west, 140; average breadth, 100; circuit 750 miles; and area (including the islets on the north and north-west coast), nearly 25,000 square miles: lat. 6° to nearly 10° N., lon. 80° to 82° E.§ The coast line is flat, but rises from thence by successive terraces and low hills, towards an elevated plateau and mountainous region, sixty-two miles long by fifty-six broad, which occupies an area of about 3,600 square miles in the central southern portion of the island. The northern districts are very flat; and the coast on either shore, towards the extreme, is broken into verdant rocky islands and long narrow peninsulas; one termed Jaffnapatam. Another of these elongated and almost insulated strips of land, about forty miles long, named Navekarre, is situated about the middle of the west coast. In consequence of the lowness of the sea-shore, numerous salt-water lakes, of various extent and depth, are found in different parts, especially to the eastward about Batticaloa, where communication is maintained between the maritime districts by canals and lagoons. Small vessels from

* It is said that the personal disputes among the officials were caused by the appointment of Sir James Emerson Tennent to the Ceylon secretaryship, direct from England, without his having passed through the successive grades of the island civil service. The exertions of Sir James for the reform of the financial system of the colony, which was much needed, also gave rise to secret and malevolent opposition from those who were affected by the retrenchments and salutary measures recommended by Sir James.

† The expenditure incurred by the parliamentary inquiry was very large; the printing and paper of the reports of the committee, cost £3,280; witnesses to 30th July, 1851, received £5,583, including Sir A. Oliphant, chief justice, £1,077; Sir J. E. Tennent, colonial secretary, £1,542; Captain Watson, £606; Lieutenant-colonel Braybrook, £554; J. Selby, £726; H. C. Selby, £625; Lieutenant Henderson, £390. Mr. Rhode, of the Madras civil service, appointed "to investigate the alleged forgery of documents purporting to be signed by Captain Watson, of the Ceylon rifles," received through the Madras authorities from England, £600. There were also various other disbursements.

‡ Ceylon is a central station for steam navigation in the eastern seas; the distances, in miles, to several places are as follows:—Trincomalee to Madras, 335; to Calcutta, 1,080: Colombo to Bombay, 1,175; Pont-de-Galle to Aden, 2,650; thence England, *viâ* the Mediterranean and Marseilles, about 5,550; Galle to Algoa Bay (Cape of Good Hope), about 5,480; Galle to Singapore, 1,850; to Java Head, 2,060; to Swan River (Western Australia), 3,880 miles.

§ Round numbers are given to facilitate the remembrance of figures.

India may land their cargoes at Calpentyn, in the Gulf of Manaar, and have them conveyed by inland navigation to Colombo. From Chilaw to Putlam, thirty miles north of Caltura, there is an interior water communication for a distance of thirty miles. By these means considerable facilities are afforded for irrigation, rice cultivation, and the preparation of salt.*

Mountains.—Two main chains, distant from each other forty miles, have an east to west direction; the northern for about forty, the southern for about fifty miles: their western extremities are connected by irregular ranges, which stretch from north to south (Kornegalle to Ratnapoora) for about sixty miles; the eastern extremities of the parallel ridges approach towards Badulla and Binteune, leaving a distance of thirty-five miles without any marked series; the dip of the table-land being from east to west, and thence to the northward along the course of the Mahavillagunga river. Nearly in the centre of the plateau is an elevated crest, of about thirty-five miles from north-west to south-east, on which the beautiful sanitary station of Newera Ellia is situated. The greatest elevations are on the southern ridge: here the Horton Plains, which are about ten miles in extent, rise 7,000 feet above the sea; and three mountains (Saduhugalla, Lunugalla, and Totapella) ascend from thence to a height of seven to eight hundred feet. Adam's Peak, at the south-west part of the plateau, is 7,420; Newera Ellia plain, 6,210; and Pedrotallagalla Mount, which bounds it to the northward, is 8,280—feet above the sea. The heights, in English feet, of some of the principal mountains, &c., in the interior of Ceylon, are (L. by levelling; Δ by geodesical operations):—Upper Lake in Kandé, 1,678, L.: Matteá Pattanna, the hill above it, 3,192, Δ; Oorraggalle, the rocky ridge of Hantanné to the southward of the town, 4,310, Δ; Hoonassgiria Peak, 4,990, Δ; "The Knuckles," a part of the same chain, 5,870, Δ; highest point in the road leading through the Kaddooganawa Pass, 1,731, L.; Adam's Peak, 7,420, Δ; Nammoonnakoolle, near Badulla, 6,740, Δ; Amboolluawa, near Gampalla, 3,540, Δ; Pedrotallagalla, close to the Rest House of Newera Ellia, 8,280, Δ; Diatalawé, near Hangooranketté, 5,030, Δ; Alloogalle, near Amoonapooré, 3,440, Δ.

* It is proposed to construct railroads in Ceylon, which would be useful for the transmission of produce.

Rivers.—The rivers, as may be expected, are numerous; in fact, the whole island abounds with perennial mountain streams, rivulets, and rivers, the latter more numerous on the south and west than on the north-east. The principal are—the Mahavillagunga, which is navigable for boats and rafts during a great part of the year, from Trincomalee (where it falls into the sea) nearly as far as Kandy (in the centre of the island), where its course is impeded by a ledge of rocks; the Calanygunga, or Mutwal, is not inferior in importance to the former, and is the medium for much internal intercourse for fifty miles from Colombo to Ruanwelle; the Welawe and Gindora.

Towns and Forts.—*Colombo*, on the S.W. coast, 6° 57′ N., 80° E., is the seat of government. The fortress, an irregular octagon, 1¼ miles in circumference, is defended by eight bastions. One-half of the citadel is surrounded by the sea, the other half or land side, by a permanent inundation, which leaves only two narrow causeways of approach. There is a covert-way to the land fronts; but the glacis has never been finished. The revetments are of masonry generally composed of cabrook and lime-mortar, and are (with some exceptions) in tolerable repair. The outworks, from having a full moat in front, are imposing; the ditches are broad, well supplied with water from the inundation, and sufficiently deep. There are neither casemated barracks nor casemated storehouses within the fortress. The wells afford slightly brackish water, but the water fails on a continuance of dry weather. There are several powder magazines in the interior, the whole of which are in a serviceable state. This stronghold, which mounts about 300 pieces of cannon, overlooks the harbour, into which none but vessels of small burthen can enter; it cannot be said to command the roadstead, because vessels may anchor with safety from one to fifteen miles from the shore; it encloses within its lines of defence the residence of the governor, the head-quarters of the army, and the public offices. Although the plan of the body of the place does not conform to the science of more modern war, being of the days of Louis XIII., and according to the system of Chevalier de Ville; still, with good outworks, and casemated cover for troops' stores, constructed in the body of the fort, and the ramparts, &c., placed in an efficient state of repair, Co-

lombo, from its situation, and the great difficulty of approaching it by land, ought, under an intelligent and intrepid governor, to make a protracted defence; with naval support, the fortress could, when menaced by a land attack, receive succour from seaward. *Trincomalee*, on the east of the island, in 8° 32′ N., 81° 17′ E., is one of the finest harbours in the world. The physical aspect is that of a narrow neck of land, or isthmus, connecting the peninsula which juts out into the sea. To the west, this isthmus gradually expands into a plain of considerable extent, bounded on the south-east by a ridge of lofty mountains, on the north-west by low wooded hills, and on the west by the inner harbour, about one mile distant. *Fort Frederick* is situated on the east side of the peninsula, projecting into the Indian ocean. The works of defence consist of three irregular fronts, with a cavalier and a citadel; one front with an unfinished ravelin, occupies the narrow isthmus; the ditches of this front are dry: the two other fronts follow the direction of the ground. The cavalier stands on elevated ground, in the rear of one of the bastions of the land front, and is connected with the bastion by a curtain. The citadel stands behind the cavalier, and on still more elevated ground. The face has twenty feet of escarp, but the revetments are of good masonry. The ground gradually rises from the glacis to the flagstaff, a height of about 300 feet, and then slopes toward the sea, till abruptly terminated by a perpendicular cliff, from which a plummet may be dropped into the water a distance of 240 feet. The fort is well supplied with water. There are several powder magazines within, in a serviceable state.

*Fort Osnaburg*, nearly three miles from Fort Frederick, is built on the termination of a ridge of hills that partly form the boundary of the inner harbour, which the works protect; the government dockyard, immediately below their base, is washed on three sides by the sea. The bay is diversified with verdant islands, would hold all the fleets of Europe, and is accessible at any time. Within the anchorage there is a considerable depth of water: in some places it has not been fathomed. Vessels may lie close alongside the rocks in safety.

*Galle Fortress*, situated on the south shore of the island, and on a peninsula projecting into the sea, commands the only harbour on that side of Ceylon, into which large ships can enter; but is itself overlooked by a range of hills 700 yards distant. The lines of defence on the land side, or across the isthmus, consist of one bastion with a cavalier, two half bastions with faussebrayes, and two curtains, with a half-finished ditch in front of the whole, but without casemated barracks or storehouses.* The salient angles of the half bastions are appuyed to the harbour and sea. The construction of this fort does not follow any regular system. The remaining defences consist of substantial lines built on the edge of the outline of the peninsula, the base of which is constantly washed by a heavy surf. The face is irregular, in some parts bold, but from the small height of the faussebraye, requires a wet ditch in order to guard against escalade. The revetments are composed of rubble stone and coral laid in lime-mortar, and are in tolerable repair. The place is tolerably well supplied with water.

*Jaffna.*—The fort of Jaffna is situated on the north-west side of the island, on an inlet of the Gulf of Manaar. The work is an irregular pentagon, with five bastions connected by curtains; the lines of defence are good, and the flanks perpendicular to the curtains: it has four land and one sea front. The former have ravelins: a covert-way throughout, with the exception of the ravelins, to which there is none, the communication passing by gallery under the flanks of the ravelins; also a glacis. The body of the place has a wet ditch, but the ravelins a dry one. The profile has twenty-two feet of escarp: above the level of the wet ditch the revetments are of masonry, and in a good state of repair. The fort contains twenty-five wells, two of which afford good, and the remainder brackish water. This position is held by a small garrison, stationed in a remote part of the island, and surrounded by a dense native population. Independent of the above four principal posts, there are detached ones on the coast, generally occupied by detachments, with a field-work for their protection. In the interior of the island, the principal place is Kandy, an open town situated in a valley, with four unfinished redoubts on the surrounding heights.

The Roads in the maritime country lie through groves of cocoa-nut trees along the sea-coast. Carriage-ways extend from Colombo as far as Chilaw to the northward, and from Colombo through Galle as far as

* The fortresses and fortified posts in Ceylon have recently undergone considerable improvement.

Matura to the southward. The main road from Colombo to Kandy (the Simplon of the East, now regularly traversed by a "mail coach and four") is a work of stupendous magnitude; hills have been levelled, valleys filled up, and (near Kandy) a tunnel *five hundred feet long, cut through the mountain*, while rapid and unfordable torrents and rivers have had substantial iron and wooden bridges thrown across them. A capital road has been opened between Trincomalee and Colombo, and, before a few more years have elapsed, every town in the island will probably be connected by roads passable at all seasons.

Paradeinia bridge, which has been thrown over the rapid and unfordable river Mahavillagunga, consists of a single arch with a span of 205 feet, principally composed of sappan wood; its height above the river at low-water mark is sixty-seven feet, and the roadway is twenty-two feet wide. The arch is composed of four treble transverse ribs, distant from each other five feet from centre to centre; the average depths of these ribs is four feet, which, with two intervals of two feet each, makes the whole depth of the arch eight feet; the arch-beams, with the exception of those next the abutments, are sixteen to seventeen feet long, and twelve inches thick, abutting against each other with an unbroken section, secured at the joints by the notched pieces which support the roadway, the latter being held in their position by means of cross-ties below and above the arch, and immediately under the roadway; these cross-ties, with the aid of the diagonal braces locked into them, serve to give stability and firmness to the whole structure, which has no other material but timber in its construction.

Geology and Soil.—North division sandy and calcareous, resting upon madrepore, and but little elevated above the level of the sea; the surface of the higher lands of Saffragam and Lower Ouva is much stronger and better adapted for tillage; the granite detritus of the interior produces the most luxuriant crops wherever there are a sufficiency of hands to call forth the reward of industry. The southern plains are sandy, resting on a strong red marl termed "*cabook*," the base of which is granite. In the neighbourhood of Colombo, the lands are low and subject to inundations from the Mutwal river. The foundations of the island are evidently calcareous, yet the greater proportion of its soil is siliceous; in many places (as in the cinnamon gardens near Colombo) the surface being white as snow, and formed of pure quartz sand. The surface is in general traceable to the decomposition of gneiss, granite, or clayey ironstone, the principal ingredient being quartz in the form of sand or gravel, decomposed felspar in the state of clay, combined with different proportions of oxyde of iron, quartz in most instances being the predominating substance, and in many places forming nine-tenths of the whole; the natural soils seldom containing more than three per cent. vegetable matter. The most productive earths are a brown loam resulting from the disintegration of gneiss or granite abounding in felspar, or a reddish loam originating from the decomposition of clayey ironstone; the worst soils are those where quartz prevails, proceeding from the disintegration of quartz rock, or of granite and gneiss, containing a very large proportion of quartz. Regular granite is not of very common occurrence; well-formed gneiss is more abundant, but sienite is not frequent: pure hornblende, and primitive greenstone, are far from uncommon; and dolomite, sometimes of a pure snow white, well adapted for the statuary, occasionally constitutes low hills in the interior; limestone is principally confined to the northerly province of Jaffnapatam. The island appears to be surrounded by an uninterrupted chain or belt of sandstone, interspersed with coral. The coral of the Paumban banks is not the zoophite of the Mediterranean and the South Seas, but a light, porous, crumbling substance, formerly cut and shaped into bricks by the Dutch, and more frequently burnt for lime. Of this species of lime the late fort of Negapatam was built; and so great was the hardness which it acquired by long exposure to the weather, that when Major De Haviland, some years ago, requested a specimen of the masonry of the fort to be procured and sent up to him, the iron crows and other instruments used in detaching the blocks were blunted and bent in all directions by the solidity of the chunam, which proved more adhesive than that obtained from shells. A material capable of being converted into so durable a cement, would well pay the expense of excavation. The ridge called "Adam's Bridge," consists of a mass of loose sand, with no firm foundation of rock or clay for its support. The sand appears to be deposited in great quantities on one side or other of the dividing bank, according to the direction of the monsoon; the violence of the surf washes the sand over to the lee side; in other parts, where the ridge is broad, large heaps, in a dry state, are carried across by the sole force of the prevailing wind. The channels have been surveyed at an expense to the E. I. Cy. of £24,625, and a passage rendered navigable for vessels of moderate size, at a cost of £16,294.

Minerals.—The metallic resources are as yet undeveloped; plumbago has been procured to some extent; gold has been found in the mountain streams, but not in sufficient quantity to pay the labour of obtainment: iron, silver, and quicksilver are said to exist. The geological formation indicates the presence of the most valuable ores. The amethyst, topaz, sapphire, garnet, cinnamon stone, rubies, cat-eye, and other precious stones are found in various places. Alum, nitre, and salt are plentiful.

Climate.—Ceylon is under the complete influence of the monsoons, the north-east prevailing from November to February, and the south-west from April to September; the intervening or equinoctial months having variable winds or calms. The eastern side of the island is hot and dry like the Coromandel coast, during the sway of the north-east monsoon; the opposite division is temperate and humid, like the southern Malabar shore during the continuance of the south-west monsoon; the climate, however, of the southern coast is more congenial to Europeans than perhaps any part of intertropical India. On

the whole, the north and north-east may be said to be dry, and the south-west moist. The south-west wind prevails generally over the island; for both at Colombo and Trincomalee it is felt five months in succession; whereas the north-east blows at Colombo only in the months of December and January—seldom beyond them. Among the mountains of the interior, the winds are modified by local circumstances, according to their proximity to the east or west coast: and the highest and most central lands have peculiarities of their own. Thus, at Badulla, in Upper Ouva (where there is an excellent hospital and military station), the wind for three-fourths of the year is from the north-east, and in June, July, and August variable. Owing to its intertropical position, the quantity of rain that falls in Ceylon is large. At Colombo the annual quantity is stated at about one hundred inches, of which eighty fall in April, May, October, and November.* Though infrequent, the showers are very heavy while they last, a depth of two or three inches being not uncommon in twenty-four hours; the average of the Alpine region is about eighty-four inches. Less rain falls on the east than on the west side of the island; a lofty mountainous ridge often acting as a line of demarcation, one side of which is heavily drenched, while the other lies scorching beneath an unclouded sun. On one part of the island, and even on one face of a mountain, the rain may fall in torrents, while in the contrary aspect the earth is parched and the herbage withered;—here the inhabitants may be securing themselves from expected inundations,—there they will be found husbanding with care the little water of a former season which may yet remain in their wells and tanks. Thus throughout the southern division, where the rains are copious (owing, probably, to its exposure to the southern ocean), canals are not less useful in draining the lowlands, than in the conveyance of produce; and embankments are much required to secure the crops from destruction during the rainy season; while in the northern division of the island, tanks and watercourses are in the greatest request, to secure the inhabitants against the terrible effects of frequent droughts to which their districts are liable.

Owing chiefly to its insular position, no climate is more favoured than Ceylon, its temperature being moderate when compared with the scorching heat of India. Along the sea-coast the mean annual temperature may be taken at 80° Fahrenheit; the extreme range from 68° to 90°; and the medium from 75° to 85°. The climate of the mountains is of course cooler, but the vicissitudes greater. At Kandy, which is 1,467 feet above the sea, the mean annual temperature is 78°; at the top of Namini Cooli Kandia, 5,548 feet high, Dr. Davy found the temperature, at eight A. M., 57°. At Colombo (the capital) the mean daily variation of the temperature does not exceed 3°; while the annual range of the thermometer is from 76° to 86½° Fah. At Galle, the mean daily variation is 4°, and the annual range 71° to 87°. Jaffnapatam—mean daily variation, 5°; annual range, 70° to 90°: Trincomalee—greatest daily variation, 17°; annual range, 74° to 91°. At Kandy (the capital of the mountain or table-land in the interior), mean daily variation, 6°; annual range, 66° to 86°. At Newera Ellia, a military convalescent station, mean daily variations as high as 11°, and annual variation from 35° to 80°.† The climate, where the ground is not cleared, is undoubtedly subject to pernicious malaria, arising from stagnant marshes, and dank and noisome jungles; and even after the removal of these incentives to disease, it requires the continuous healthy action of the sun for some time before the unhealthy miasma is dissipated: at certain seasons, therefore, endemic fevers still appear in situations favourable to their propagation, but the whole island is growing more uniformly salubrious as it becomes cleared and cultivated. The environs of Trincomalee, which were formerly very unhealthy, have become much less so by clearing the jungles in the environs.

*Ceylon Meteorology.*

| Months.[b] | Colombo (sea-shore) Register. | | | | | | | | | Badulla (2,107 ft. above the sea.)[a] | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Thermometer. | | | | | Barometer. | | Wind. | Rain Gauge, inches.[c] | Thermometer. | | | | |
| | Mean Morn. | Mean, Mid-day. | Mean Night. | Highest. | Lowest. | Maximum. | Minimum. | | | 8 A.M. | Noon. | 8 P.M. | Highest. | Lowest. |
| January . | 78 | 81 | 79 | 82½ | 76 | 29.85 | 29.80 | N. | 1.0 | 62 | 72 | 66 | 74 | 55 |
| February . | 79 | 83 | 81½ | 85 | 76 | 30. | 29.85 | N. to N.E. & S.W. | 0.4 | 63 | 74 | 68 | 77 | 55 |
| March . . | 80 | 84 | 82 | 85 | 77 | 29.90 | 29.80 | | 8.1 | 62 | 76 | 67 | 80 | 50 |
| April . . . | 81 | 84 | 82 | 86½ | 80 | 29.87 | 29.85 | | 11.7 | 66 | 78 | 70 | 80 | 65 |
| May . . . | 82 | 85 | 82 | 86 | 79 | 29.93 | 29.80 | S.W. | 6.6 | 68 | 78 | 71 | 83 | 64 |
| June . . . | 81 | 83 | 82 | 86 | 79 | 29.88 | 29. | Ditto | 2.3 | 64 | 77 | 72 | 80 | 65 |
| July . . . | 80 | 83 | 81 | 84 | 79 | 29.98 | 29. | Ditto | 10.7 | 63 | 74 | 71 | 81 | 60 |
| August . . | 81 | 83 | 82 | 83 | 80 | 29.90 | — | Ditto | 3.5 | 66 | 79 | 71 | 83 | 60 |
| September | 82 | 83 | 82 | 85 | 81 | 29.90 | 29.80 | Ditto | 8.2 | 66 | 79 | 72 | 82 | 62 |
| October . | 80 | 83 | 81 | 83 | 78 | 29.90 | 29.80 | Ditto | 7.1 | 66 | 79 | 72 | 83 | 62 |
| November | 80 | 82 | 81 | 83 | 79 | 30. | 29.90 | S.W. to N and N.E. | 7.1 | 67 | 75 | 71 | 83 | 62 |
| December | 80 | 82 | 80 | 84 | 78 | 29.90 | 29.80 | | 18.6 | 67½ | 73 | 71 | 75 | 62 |

[a] Badulla is situate on a plain, in a mountainous country surrounded by hills, with an elevation of 1,000 to 3,000 feet, towards the south-eastern extremity of Ceylon, having the sea at 40 to 50 miles distant on the east, south, and west sides; the elevation of Badulla, above the ocean level, is 2,107 feet.

[b] *Remarks by a Kandian Chief, the result of Sixty Years' Observation.*—Jan. Heavy rains, and very cold nights. Feb. No rain; hot. March. A little rain, and warm. April. No raiu; very warm. May. Light rain; wiudy. June. No rain; hot and dry. July. Ditto; very hot. Aug. Ditto; hot. Sept. Ditto; ditto. Oct. Heavy rains, and cool. Nov. Ditto, ditto. Dec. Hot and dry; very cold nights.

[c] The Rain Gauge, showing a total of 84.3 inches, is for Kandy (in 1819), in the interior, which constitutes the average of the mountain districts; on the sea-shore, as at Colombo, the average annual fall of rain is from 80 to 100 inches.

* At an estate in the Hunasgiria Mountains, 3,000 feet above the sea, the range of the thermometer from 16th September to 16th October, was 62° to 72° Fah.; the fall of rain 27 inches; wind westerly.

† Our troops have suffered much in Ceylon; but it should be recollected, that as compared with the Indian army, their routine of duty is of a severe description. The insular force have not the

A delightful station has been formed at Newera Ellia, south-west from Kandy fifty miles, fourteen from Fort M'Donald, fifteen from Maturatte, and 122 from Colombo. The road between Newera Ellia and Kandy leads through a wild and mountainous country; the scenery, always picturesque, is sometimes magnificent in the extreme: at one time, the traveller is surrounded by steep and inaccessible mountains, whose sides are clothed with dense forests; while rocks of enormous size, deep and precipitous ravines, and cataracts rushing with foaming velocity from the heights, diversify the picture. The elevation of Newera Ellia plain (four miles long, and one and a-half broad) is 6,000 feet above the sea, and surrounded by steep mountains of irregular height, covered with wood to the very summit; one in particular, rises 2,000 feet above the level of the Newera Ellia river, which meanders through lovely banks across the plain. The climate is agreeable, never approaching tropical heat in summer, with sometimes ice in winter; the mean temperature, by day and night, for the entire year, 55°. So that visitors who have recently quitted a climate within a few degrees of the equator, often learn with astonishment, that a fire is always enjoyed by night, and frequently in the day. The water is so pure as to form a transparent solution with nitrate of silver; several chalybeate springs have been met with. The daisy, buttercup, violet, ribwort, dandelion, barbery, briar, &c., flourish indigenously; the rose, pink, mignionette, and carnation, are fragrant as in England; delicious strawberries are abundant, and potatoes, carrots, artichokes, peas, beans, salads, cabbages, turnips, parsnips, and in fact all British culinary vegetable thrive perfectly. The soil is of a deep black mould, resting on a stratum of yellow clay and gravel: numerous varieties of beautiful quartz exist.

*Health of Troops in India, Ceylon, and Mauritius.*

| Stations. | Period. | | Total No. Years. | Strength | Ann. mean No. of Deaths. | Mean ratio of Deaths. | Ann mean No. of Men invalided. | Mean ratio of Men invalided | Total loss by Death and invaliding. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | From | To | | | | | | | |
| INDIA: | | | | | | | | | |
| Bengal Army | 1825 | 1826 | 1 | 7,976 | 774 | 9·7 | 379 | 4·7 | 14·5 |
| Madras Army | 1808 | 1809 | 2 | 8,717 | 713 | 8·1 | — | — | — |
| Ditto ditto | 1815 | 1821 | 7 | 12,592 | 794 | 6·3 | 486 | 3·7 | 10·1 |
| 17th Dragoons | 1809 | 1822 | 14 | 730 | 75 | 7·8 | — | — | — |
| Royal Regiment, 2nd bat. | 1807 | 1831 | 24 | 1,067 | 92 | 7·6 | 37 | 3·1 | 10·8 |
| 13th Regiment[a] | 1823 | 1829 | 7 | 764 | 133 | 19·6 | — | — | — |
| 34th ditto | 1803 | 1823 | 20 | 895 | 69 | 7·7 | — | — | — |
| 45th ditto | 1819 | 1830 | 12 | 738 | 63 | 8·5 | 22 | 3· | 11·5 |
| 59th ditto | 1806 | 1818 | 13 | 901 | 69 | 7·8 | 21 | 2·3 | 10· |
| 65th ditto | 1801 | 1822 | 22 | 971 | 64 | 6·5 | 18 | 1·8 | 8·4 |
| 69th ditto | 1805 | 1820 | 15 | 844 | 68 | 8·5 | — | — | — |
| 78th ditto | 1797 | 1815 | 19 | 846 | 96 | 11·3 | — | — | — |
| CEYLON: | | | | | | | | | |
| 19th Regiment | 1796 | 1819 | 24 | 837 | 62 | 7·4 | 24 | 2·8 | 10·2 |
| 73rd ditto[b] | 1818 | 1820 | 3 | 654 | 184 | 28·1 | 35 | 5·3 | 33·4 |
| 83rd ditto | 1818 | 1820 | 3 | 871 | 78 | 8·9 | 55 | 6·3 | 15·2 |
| MAURITIUS: | | | | | | | | | |
| 82nd Regiment | 1820 | 1831 | 12 | 534 | 20 | 3·7 | 24 | 4·5 | 8·2 |

[a] This gallant regiment suffered much during the Burmese war, and the disproportionate mortality was owing to the unhealthiness of Rangoon, and other exceptional causes.

[b] The mortality in the 73rd regiment was owing to great fatigue and exposure during the Kandian war, and subsequent rebellion, which involved the detention of the troops in mountainous and swampy districts.

The above table shows the military returns of a past period, since which great improvement has taken place in the salubrity of Ceylon. By the latest data it appears that the average mortality of the troops (the criterion generally referred to) has considerably diminished, and may now be taken at four per cent. per annum.

POPULATION.—The immense ruins extant demonstrate that the island was formerly extensively peopled. An area of nearly 25,000 square miles could readily support 300 mouths to each square mile = 7,500,000. The number of inhabitants had evidently been declining for several centuries; the tide has now turned, and a progressive augmentation may be expected. In 1814, the maritime provinces had 475,883; in 1824, 595,105: the total of the island was then about 852,940. In 1832, the population

facilities of water communication which the Ganges and its tributaries afford; the one country is in many parts quite unpeopled, and the other comparatively civilised; add to which a pernicious system prevails in Ceylon of making the troops commence marches at midnight, than which nothing can be more injurious. A late intelligent deputy-inspector-general of the hospitals in Ceylon (H. Marshall, Esq.), drew up the above comparative table of the health and mortality of troops in India, Ceylon, and Mauritius; but it must be remembered, in the first place, that his data for Ceylon were collected some time ago, since which period the country has already materially improved; and in order to judge accurately, we should know the ages of the deceased and invalided, and the tropical service endured. I give, however, the table, in the hope that it may induce further inquiry based on the valuable records already framed by medical officers of the British army, than whom, no class of persons can have better opportunities for this peculiar investigation; and certainly none have contributed more generally to the diffusion of the literature and science of England throughout her colonies.

was stated to be 1,009,008; of whom there were—whites, males, 3,213; females, 3,154 = 6,367: the slaves* were then—males, 11,373; females, 11,616 = 22,989. In 1836, a return made shows—males, 645,492; females, 584,336 = 1,229,828: of these, the whites were—males, 5,407; females, 3,506; including military—males, 2,495; their wives and children, 577 = 11,985: the slaves were stated to be—males, 14,108; females, 13,289 = 27,397. The population of Colombo fort, Pettah or native town, and Korles or divisions, was, in 1831—fort, 432; Pettah within, 4,760; without, 26,357; Korles, 203,242. The statistics of population are thus stated in the *Blue Book* for the year 1852, but on what data the estimate was formed is not recorded.

| Provinces. | Area in sq. miles. | Whites. | | Coloured. | | Aliens and Resident Strangers. | Mouths to sq. m. | Persons engaged in | | | Births. | Marriages. | Deaths. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males. | Fem. | Males. | Females. | | | Agriculture. | Manufactures. | Commerce | | | |
| Western . . | 3,820 | 1,553 | 1,452 | 278,267 | 247,168 | 7,055 | 140 | 129,064 | 21,100 | 26,887 | 16,094 | 6,318 | 7,247 |
| North-Western | 3,362 | 82 | 75 | 96,796 | 91,559 | 2,098 | 56 | 85,664 | 1,977 | 2,806 | 2,912 | 1,986 | 2,653 |
| Southern . . | 2,147 | 308 | 241 | 189,779 | 179,241 | 1,081 | 172 | 100,063 | 13,554 | 12,657 | 8,550 | 4,577 | 5,947 |
| Eastern . . | 4,753 | 588 | 474 | 40,912 | 37,294 | 1,057 | 16 | 15,937 | 3,516 | 2,976 | 3,841 | 741 | 1,369 |
| Northern . . | 5,427 | 443 | 414 | 155,501 | 148,896 | 577 | 56 | — | 4,500 | 3,881 | 6,373 | 1,199 | 4,976 |
| Central . . | 5,191 | 451 | 223 | 115,101 | 93,372 | 15,133 | 43 | 145,041 | 6,771 | 12,715 | 4,222 | 1,931 | 3,350 |
| Total . . | 24,700 | 3,428 | 2,879 | 876,356 | 797,530 | 27,001 | 69 | 475,769 | 51,418 | 61,922 | 41,992 | 16,752 | 25,542 |
| Military and their families | — | 1,909 | 322 | 2,540 | 1,673 | — | — | — | — | — | 200 | 79 | 164 |

The total fixed inhabitants therefore seems to be—males, 879,784; females, 800,409 = 1,680,193, which shows an increase of upwards of half a million in twenty years. The number of mouths to each square mile are now about seventy; the island could well support four times that density, or six to seven million occupants. There is a considerable migration of labourers to and from the islands: in 1853, the number of *arrivals* were—men, 36,582; women, 2,042; children, 653: *departures*—men, 27,129; women, 981; children, 378. This annual influx of the working classes may tend to explain the otherwise unaccountably rapid increase of population.

Although comprising a variety of different nations, the inhabitants may be divided into four distinct classes. 1st. The Singhalese or Ceylonese proper (descended, by some accounts, from the Sings or Rajpoots of Hindoostan, and by others from the Siamese), who occupy Kandy, and the south and south-west coasts of the island from Hambantotte to Chilaw. 2nd. The Malabars or Hindoos, who invaded Ceylon from the opposite coast, and are in possession of the north and east coasts, and of the peninsula of Jaffnapatam. 3rd. The Moors, who are dispersed all over the island, and in Putlam district form the mass of the population. 4th. Veddas or Beddas, the aborigines of the island, who dwell in the great forests which extend from the south to the east and north, and also in the more inaccessible parts of the interior. There are some Malays, Kafirs, and Javanese, a few Chinese, and Parsee traders, and a good many of mixed race, the offspring of Portuguese, Dutch, and even English intercourse with natives, scattered over the island. *Caste,* as respects the Singhalese and Malabars, is scrupulously preserved, and very widely ramified, almost every occupation having its distinct class. There are, for instance, the gold and silversmiths caste, the fishers, the barbers, the washer*men,* the manufacturers of jaghery (sugar), the toddy drawers, the lime-makers, &c.; but the highest and most esteemed is that of Vellalahs or Goyas, whose occupations are exclusively agricultural; yet as land is assigned in part payment of every description of service, the practice of husbandry is not confined to the Vellalahs, but exercised by persons of all castes for subsistence. By the Kandian laws intermarriage between the high and low castes is prohibited, and many are the distinctions recognised and enforced, by which the latter have been degraded and reduced, by slow degrees, to a state of hereditary servility. While the Malabars professing the Hindoo faith maintain the *religious* as well as the *civil* distinction of caste, the Singhalese or Buddhists have abolished the former and retained the latter.

In colour the Singhalese vary from light brown or olive to black; the eyes sometimes hazel, but the hair almost always black, long, and silky; in height they are 5 ft. 4 to 5 ft. 7; clean made, with

* Slavery is now totally abolished throughout Ceylon.

firm muscle, and small bone; the chest capacious, and the shoulders broad; and in the mountainous districts, like most other highlanders, they have short but strong and rather muscular legs and thighs; the hands and feet, like those of the Hindoos, are uncommonly small; the head well shaped, perhaps longer than the European; the features often handsome, and generally intelligent and animated; the beard is unshorn, giving manliness to the youthful countenance, and dignity to that of age. The women, particularly those of the maritime provinces, are very attractive. Yet there are some strange points in the *beau ideal*, drawn by a Kandian courtier, of the attributes of an Eastern Venus:—"Her hair should be voluminous, like the tail of a peacock—long, reaching to the knees, and terminating in graceful curls; her eyebrows should resemble the rainbow, her eyes the blue sapphire, and the petals of the blue manilla-flower; her nose should be like the bill of the hawk; her lips should be bright and red, like coral, or the young leaf of the iron-tree; her teeth should be small, regular, closely set, and like jessamine-buds; her neck should be large and round, resembling the herrigodea; her chest capacious; her breast firm and conical, like the yellow cocoa-nut, and her waist small—almost small enough to be clasped by the hand; her hips wide; limbs tapering; soles of feet without any hollow; and the surface of her body in general soft, delicate, smooth, and rounded, without the asperities of projecting bones and sinews." The latter feature may be considered generally characteristic of the Singhalese, who are rather remarkable for agility and flexibility of fibre than for strength and power of limb. Whatever may have been the extent of civilisation in Ceylon at a remote period, at the present time the people are not superior, if indeed equal, to the Hindoos, in the domestic and fine arts; although many branches of manufactures, such as the weaving of cotton and silk, the smelting of, and working in, gold, silver, iron, copper, &c.; the cutting and setting of precious stones, the glazing of pottery, application of lacker, preparation of gunpowder, casting of cannon, distillation of spirits, &c., are carried on with extraordinary success, considering the simple instruments employed and the scanty aid obtained from science.

The "Moormen" constitute the active traders of Ceylon. At Colombo they are principally connected with the coffee operations; at Trincomalee they are engaged in the ebony, satin, and other cabinet-wood felling and export; at Batticaloa, they own the coasting craft which ply with the adjacent continent; in the interior they are pedlars, bartering European goods for native produce; and wherever there is a favourable opening for business, they are established as shopkeepers; their colour is darker than that of the Singhalese; their language that of Southern India (Tamil); and their religion the Sheah sect of Mohammedanism. They are industrious, frugal, and wealthy; shrewd at a bargain, always ready to buy or sell, and form a valuable class of society. I found this active, intelligent race in all the towns, whether Arab or Portuguese, along the coast of Eastern Africa. They have no tradition of their origin: some suppose them to be a remnant of the Persians, by whom Ceylon was frequented A.D. 500; others suggest their being Arabs by descent, but their features do not sustain this opinion. My own impression is, that they are emigrants from Morocco and Western Africa; that they traded along the shores of that continent, and thus reached India; and that they belong to the race formerly known as Moors, and still found on the banks of the Senegal and of the Gambia rivers.

The Veddas are a remnant of the aborigines who possessed the eastern part, if not the whole of the island, when it was invaded by Vegeya and his followers, B.C. 543. They are divided into two classes: the first have fixed residences, cultivate small patches of land, and communicate, but do not mix with the Singhalese; the second are foresters—rove from place to place in search of game, and do not till the earth. They exchange venison preserved in honey for arrow-heads, the only manufactured article much coveted. Both classes are nearly naked, and are considered to be rude rather than savage: those I saw near Badulla resemble somewhat the Gonds and Koles of India, alike in their appearance and worship (*see* Div. XI., p. 505.) Among the resident aliens there are some Kafirs (of whom the 2nd Ceylon regiment was formerly composed), Malays, Javanese, Chinese, Parsees, and a good many descendants of the Portuguese and Dutch—a mixed race; to these are now being added many children born of native mothers, whose fathers are of British blood.

The national character of the Singhalese is unfavourable: among the dwellers on the

coast-line and flat country, apathy, sloth, and servility abound;—among the Kandians, or people of the mountain region, cruelty, cunning, and deceit;—among all, lying, theft, sensuality,* and cowardice. Such are my own impressions after personal intercourse with both classes. Sir J. E. Tennent says—"Jealousy, slander, litigation, and revenge prevail to an unlooked-for excess; licentiousness is so universal that it has ceased to be opprobrious, and hatred so ungovernable, that murders are by no means rare. Falsehood, the unerring index of innate debasement, is of ubiquitous prevalence; theft is equally prevalent; and deceit, in every conceivable shape, in forgery and fraud, in corruption and defamation, is so notorious and habitual amongst the uneducated mass, that the feeling of confidence is almost unknown; and in the most intimate arrangements of domestic life, the bond of brotherhood or friendship, of parent and of child, inspires no effectual reliance in the mutual good faith and honour of the interested parties."†

The Religion of the majority of the Singhalese‡ is Buddhism. When it arose, and whether as an offshoot of Brahminism, or the primary stock of that creed, are questions which have given rise to many learned discussions, and still remain unsolved. In the opinion of some Hindoo sages, *Budh* or *Boodh*, is supposed to be the ninth avatar of *Vishnu* (the second person of the Hindoo triad, and god of preservation), who reappeared for the purpose of reclaiming the Hindoos from many abominations into which they had fallen, and teaching them more benevolent forms of worship, than through the means of human and animal sacrifices which they *then* extensively practised.§ These doctrines being too simple, and therefore interfering with the privileges of the Brahminical priests, a religious war ensued between the old and new sects, and the Buddhists were ultimately expelled from the peninsula of India.|| But the Buddhists in general will not tolerate the idea of superior antiquity being conceded to the Brahminical faith; they deny the identity of Buddh with the ninth avatar of Vishnu, which they declare was a mere manifestation of his power. They do not acknowledge a *creation* of the universe, but assert that it has been destroyed many times, and, by some extraordinary operation, as often reproduced. They enumerate twenty-two of these regenerated worlds, each of which was consecutively governed by Buddhas, and say that the present universe has been ruled successively by four, of whom *Gotama-Gaudama-Sakya* is the fourth; a fifth, Maitree Buddha, is yet to come, previous to which this world will be changed.

Gaudama, stated to have been the son of the sovereign of the celebrated kingdom of Magadha (Bahar),¶ was born at Pataliputra (? Patna) B.C. 623, and after traversing India and Ceylon for the propagation of his faith, died B.C. 543, æt. 80. Two centuries after his demise, the Singhalese, who then worshipped demons and serpents, were converted to Buddhism, the doctrines of which were reduced to writing in the Pali language between 104 and 76 B.C.

Mr. Turnour, a distinguished Singhalese scholar, asserted that there are veritable records in Pali relative to Buddhism since the year 500 B.C.; beyond this time the Buddhists admit that all is legendary. There is a wide diversity of opinion as to the character of the religion connected with the name of Buddh: some (including Mountstuart Elphinstone) contend that it is atheistic; others (including Colonel Sykes) say it is theistic. There can, however, be no doubt that it is highly metaphysical, capable of varied interpretations, full of subtleties, and well adapted for the subjugation of the mass of its disciples to priestcraft, through the instrumentality of monasteries, mummeries, sacred relics,** and

* Marriage until recently was unknown, and polyandria was general.

† *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 252.

‡ At Jaffna, and in the north of Ceylon, the people are of the Brahminical faith.

§ *See* Coleman on the *Mythology of the Hindoos.*

|| Among the absurdities gravely argued in reference to this point, it is dogmatically asserted, that "the *final* overthrow of Buddhism in Bahar, and its expulsion from Hindoostan, took place probably between the 7th and 12th centuries of the Christian era. Colonel Sykes, however, extends the period to the 13th or 14th."—(*Asiatic Journal*, vol. iv., p. 331.) From hence it would appear that a "*final overthrow*" was in progress of accomplishment for five or seven hundred years!

¶ For a notice of Magadha, see previous history of India in this work, Div. xi., p. 18.

** The greatest object of veneration is termed the *delada*, or tooth of Buddh, which is a piece of discoloured ivory about two inches in length, in shape and dimensions resembling the formidable tusk of a boar. It is said to have been originally deposited at the temple of Juggernath in Orissa, then a Buddhistic shrine: about 1,500 years ago it was removed to Ceylon, and retained as a palladium, the possession of it being deemed inseparable from the sovereignty of the island. There are doubts of its

other delusions. The foundation of the creed consists of commands enjoined by Buddh; these were originally *five* (necessary to the attainment of perfection); to which were added five injunctions, meritorious but not imperative. The first five are—1st. Not to kill a living creature of any kind; 2nd. Not to steal; 3rd. Not to commit adultery; 4th. Not to speak an untruth on any occasion; 5th. Not to use intoxicating liquors or drugs. The discretional commands are—not to eat after midday; and not to sleep on costly, soft, or elevated beds (but on clean mats), or indulge sensually. The others inculcate, generally, virtue and benevolence, and the practice of rigid abstinence.

By obedience to these rules, and the practice of virtue (including the forgiveness of injuries), every human being may, it is asserted, through his own efforts, and unaided by any Divine spirit, attain the highest degree of bliss in this world and in the next—*Nirwana,* a state resulting from the total subjugation, or rather extinction, of passions and desires, but which probably means, according to our translation of the word, a mystical condition of perfect peace and imperturbable repose.

In the Buddhistic theology there are twenty-six heavens, placed one above another; there are also several hells: both differ in their glory and in their terror, and have, as Plutarch and Dante figured, distinct gradations in the scale of happiness or of misery. The doctrine of metempsychosis (which prevails in several forms of religion as well as in Brahminism) involves the permission of individuals whose etherialisation is incomplete, to revisit this earth in future births, to attain the bliss of *nirwana.* Misfortune is supposed to be the result of moral demerit in some previous stage of existence, as neither in heaven nor on earth can man escape the consequences of his acts, for which he must personally atone. Matter is eternal, but subject at remote intervals to decay and reformation, and, together with animal life, is spontaneous in origin, and operating by procession. Buddhism is said to be "less a form of religion than a *school of philosophy;* and its worship, according to the institutes of its founders, consists of an appeal to the *reason,* rather than an attempt on the imagination through the instrumentality of rites and parade."* Surely it is a misnomer to dignify such contradictory ideas and absurd hypotheses with the name of "philosophy" or of "reason." Spontaneity of material existence, devoid of thought, plan, and wisdom of design, will not, in reference either to our own structure and being, or to all we see around, from the minutest insects to the revolving plants, bear the slightest intellectual test, or any attempt whatever to found thereon a philosophical system.

A further exposition is beyond my limits; but I may observe, after a personal observation of the effects of Buddhism in Ceylon and in China, that notwithstanding nearly 2,000 years' trial, under the most favourable circumstances in Ceylon, it has utterly failed, either for the expansion of reason, the inculcation of philosophy, or the promotion of social happiness. The Singhalese, where not brought under the influence of Christian teaching or example, are as cruel, sensual, lying, faithless, vicious, debased, and superstitious as any other Pagans; indeed, far below many other benighted

authenticity; and it is said the Portuguese destroyed the original tooth and substituted the present tusk, which is kept in a small and elegant temple. The relic chamber is hung with cloths of golden tissue; and on a table of massive silver, richly chased, is a small *dogoba,* hung with gold chains and other ornaments, and containing the sacred caskets, within the innermost of which the tooth is enshrined amidst the leaves of a golden lotus. The paraphernalia has a profusion of pearls, brilliant sapphires, large emeralds, rubies, cat's-eyes, amethysts, and other precious stones; the whole valued at £60,000. On our final occupation of Kandy, a guard of soldiers was placed over the temple, which the Kandians prized as a mark of respect for Buddhism, but which had reference to the wealth of the shrine and the tradition attached to its possession. Christians objected to the use made of our governmental care for the tooth, and in 1848, the relic was given over in charge to the Dewa Nilleme, or Kandian chief of highest rank, and with him was associated the high priests of the province: one key of the temple was kept by the principal British officer at Kandy. Subsequently, when fears were entertained that the *delada* might be used as heretofore to excite rebellion among the population, government resumed its sole custody; but in May, 1853, it was again consigned to the care of those to whom it had been entrusted in 1848, and they are held responsible for its safety. The Buddhists delight in relics of their leader. The learned Chinese, Fa Hian, whose recorded travels in the fifth century through various parts of Asia are extant, states that he saw at Ladak a vase in which Boodh had spat, and a tooth, in honour of which latter a tower had been erected by the king. Cuttings of the hair and nails were preserved in monasteries; and at Nankin, Fa Hian was shown a *shadow* of Buddh, but he was unable to describe how it had been preserved.

* Tennent's *Christianity in Ceylon,* p. 220.

races in the exercise of those virtues which they so highly extol. And every creed fails that is not of Divine origin. He that created man,—who breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and made him a living soul,—can alone frame the theology which links us with eternity. I cannot speak of Buddhism as "a code of morality for mankind in general, *second* only to that of Christianity itself."* I cannot recognise any "second" or degree in relation to falsehood and truth. Christian morality springs *from*, does not cause, regeneration: works arise from faith, not faith from works. Christianity denounces the sinful thought as equal to the sinful act; enjoins us to *love* our enemies antecedently to the forgiveness of injuries; and declares there is but *one mode* by which we can be purified from the taint of original sin which pervades every descendant of Adam.

Another topic on which I think misapprehension exists, requires a brief comment, especially as it has been promulgated by a high authority, who says—"Looking to its (Buddhism) influence at the present day over at least 350,000,000 of human beings (exceeding one-third of the human race), it is no exaggeration to say that the religion of Buddh is the most widely diffused that now exists, or that has ever existed since the creation of mankind."† This would indeed be lamentable were the statement founded on statistical data. Buddhism extends over part of Ceylon; a small sect of it, under the name of Jains, is scattered in Western India and in parts of Nepaul; it predominates in Tibet, Burmah, Siam, Cochin China, Japan, and in a very small portion of China, where its worship is fast decaying. It would be a large admission to say that the votaries of Buddh amount to 100,000,000, or *one-tenth* of the human race, instead of one-third of mankind.

With reference to "*wide diffusion*," Buddhism is by no means so extensively diffused as Mohammedanism, which prevails over the whole of Africa, is found in every corner of Asia, throughout the Asiatic islands, and in the east of Europe. As regards "*influence*," that of Christianity is more general than any other creed: it is felt throughout the entire of Europe and America; in Western Asia; at various parts of Western, Southern, and Eastern Africa; over all India, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya; from Afghanistan to Burmah; in the Eastern Archipelago, in Australia, New Zealand, and over the wide-spread isles of the Pacific; and in China, where the insurrection involves more or less the teaching of Christianity: in fact, there is no part of the habitable globe where the "influence" of the Gospel is unfelt, and which is not being gradually but surely filled with the knowledge of the only true God.

There is a tradition that some Christians settled in Ceylon many centuries since, and subsequently retired from the island; but the Singhalese in general, seem to have derived their first knowledge of the gospel from the Portuguese, who here as in India probably considered that "Pagans may be brought over to our religion, not only by the hopes of eternal salvation, but also by temporal interest and preferment." Thus John III. directed, that when any of the Indians professed Christianity, they were to be provided with places in the customs, to be exempted from impressment for the navy, and sustained by the distribution of rice from the public treasury. Such a policy, in conjunction with the close resemblance between the forms of Romish worship and those of Buddhism, procured many nominal converts. But the process not being found sufficiently rapid, the Jesuits, in their zeal, resolved on the adoption of a course of policy which they assumed to be justified by the saying of Paul—of becoming all things to all men: in fact, they acted the part of some Puseyites in the present day, who go half-way over to the Romanists, in the expectation of bringing the latter into the church of England fold; an experiment which often terminates in their own renunciation of the reformed faith.

The Jesuits assumed the character of Brahmins of a superior caste from the western world,—conformed to the heathen customs, and, in support of their pretensions, produced a deed, forged in ancient characters, to show that the Brahmins of Rome were of much older date than the Brahmins of India, and descended in an equally direct line from Brahma himself. They also composed a pretended Veda, in which they profanely strove to insinuate the doctrines of Christianity in the language and phraseology of the sacred books of the Hindoos. The Cavy, or orange robe, peculiar to the Sanyassees, the fourth and most venerated of the Brahminical caste, was worn by the Jesuits, some of whom hung a tiger's robe from their shoulders, in imitation of Siva; abstained from animal food, wine, and prohibited

* *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 219.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 192—200.

vegetables; performed the ablutions required by the shastras; marked their foreheads with sandal-wood powder (a distinctive emblem of Hindooism), and spurned the Pariahs and lower castes who could lay no claim to the inherent nobility of the Brahmins.*

Abbé Dubois, the Roman catholic missionary who records these facts, argues in favour of that communion, as calculated to make more impression in India than the Protestant, because "its external pomp and show are well suited to the genius and disposition of the natives: it has a *pooja* or sacrifice, processions, images, and statues; *tirtan* or holy water, feasts, fasts, and prayers for the dead; invocation of saints, and other practices which bear more or less resemblance to that of the Hindoos." The Jesuits availed themselves of these coincidences; images of the Virgin and of the Saviour were placed on triumphal cars, imitated from the orgies of Juggernath; the dancers (women of the most abandoned profligacy) of idolatrous temples were invited to celebrate the ceremonies of the Romish church, in chapels fitted up with theatres and stages for the exhibition of the mysteries and representations of the great historical events of the Jewish and Christian epochs, in which the grotesque and the profane were mingled as a means of inducing the Pagan beholders to profess themselves disciples of the new and holy creed.

It is not surprising that many of the Singhalese Buddhists, as well as Tamil Hindoos, enrolled by the Portuguese as Christian converts, retained all the superstitions and most degrading characteristics of their Pagan faith; nevertheless chapels and convents arose in every direction around the European settlements, many of which attest, to the present day, the care and expense bestowed in their erection.

When the Dutch became dominant in Ceylon, they bitterly denounced the intrigues of the Romish clergy. In 1658, a proclamation was issued, though not it appears enforced, forbidding, on penalty of death, the harbouring or concealing a priest: in 1715, public assemblies or private conventicles of the Roman catholics were prohibited; neither were their pastors suffered to administer baptism under any circumstances: in 1748, the education of the obnoxious ministry was declared unlawful, as also the celebration of the mass. At Jaffna the Dutch took possession of the Romish chapels, and established Presbyterian schools in connection with them. Persecution for religious faith makes men cling to it the more: many of the Romanists in Ceylon adhered to their form of worship; but others, tempted by the declaration of the ruling power,—that honourable public employment, the farming of land, &c., could only be granted to legally registered government Christians, became members of the dominant communion, and subscribed to the doctrines contained in the Helvetic confession of faith. The list of converts swelled apace: it was soon announced that there were 65,000 *Christian(?)* men and women in Jaffna; and as baptism was deemed a mark of good caste, children were placed in rows, sprinkled *en masse*, and declared to be admitted into the kingdom of heaven; and the ceremony became so popular, that an "unbaptized wretch" grew to be a Singhalese term of reproach. Fines were imposed to compel the attendance of the natives at church and at school; and those who had property and remained unbaptized, might be deprived of a third of their possessions. At the same time hostility was waged against the Buddhists, their idolatrous ceremonies suppressed, and their temples near the Dutch stations closed. In 1722, Valentyn gives the number of nominal Christians in Ceylon thus:—In Jaffna (Tamils), 189,388; Singhalese in other places, 179,845; at Galle, 55,159 = 424,392; besides 2,799 young men and 1,493 girls, candidates for baptism.† Whether these numbers increased or decreased down to the period of the arrival of the English in 1796, there is no record; but soon after our occupation, the Dutch Christians had almost entirely disappeared, while Romanism revived after the abolition, in 1806, of the disabilities under which members of that creed laboured, the governor (Sir Thomas Maitland) having admitted them to "all civil privileges and capacities" throughout the island. Under the auspices of the British government, several Protestant missionary bodies speedily commenced their labours in the field where Portuguese and Dutch had made few converts beside Christian Buddhists.‡

* *Christianity in Ceylon:* by Sir J. E. Tennent.

† Tennent; Hough's *Christianity in India:* Abbé Dubois' *Letters; Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiv.

‡ The nominal Christianity of the natives declined so rapidly, that in 1813 the ecclesiastical establishment consisted of three English chaplains, two German presbyterians, and six proponents, a clerical functionary of the Dutch church, with the functions of a catechist and deacon. In a few years there will be no Dutch congregation in the island.

The new teachers reached Ceylon in the following order:—In 1804, three German missionaries, from the London Missionary Society, arrived: in 1812, a deputation from the Baptists stationed at Serampore: in 1814, some Wesleyans came to the island; but their distinguished leader, Dr. Coke, died on the voyage: in 1816, three clergymen were dispatched by the American Board of Foreign Missions: and in 1818, four ordained missionaries of the church of England were sent out.

The success of these and later fellow-labourers has not as yet been great in the conversion of adults, but it has been satisfactory in character. The remark previously made on conversion from Hindooism, when treating of missionary labours among the Hindoos, applies here with equal force. There is little hope of regeneration from men and women who have been nurtured in idolatry and superstition: it is to the education of children we must look; and herein the missions now engaged in Ceylon have been very successful, not only with boys, but with girls, whom they have induced to enter into boarding-schools, and to view instruction as conducive to success in life.

The total Protestant mission establishment is thus stated, for 1852, by the Rev. J. Mullens:—Mission stations, 55; missionaries, 60; local preachers, 98; English churches, 9; native chapels, 81; native Christians, 18,046. Schools: *boys*—vernacular schools, 1,347; pupils, 47,504; boarding-schools, 7; pupils, 247; English schools, 34; pupils, 1,373: *girls*—day-schools, 85; pupils, 2,747; boarding-schools, 5; pupils, 203. According to the Ceylon almanac for 1854, the missions in the island were as follows:—*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*—missionaries, 13; stations, 29. *Church Missionary Society*—missionaries, 14; stations, 7; number in congregation, 3,957. *Wesleyan* missionaries, 15; stations, 11; communicants, 1,456. *Baptist* missionaries, 14; stations, 3; members, 489. *American Mission*—missionaries, 12; stations, 8; number of converts not stated. *Roman Catholic Mission*—missionaries, 35; stations, 18; number of converts not stated.

The Bible has been translated into Singhalese (40,000 copies printed), and the Testament into the Pali language. Fourteen thousand copies have been printed of an Indo-Portuguese Testament.

Education.—The governmental schools are under the supervision of a commission. The number of children under tuition, in 1853, is thus shown:—Three superior schools, 206 children; nine elementary ditto, 327; thirty-seven mixed ditto, 1,106; four superior female ditto, 219; ten English female ditto, 123; four vern. female schools, 47; twenty-nine vern. boys' schools, 908; twenty-six Jaffna grant schools, 1,137. Total schools, 122; total children, 4,073. In addition to these there are—regimental schools, 12: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel ditto, 47; scholars, 2,358: Church Mission ditto, 93; scholars, 3,994: Wesleyan ditto, 89; scholars, 3,737: Baptist ditto, 38; scholars, 1,166: American ditto, 88; scholars, 4,062: Roman Catholic ditto, 35; number of pupils not stated: private seminaries, 177=1,052; which, with the government establishment, shows a total of about 2,000 schools; and allowing an average of 50 scholars, would indicate no less than 100,000 children under instruction.

The Public Press is of small extent: there is an excellent book almanac, with numerous annual returns; and from the mission printing-offices several useful publications, in English and in Singhalese, are issued.

---

Government.—A governor and executive council of five official members; these, with the addition of four other officials, and six private gentlemen nominated by the Crown, constitute a Legislative Council, empowered to frame laws, subject to the disallowance of the Queen in council. There is a well-organised civil establishment, the members of which retire on pensions after a certain period. The civil list amounts at present to £25,000 per annum. The military force consists generally of two Queen's regiments of European infantry, a detachment of the royal artillery, some gun Lascars, and an excellent corps termed the *Ceylon rifles*, about 1,800 strong, composed of Malays, officered by Europeans. All these troops are, at any moment, available for service on the continent of India. The British officers receive certain colonial allowances. The amount disbursed from the island revenues, for military purposes, is £34,000; that defrayed by Great Britain, £50,000.

The revenue of the island was, in 1827, about £200,000; of which nearly one-half was derived from government sales of cinnamon and cinnamon oil—a system abandoned in 1836; in 1837, the revenue was

£371,994; in 1852, £411,806; in 1853, £412,835: expenditure in 1853, £386,519; excess of revenue over expenditure, £26,316. Of the revenue, the customs yielded, in 1853, £121,741: among the other chief items are, in round numbers—land returns, £45,000; rents (exclusive of land), £27,000; licences, £67,000; stamps, £25,000.

Cash balances in the treasury, May, 1854, £118,066; of which £78,733 was in coined money, and £38,303 in treasury notes.

The military expenditure defrayed from the British treasury, in 1854, amounted to—commissariat, £49,645; ordnance, £10,963 = £60,608. The colonists contribute £2,000 a month = £24,000 per annum, towards the pay of her Majesty's troops: making the total military charges, £84,608. The Malay rifle regiment is available for service in any part of the East; a portion of the corps has been recently doing garrison duty at Hong-Kong.

The amount expended on roads is large: —1848 to 1850 (inclusive), £121,597; 1851 to 1853 (inclusive), £167,745. The main road from Colombo to Kandy (75 miles), is a heavy expense; the repairs only, for eight years ending 1853, was £86,613. It is in excellent order; there is great traffic thereon, and the tolls for 1853 amounted to £15,877. Salary of the governor, £7,000: servants of the Crown all liberally paid. Local revenues for public purposes, £33,000.

TARIFF,—moderate, and devoid of differential duties. Goods, wares, and merchandise (including cotton and woollen manufactures, not otherwise discriminated), pay on importation five per cent.; metals at various rates—7*s.* to 18*s.* per ton; spirits, 5*s.*; wine in wood, 1*s.* 6*d.*; in bottle, 2*s.* 6*d.* per gallon; coal, books, and numerous articles, *free.*

*Coins.*—British monies.

*Weights and Measures.*—The *Singhalese* or dry measure is 4 cut chundroons = 1 cut measure or seer; 4-5ths = 1 coornie; 2 1-12th = 1 marcal; 2 = 1 parrah; 8 = 1 ammonam; 9 3-8ths = 1 last. The weight of the parrah measure, according to the custom-house account is, for coffee, from 50 to 35 lbs.; pepper, 27 to 30 lbs.; salt, 52 to 55 lbs.; paddy (unhusked rice), 30 to 33 lbs.; rice, 42 to 46 lbs.; the Kandy or Bahar = 500 lbs. avoirdupois, or 461 lbs. Dutch troy weight.

Weights of ozs., lbs., &c., are also used throughout the island, British standard. A bale of cinnamon contains nearly 92½ lbs.

*Liquid Measure.*—2 half-drams = 1 dram; 6 half-drams = 3 drams = 1 half-pint; 12 half-drams = 6 drams = 2 half-pints = 1 pint; 24 half-drams = 12 drams = 4 half-pints = 2 pints = 1 quart; 48 half-drams = 24 drams = 8 half-pints = 4 pints = 2 quarts = 1 half-gallon; 96 half-drams = 48 drams = 16 half-pints = 8 pints = 4 quarts = 2 half-gallons = 1 gallon; 10,560 half-drams = 5,280 drams = 1,760 half-pints = 880 pints = 440 quarts = 220 half-gallons = 110 gallons = 1 pipe; 14,400 half-drams = 7,200 drams = 2,400 half-pints = 1,200 pints = 600 quarts = 300 half-gallons = 150 gallons = 1 leaguer, or legger.

*Long Measure.*—Three barley-corns make 1 inch; 4 inches make 1 hand; 12 inches make 1 foot; 3 feet make 1 yard: 5½ yards make 1 rod, pole, or perch; 4 perches make 1 chain of 100 links; 40 poles or perches make 1 furlong; 8 furlongs make 1 mile; 69½ miles make 1 degree.

*Land Measure.*—Nine square feet make 1 square yard; 30¼ square yards make 1 square perch; 40 square perches make 1 square rood; 4 square roods make 1 acre; 640 acres make 1 square mile.

*Kandian Land Measure.*—Eight lahas make 1 coornie; 10 coornies make 1 peyla; 4 peylas make 1 ammonam; a coornie is equal to 10 15-16ths square perches; a peyla is equal to 2 square roods, 29⅜ square perches; an ammonam is equal to 2 acres, 2 square roods, 37½ square perches.

TRADE.—Maritime commerce has largely increased, as shown by comparing two periods:—Imports of goods, 1828, £329,933; 1853, £1,181,149. Exports, 1828, £215,372; 1853, £979,874. Shipping inwards, tons, 1828, 60,070; 1853, 251,957.*

The trade with the United Kingdom, in 1853, was, in value—Imports, £218,000; exports, £671,000. Shipping to United Kingdom, 30,000 tons.

The export of some principal articles, at two periods, was—Cinnamon, 1828, 470,020 lbs.; 1853, 956,280 lbs.. Coffee, 1828, 4,669 lbs.; 1853, 37,172,752 lbs. Cocoa-nut oil, 1828, 173,420 gals.; 1853, 443,699.† Arrack, 1828, 645,102 gals.; 1853, 170,000. Rice and paddy, 1853, £515,182; coir, 1853, 37,512 cwt.‡

The coffee exported, in 1852, was 322,994 cwts.; value, £637,595. Cocoa-nut oil, for the manufacture of candles and other purposes, has also largely augmented.

In 1854 the imports amounted to £2,597,328, of which £1,371,955 was specie; of this there was re-exported £682,807; and of goods, £325,542; leaving about £900,000 worth for the consumption of the island. Shipping, inwards, 325,656 tons: of the total imports, £417,219 in value were from Great Britain, and £2,070,860 from India and other British possessions.

The produce of Ceylon exported in 1854 was, in declared value, £1,236,938; of this, total to Great Britain, £962,572.

Among the principal articles of produce thus exported, the following may be enu-

* For 1852. † For 1852. ‡ For 1852.

merated:—Coffee, 410,000 cwt.; value, £853,000: cinnamon, 787,000 lbs.; value, £45,000: cocoa-nut oil, 1,200,000 gals.; value, £150,000: cocoa-nut kernels, 52,000 cwt.; value, £30,000: cocoa-nuts, 1,870,000; value, £4,400: coir-rope, 46,000 cwt.; value, £31,700: coir-fibre, 10,000 cwt.; value £11,000: jaghery (a coarse sugar), 34,500 cwt.; value, £1,700 (showiug the value of articles, the produce of the cocoa-nut-tree alone, about £228,000): tobacco, value, £44,000: timber, value, £12,000: ebony, 7,000 cwt.; value, £2,000: pepper, 4,000, cwt.; value, £5,000: plumbago, 17,400 cwt.; value, £4,000: arrack, 30,000 gals.; value, £1,700: Ceylon brandy, 4,000 gals.; value, £4,500: Ceylon rum, 26,500 gals.; value, £2,000: sugar, value, £3,700: areka-nuts, 45,000 cwt.; value, £32,000: coornies (small shells, used as coin in India and other countries), value, £10,000: cotton-wool, £11,600: tobacco, £44,000; and horns, in value, £4,000.

The live stock in the island, in 1854, consisted of—horses, 2,675; horned cattle, 669,991; sheep, 37,427; goats, 43,353. Number of acres in cultivation, 738,348; ditto uncultivated, 5,373,413.

Vegetable Productions.—From Tangalle to Chilaw, a distance of 135 miles, it is nearly one continued grove of cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, and jack fruit-trees. Cotton grows well; whether Nankin, Bourbon, or Brazil, the buds are ripe within four months after the seed is sown.

Every village or hut has its patch of sugar-cane and tobacco; the latter, in many parts of the island, yielding a delicious aroma. Coffee grows luxuriantly, and is of excellent quality. The pepper vine is found all over the island. Cardamom plants are equally plentiful. The much-sought-after areka-nut is of the finest species, and unequalled in any part of the East. The rice of Ceylon has a richness of flavour I have never found in any other country. Teak forests abound, and excellent masts and yards of the largest size are everywhere procurable. Calamander, ebony, satin, rose, sappan, iron, &c., and other rare and beautiful cabinet woods, are in great profusion. The jack-tree is of great size, very umbrageous, and of magnificent appearance, with its dark-green foliage and abundance (100 to 150) of fruit, weighing each 10 to 50 lbs. The rough green-rinded husk contains a great number of kernels, each half the size of a pigeon's egg, embedded in a luscious, yellow, viscid substance, much prized by the natives as a delicacy: the kernels roasted are not unlike chestnuts, and they constitute a main ingredient in the excellent Ceylon curries. The jack wood is valuable for house furniture and other domestic purposes: it resembles the common sort of mahogany. The *talipot* is another of the remarkable trees of an island whose vegetation is more varied and rich than any other country I have visited. This singular palm rises perpendicularly to a height of eighty or even a hundred and twenty feet, and is crowned by a pyramid of white plumes, which give an addition to the altitude of about twenty-five feet. The leafless trunk has a girth of seven or eight feet near the ground. When about twenty years of age the leaf is in perfection, fifteen or sixteen feet in width, and with the petiole or foot-stalk twenty-five feet in length: it folds like a fan; is used as an umbrella, for thatching houses, and making tents or temporary habitations; prepared and cut into strips, two or three inches broad and thirty inches long, they form the Singhalese books, which have lasted for many centuries. The talipot attains maturity at about eighty years, and its dissolution is then preceded by shooting up a great spike, which envelopes numberless flowerets. Groves of Palmyra palms surround the villages to the northward of the island, and like the cocoa palms in the south, are useful to the peasantry in seasons of drought.

It has been calculated that along the coast between Dondra Head and Calpentyn (184 miles) there are ten million cocoa-nut trees.

The *laurus cinnamonum*, although cultivated in many tropical places, has its principal habitation in Ceylon, which is capable of yielding a sufficient supply for every country in Europe: the tree whence the cinnamon bark is derived grows to the height of from fifteen to twenty feet, with an irregular and knotty stem, branchy and ligneous roots, fibrous and inodorous wood; *external* bark rough, thick, scabrous, and of an ash colour; inner bark reddish (the young shoots are often delicately speckled with dark-green and light-orange colours); branches umbrageous, inclining horizontally and downwards; leaves oblong and in pairs, from six to nine inches in length, and three broad, petiolated; colour, dark-green; flowers clustered on one peduncle, white, wanting calyx; smell resembling a mixture of rose and lilac; fruit an oval berry, larger than a black currant; receptacle thick, green, and hexangular. The roots have the pungent smell of camphor, and the delicious odour of cinnamon, yielding camphor by distillation; the leaves have the taste of cloves; the berries, when boiled, afford an unctuous substance like wax, which has an agreeable odour, and was formerly used as candles exclusively by the Kandian court. Cattle of every kind eagerly feed on the luxuriant foliage, while pigeons, crows, and other birds, devour the berries with avidity. The industry of man is employed on the bark, the varieties of which depend on the nature of the soil, the mode of cultivating and peeling, and on the age and healthiness of the plant. About 2,000 acres of land are laid out in cinnamon plantations in Ceylon, and about 30,000 persons employed thereon. The *stripping* of the trees begins in May and ends in October: the peelers (chalias, a distinct caste in Ceylon) commence the process by striking a sharp bill-hook into a shoot which seems sufficiently ripe; if on opening the gash the bark separates gently, it is fit for decortication; if otherwise, the gash is carefully closed, and the sucker left for future examination. The shoots found ready for immediate use (generally from three to five feet long, and three-quarters of an inch in diameter) are cut down, conveyed to sheds, and there cleared of leaves and twigs; by means of two longitudinal slits the bark is peeled off in semicircular slips; a sufficient number of these being collected, the sections are placed in close contact (as two quill-halves would be laid one within the other), and the

whole bundle is firmly pressed and bound up together for twenty-four hours, until a degree of fermentation is produced, which facilitates the removal of the cuticle; subsequently the interior side of each section of bark is placed upon a convex piece of wood fitted to its size, and the epidermis, together with the green succulent matter carefully scraped off (if any of the outer pulpy substance be allowed to remain, the cinnamon has an unpleasant bitterness); a few hours after the removal of the cuticle, the pieces are again placed in each other, and the bark in drying gradually contracts and rolls itself into a quill-like form. During the first day it is placed under shelter on open platforms; afterwards it is thoroughly dried in the sun, and made up into bundles of about thirty pounds' weight. A plantation requires to stand seven or eight years before yielding produce; the tree is least advantageously multiplied by seeds—layers and shoots, or transplanted stumps, are the best means of propagation.

Pearl Fishing has been carried on in the Gulf of Manaar from time immemorial. The Dutch were interrupted in this pursuit by a quarrel with the native authorities on the Coromandel coast, who then prevented the divers resorting thither. For about five-and-twenty years the trade was stopped, but resumed by the British in 1796, when a fishery was announced, and rented for £60,000; in 1797, for £144,000; in 1798, for £192,000: the next year it fell to £30,000, the pearl oysters having been all destroyed. In 1806 the farming out of the produce was resumed, when it yielded £35,000, and was continued with varying success, giving sometimes a revenue of £40,000; at others, of £25,000; until, twenty years since, when government prevented any more search, to give time for the reproduction of the pearl oyster; during this year (1855), the pursuit has been recommenced, with good prospects of success.

The pearl banks, according to Dr. Ruschenberger. are formed by coral ridges from six to ten miles off shore: their general depth is from five to seven fathoms; but it is on the banks of Arippo, where the coral rising nearly to the surface of the water, forms a shelter against the violence of the monsoons and currents, that the pearl oyster chiefly arrives at perfection. The young oysters, when they first escape from the egg, are seen floating about the sea in immense clusters; a little increase in size and solidity makes them sink to the bottom, where they immediately attach themselves to the rocks by means of a beard with glutinous matter secreted from it. There they remain in security until age has enfeebled the fibres of the fastening, or deprived it of adhesiveness, and then they drop from their coral supports and lie in heaps on the sandy bank beneath. The pearl-divers say that the oyster is about six years and a-half old when it drops from the rock; it is supposed to arrive at perfection in seven years, and to die soon after. During their clinging period they accumulate on the rocks in heaps, sometimes eighteen inches or two feet deep. The best pearls are generally found in the most fleshy part of the oyster, near the hinge of the shell, but they are not confined to any part of the fish. Instances have occurred of a single oyster containing above sixty pearls; yet the rarity of these treasures is manifest from the fact that oysters cost less at Arippo during the fishery than at Faversham or Colchester.

During the calms of November the banks are examined by experienced officers, and samples of the oysters are forwarded to the seat of government. If the result of the examination prove favourable, then the fishery is announced by an advertisement, stating when and on what bank it is to take place, how long it is to continue, and how many boats will be allowed to engage in it. These boats are of very rude construction, generally from eight to fifteen tons burthen, and without decks. They leave the shore at midnight, favoured by the land winds, and anchor near the government guard-vessel and the fishing bank. A little after dawn in the morning a signal is given for the diving to begin, and a gun is fired at noon, on which it ceases. The following description of the mode of proceeding was written by Dr. Ruschenberger, on the spot.

"The crew of a boat consists of a Tindal or master, ten divers, and thirteen other men, who manage the boat and attend the divers when fishing. Each boat has five diving-stones (the ten divers relieving each other); five divers are constantly at work during the hours of fishing. The weight of the diving-stone varies from 15 to 25 lb., according to the size of the diver; some stout men find it necessary to have from 4 to 8 lb. of stone in a waist-belt, to enable them to keep at the bottom of the sea, to fill their net with oysters. The form of a diving-stone resembles the cone of a pine; it is suspended by a double cord.

"The net is of coir-rope yarns, eighteen inches deep, fastened to a hoop eighteen inches wide, fairly slung to a single cord. On preparing to commence fishing, the diver divests himself of all his clothes, except a small piece of cloth; after offering up his devotions, he plunges into the sea and swims to his diving-stone, which his attendants have slung over the side of the boat; he places his right foot or toes between the double cord on the diving-stone—the bight of the cord being passed over a stick projecting from the side of the boat; by grasping all parts of the rope he is enabled to support himself and the stone, and raise or lower the latter for his own convenience while he remains at the surface; he then puts his left foot on the hoop of the net and presses it against the diving-stone, retaining the cord in his hand. The attendants take care that the cords are clear for running out of the boat.

"The diver being thus prepared, he raises his body as much as he is able; drawing a full breath, he presses his nostrils between his thumb and finger, slips his hold of the bight of the diving-stone, and descends as rapidly as the stone will sink him. On reaching the bottom he abandons the stone, which is hauled up by the attendants ready to take him down again, clings to the ground, and commences filling his net. To accomplish this, he will sometimes creep over a space of eight or ten fathoms, and remain under water a minute; when he wishes to ascend he checks the cord of the net, which is instantly felt by the attendants, who commence pulling up as fast as they are able. The diver remains with the net until it is so far clear of the bottom as to be in no danger of upsetting, and then begins to haul himself up by the cord hand over hand, which the attendants are likewise pulling. When, by these means, his body has acquired an impetus upwards, he forsakes the cord, places his hands to his thighs, rapidly ascends to the surface, swims to his diving-stone, and by the time the contents of his net have been emptied into the boat he is ready to go down again.* One diver

* A diver who descends four to eight fathoms usually remains under water for a minute; the longest period noted by Master Attendant Stuart was 87 seconds: the ex-

will take up in a day from one to four thousand oysters. They seldom exceed a minute under water; the more common time is from fifty-three to fifty-seven seconds; but when requested to remain as long as possible, they can prolong their stay to something more than eighty seconds. They are warned to ascend by a singing noise in the ears, and finally by a sensation similar to hiccup."

The divers have much faith in a person called the shark-charmer, and many of them will not descend unless he be present: he is therefore paid by government. One-fourth of the oysters taken up belong to the divers, the remainder are disposed of by public sale. The pearl oysters are sold to speculators at prices varying from 14*s*. to 120*s*. per 1,000. The number of large pearls found is very limited compared with the mass of seed and defective gems, which are frequently pounded and used as an ingredient in a highly-prized electuary. They are also burnt into chunam or lime, and masticated by the wealthy with betel-leaf and areka-nut.

ANIMALS abound, from the gigantic elephant to the many-coloured chameleon; indeed earth, air, and water are instinct with life. The elephants of Ceylon have long been famed for their size and docility; but some writers assert that the African species is the larger. I have, when traversing parts of Ceylon and districts of Africa, had ample opportunities of comparing both beasts in their wild state.

The Asiatic quadruped generally stands higher than any I ever saw in Africa; the head is not so large, neither are the limbs so unwieldy; and according to the respective accounts of those who catch and domesticate them, the former is a much more valuable animal than the latter to man. Though still numerous in Ceylon, these extraordinary creatures will doubtless disappear before cultivation and civilisation. They have been for some time used in government works, in drawing timber and stones for bridges, and in conveying the baggage of a regiment when on the march, a duty for which their surefootedness over the mountains, no less than their great strength, renders them peculiarly adapted.

The tiger of Ceylon is a formidable and destructive animal, and so bold that it has been known to come into a bazaar and snatch off some unfortunate cooley, or seize on an European soldier's child while the mother has been spreading out her washed clothes on the hedge opposite her dwelling. The buffalo in its wild state is also a very dangerous opponent, particularly if his antagonist wear a red coat or jacket. The elk assimilates in appearance to the fossil remains of those found in Ireland. Deer of every variety are plentiful, and their flesh, when preserved in honey for two or three years by the wild Veddas, forms a feast which a London alderman once tasting would never forget.

Snakes are numerous; but of twenty different kinds, examined by Dr. Davy, sixteen were found harmless. The *tic polonga* of the *coluber* species is the most deadly in its poison; I have seen a powerful dog die in fifteen minutes after being bit, and a fowl in less than three minutes: the *cobra capello, carawalla,* and three or four others, are nearly equally fatal. The natives say the *tic polongo* lies in wait on the roadside to dart out on travellers; my observations led me to believe such is really the case. A large snake called the *pimberah* exists, the length of which is thirty feet. While travelling through Ouva and the central provinces, I have been assured by the Mohanderems of the districts, particularly towards Ruanwelle, of the existence of boa-constrictors of more than thirty feet in length. The alligator is found in most rivers, and the jackal in every tope; the mountain provinces are infested with a small leech, that clings with peculiar tenacity to the bare flesh, and draws much blood; its bite, acting on a diseased system, is productive of considerable after-suffering.

Wild peacocks are abundant in the interior. The jungle cock is a splendid bird, equal, if not superior, in plumage to the golden pheasant. The quail, snipe, and woodcock of the upper districts would please any epicure, and a fish gourmand, whether on the coast or inland, need never feel satiety, if variety and exquisiteness of flavour could ensure appetite. The beef is small, but sweet, and the mutton of Jaffnapatam almost equal to "*South Down*."

The resources of this fine island are as yet but very imperfectly developed: numerous valuable oils, resins, dye-stuffs and woods, and various peppers, cardamoms, spices, and drugs, are produced naturally, and require but rude labour for their preparation. An excellent botanic garden has been formed for the trial of various tropical products; and as the island has abundance of waste land, plenty of cheap labour, and security for life and property, skill and capital are alone wanting to make this fine colony one of the most lucrative tropical estates belonging to the Crown of Britain; to which it is no expense, but, on the contrary, a source of profit and advantage.*

pert can descend 14 fathoms = 84 feet; but the superincumbent pressure is dangerous to life. A fortunate diver may bring up 4,000 oysters a day, and if pearls abound his share would average 9*s*. But the fishery is a lottery; one oyster may contain 150 seed-pearls—and 150 may be opened in vain.

* Sir J. E. Tennent, in his report to the secretary of state in May, 1847, states, that "in Ceylon agriculture, in all its branches, must be regarded as an art almost unknown. Notwithstanding all its advantages in variety of soil, graduations of temperature, and adaptability of climate, the cultivation of rice may be said to be the only successful tillage of the natives. And yet with the favourable circumstances alluded to, and the expanse of surface to be applied, it is impossible to foresee the extent to which the productions of nearly every other country might be domesticated and extended throughout this island. In the highlands and mountain regions, and particularly in the wooded valleys and open plains which are found at an elevation of from three to seven thousand feet, there is an encouraging field for the introduction of most of the *grains and vegetable productions of Europe*; and from the limited experiments which have been made up to the present time, there is good reason for believing that more extended operations would be attended with very beneficial results to the colony. In this conviction, the government has had numerous applications for lands in the hills suitable for the rearing of stock and European crops, for which a ready market would be found in the coffee districts and the towns and villages of the central province; and the intimation of your lordship's readiness to permit the leasing of lands for these purposes is likely to give a rapid extension to such undertakings."

# SECTION II.

## MAURITIUS, OR ISLE OF FRANCE AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

Mauritius, or, as it is usually termed, *Isle of France,* is situate in the Indian Ocean, forty leagues to the N.E. of the Isle of Bourbon, and 160 from the great island of Madagascar, between the parallels of 19° 58′ and 20° 32′ S. lat., and the meridians of 57° 17′ and 57° 46′ E. long. It is nearly elliptical in form, measuring in length about forty miles* from north to south, and thirty-two from east to west, and comprises an area of 432,680 superficial English acres, or 676 square miles.

The island was discovered in the year 1507, by Don Pedro Mascarenhas, a navigator of the Portuguese government in India, under the orders of Governor Almeida. Mascarenhas named the island *Cerné.*† The Portuguese do not seem to have made any settlement during the period they were masters of the island, which comprehended almost the whole of the 16th century; but they placed some hogs and goats on *Cerné* and Bourbon, to furnish food in the event of any of their vessels being wrecked thereon.

In 1598, the Dutch admiral, Van Neck, at the head of a large squadron, landed on and took possession of *Cerné,* which he named *Mauritius,* in honour of the Prince of Orange. The Hollanders did not, at this time, settle permanently on the Mauritius, but occasionally touched there to water. Fifteen years later, Captain Castleton, the commander of an English ship, visited the island, which he found still uninhabited; and thus it continued until some pirates in the Indian seas located themselves on its shores; but at what precise period, it is impossible to say.

In 1644, the Hollanders erected a fort at South-East Port, anticipating by a few days a French expedition from Dieppe.

In 1648, slaves were procured from the French settlement in Madagascar,‡ and the usual course of enormities followed: many of the captives fled to the mountains, became Maroons, and harassed the whites (*see* "Jamaica" section of this work), who retired from the island. It was subsequently re-occupied for the benefit of the Dutch shipping to and from India; but ultimately abandoned to the hostile Maroons in 1712.

In 1715, the French from Bourbon having heard of the evacuation, sent Captain Du Fresne, R.N., to take possession, and name the territory *Isle de France.* These proceedings were approved in Paris, and the king ceded the island to the French E. I. Cy., under whose sway it remained from 1722 to 1767. The inhabitants, however, for a long time were chiefly composed of adventurers, refugees, or pirates, from all nations, and it was not until 1730 that the home government and the French E. I. Cy. began to pay attention to the island, by sending engineers and other persons to form a regular establishment; the real founder and father of the colony being M. de la Bourdonnais, who was sent out as governor-general of the Isle of France, Bourbon, &c., in 1734.

Previous to the arrival of this celebrated man (*see* "British India" section of this work, p. 247) in 1735, the French E. I. Cy. had been at considerable expense in maintaining the Mauritius, which was considered to be solely fit for a refreshing station for their ships, while Bourbon was made a great coffee plantation. La Bourdonnais, in order to benefit the company's finances, introduced the culture of the sugar-cane, established manufactures of cotton and indigo, attended to agriculture and commerce, defeated the Maroon negroes by arming a part against the remainder, founded a court of justice, made roads, fortified the coast,

* The greatest diameter of the oval is 63,780 yards, and its breadth 44,248 yards. Some estimate the length at 35, and the breadth at 20 miles.

† The denomination of *Cerné* was said to have been applied by Pliny to Madagascar, but it does not seem probable that the Roman historian was acquainted either with that island or Mauritius.

‡ Mr. Pridhave, in his useful work on this island, says that Pronis, the French governor, kidnapped a number of Malagashes who had settled under his protection, including some of the highest class of natives, and sold them to the Dutch.—(vol. i., p. 11.) Madagascar for many years supplied slaves to the Mauritius.

formed aqueducts, arsenals, batteries, fortifications, barracks, wharfs, &c., and in the eleven years during which his government lasted, changed the whole face of the country, laying the foundation of a state of prosperity which subsequent disasters, however, almost entirely destroyed.

The French nation had their attention more strongly directed to the island, when they witnessed its great utility in strengthening and succouring Admiral Suffrein, who was thereby enabled to injure materially the commerce of England in the East. The renewal of the charter, or rather the reformation of the French E. I. Cy., in 1784, was carried through with a proviso that all merchant ships from France should be permitted to proceed thus far towards India, and that the islanders might prosecute trade with every possession of the French company, commercial intercourse with China being, however, forbidden. The transmission of ample annual supplies of European merchandise was guaranteed to the Mauritius, which now became an entrepôt for oriental commerce, and several mercantile factories were established.

As may be supposed, these measures gave incitement for the formation of a commercial depôt, rather than encouragement to an agricultural colony; but the population rapidly augmented, and the settlement proceeded successfully. The supreme control was entrusted to a governor and intendant, who acted in a most arbitrary manner; and the breaking out of the revolution in the mother country, in 1789, gave the signal to the restless and discontented community to declare in favour of a National Assembly, and endeavour to overthrow the established government. As the French revolution materially influenced colonial affairs, a brief narration of its results in this settlement may be desirable, in order to show the disadvantages arising from anarchy in a powerful and leading state.

Until the arrival of a ship from Bordeaux, in January, 1789, the Mauritius had been despotically governed; this vessel brought the exciting news of the great power usurped to itself by the National Assembly at Paris, and as the captain, officers, and crew, wore the tricoloured cockade, a similar emblem was soon generally adopted by the colonists, and advertisements posted in the streets, inviting all the *citizens* to form themselves into primary assemblies (after the example of those which had taken place in all the *communes* of France), in order to draw up memorials of complaints and demands.

General Conway, the governor, sent some soldiers to arrest the young men who had caused the advertisements to be posted up, but the people collected in the square at Port Louis, liberated the prisoners on the road to the gaol, compelled M. Conway to wear the national cockade, and on the following day united themselves into a primary assembly, and constituted different authorities, to whose discretion they confided the interior government of the colony. At this crisis, M. de Macnamara, commander of the French marine in the Indian seas, arrived, and did not conceal his displeasure on being made acquainted with these insurrectionary proceedings. The soldiers of the 107th and 108th regiments, who formed the garrison of the island, following the example of the army in France, adopted the cause of the revolutionists. Macnamara thought it his duty to acquaint the minister of marine with the state of affairs. His intention was betrayed—a copy of the letter being sent to the barracks, the soldiers threatened summary vengeance, to execute which the grenadiers seized upon the boats and canoes, and proceeded to the flag-ship to seize the person of Macnamara, who ordered the cannon to be loaded and pointed; but the moment the insurgents approached and hailed the seamen in the republican style, the latter refused to defend their commander, and actually suffered him to be carried off as a prisoner to the self-constituted authorities then assembled in the church. These, with the desire of saving the brave admiral from the fury of the populace, after a few formal interrogatories, ordered him to be conveyed to prison, but thoughtlessly left him to be conducted thither by the soldiery. The admiral, on his way to confinement, passing the shop of a watchmaker of his acquaintance, rushed in at the door, and endeavoured to defend himself with his pistols; but the soldiers threw themselves on him, and almost instantly massacred him. The people now formed their Colonial Assembly, consisting of fifty-one members. M. Conway proceeded to France, and, in 1792, M. de Malartic, named by the king as governor-general, arrived at his post, and gave the sanction of the state to the laws of the assembly. Affairs might have now gone on quietly, but that the news of the power of the Jacobin clubs in France gave a stimulus to the discontented; and a revolutionary assemblage, called the *Chaumière*, was established, which soon overawed the constituted authorities. Such was the power of this club, that M. de Malartic was forced to grant its members a vessel to carry one hundred men to the contiguous isle of Bourbon, for the arrest of the governor, civil commissary, and commandant of the marine, who were to be conveyed thence as prisoners to the Isle of France, on the charge of having corresponded with the English. These functionaries were landed at Port Louis, marched by an armed deputation to the *Chaumière* club then sitting, where the president (formerly a police-officer) thus addressed them—"*The people accuse you, and the people will judge you!*" They were then fettered and conducted to a dungeon, where they remained six months. A guillotine was established by order of the *Chaumière*, and but for the prudence of the Colonial Assembly, in ordering that the prisoners of the Jacobins should be judged only by a court-martial, named by all the citizens of the colony, united in primary assemblies, each in his own district, much blood would, undoubtedly, have been shed by these unprincipled and infuriated men. Sufficient delay was gained to afford the assembly time to concert together, so that the choice of

members of the commission should fall upon upright persons. In spite of these precautions, the proceedings of such a club would have rendered the guillotine an object of well-founded terror; but at this moment the aspect of the political horizon was wholly changed by the tidings of the general decree of the French republic for the immediate abolition of slavery.

In a community of 70,000 persons, where upwards of 55,000 were slaves, such a summary order, without a word about pecuniary compensation, may well be supposed to have created alarm; the Jacobin club was annihilated, the guillotine removed from the public square, the prisoners set at liberty without a trial, and the late popular leaders, to the number of thirty, arrested, and sent on board a ship bound for France. The planters, with the news of what was occurring at St. Domingo continually arriving, knew not what steps to take; some proposed declaring the colony independent of the French republic, and others sought to temporise, at least by delaying the promulgation of the decree.

While deliberating (18th July, 1796), a squadron of four frigates, under Vice-admiral Sercy, with two agents from the French Directory (named Baco and Burnel), reached Port Louis; the colonists protested in vain against the debarkation of the new functionaries, who, dressed in the directorial costume, landed in state, and proceeded to the Colonial Assembly, to take on themselves the government of the colony, in which they were to be aided by 800 men of the revolutionary army, and two troops of artillery, all brought from France. Before three days had elapsed, the menacing tone of the agents was such as to create general alarm: they threatened to hang the governor, and proceeded to enact various severe measures, but without promulgating their intentions respecting the slaves. At length, says Baron Grant, in his interesting narrative, "twenty young creoles devoted themselves to the welfare of the colony, and vowed the death of those instruments of republican despotism;" and eventually the agents owed their lives to the governor and assembly, by whom they were conveyed on board a ship (*Le Moineau*), with orders to be landed on the Philippine Islands, as the place most distant from France.

No stranger instance of the working of the revolutionary leaven can well be desired than the fact, that on the day after the *Moineau* sailed on her route towards the Philippines, the agents dressed themselves in their directorial costumes, harangued the ship's company, induced them to mutiny against the orders of the captain, and steer for France.

Meanwhile the colonists gave full vent to rejoicing over the dangers they had escaped, and the soldiers who had stood by the assembly were honoured and caressed in every place, while money and largesses were liberally bestowed on them. The troops brought by the agents threatened to prove dangerous, as they resolved on freeing the negro women who lived with them; but Governor Malartic contrived to ship them off for Batavia, under pretence of reinforcing the Dutch against the common enemy, the English. There now only remained in the island the skeletons of the two old regiments before mentioned, and the colony remained tranquil until May, 1798, when these soldiers also formed a plan of proclaiming liberty to the slaves, in order to frustrate which, the Colonial Assembly obtained an order from General Malartic for the two grenadier companies to embark on board the frigate *La Seine*, then ready to sail on a cruise. A rumour was raised and extensively circulated among the troops, that the result of compliance would be either to place them in the power of Tippoo Sultan, with whose cruel character they were well acquainted, or to expose them to the destructive climate of Batavia. The grenadiers, influenced by these anticipations, refused to obey the order for embarkation, and induced the other companies to mutiny, take up arms, seize the field-pieces which were in their quarters, and even to break open the doors of the armoury where the cartouches and cartridges were kept. Fortunately the officers of the regiment restrained the fury of the men, and kept them from rushing out of their quarters in arms. In this crisis, the Colonial Assembly were not idle; they summoned every freeman capable of bearing arms, from all parts of the island, and at daybreak on the 25th of April, each one at beat of drum was at the post assigned him; a battery planted upon a hill commanded the court where the soldiers had been under arms the whole night, and twelve field-pieces, supported by the young national guard of the colony, advanced in four columns to attack the troops in their quarters. General Malartic then advanced at the head of the newly raised force, and again commanded the grenadiers to embark, which, however, they refused to do; the matches were lighted, and a bloody contest was on the eve of commencing, when the acting committee of the Colonial Assembly proposed that the two regiments should be permitted to proceed to France in the *Seine* frigate and a merchantman, and allowed until noon to make up their linen and knapsacks and depart; after some hesitation the soldiers consented, and a few hours later, the Mauritius was freed from 800 armed stipendiaries of the French republic. The colonists now sought for and expected peace; they had freed themselves from the agents and troops of the French Directory; and the assembly, renewed every year by the nomination of the citizens of the colony, was linked, as it was thought, with the happiness and prosperity of the colony. But disputes soon arose respecting the laws about to be established for the repayment of debts contracted in paper currency, the depreciation of which (as issued by the administrators of the French republic) was so great as to be but *a thousandth* part of the sum it nominally represented.

As soon as intelligence reached the island respecting the laws which the two governing councils of France had decreed, relative to the payments of the debts contracted in the paper currency, the creditors, who were greatly favoured by these laws, demanded the execution of them: the debtors, on the other hand, represented with great force and truth, that the circumstances in general under which the various engagements had been made in the colony being different from those which had taken place in France, it would evidently be unjust to apply the same arbitrary mode of settlement, when there was a manifest diversity in the conduct of previous proceedings. The Colonial Assembly, acting on principles of equity, was on the point of arranging these differences, when the creditors, to frustrate the aims of the assembly, blinded and maddened by self-interest, entered into a conspiracy on the 4th Nov., 1799, seized the guns, and loudly demanded of General Malartic to dissolve the obnoxious assembly. This demand the governor was obliged to comply with, in order to save the most distinguished members from being murdered on the instant. Several of the

confederates rushed forwards, and obliged the senators to escape by the back doors. This summary dissolution did not satisfy the malcontents: they compelled the general to sign an order for the imprisonment of twelve different members of the assembly, with a view of preventing, by any possibility, the passing of any law which should enact the reimbursement of the debts contracted during the course of a depreciated paper currency. The "*sans culottes*" now formed themselves into armed associations, and the creditors, whom they had aided in dissolving the Colonial Assembly, became in turn alarmed when they perceived the march of the country-people on Port Louis (the capital), to rescue it from the dominion of the *sans culottes;* the latter, finding themselves abandoned by the creditors, and being, like most men in a bad cause, weakened by internal strife, offered no resistance to the entry of the country national guard into the town: and the riots were concluded by shipping off the chief ringleaders for France. The Colonial Assembly having been dissolved, Governor-general Malartic, in conjunction with the primary assemblies of the colony, formed another legislative body (twenty-one members), less numerous than the former (fifty-one members), whose number had proved a source of much inquietude; the new members were in the proportion of fourteen for the country, and seven for the town,* nominated by the primary assemblies of each canton in the island.

From this period the colonists enjoyed tranquillity, and the cultivation of the island rapidly extended. Buonaparte saw at a glance its important position for the hinderance of British commerce; and under the government of General Decaen, with the aid of a strong naval squadron, commanded by Admiral Linois, the Mauritius assumed a leading part in the eastern hemisphere, to the great injury of our trade.

The Marquis Wellesley, when governor-general of India, in 1800, projected and fitted out an expedition destined for the conquest of the Mauritius and Bourbon, the command of which was offered to his brother Arthur, then Lieutenant-colonel Wellesley, who was to have assumed the governorship on their conquest. The expedition of the Indian army to Egypt took the place of that designed against the Mauritius, but it was urgently pressed on the home government by the marquis that no time should be lost in destroying the nest of French pirates which these islands harboured. In all their enterprises against British commerce, the French were materially assisted by a set of desperate American speculators, who infested the whole of our possessions in the East: they brought fast-sailing ships to the Mauritius, fitted them out, met them at fixed stations, gave intelligence of the progress of all our trade; bought not only the cargoes of the prizes for the American markets, but the hulls of the ships to carry back to our own settlements; and there are strong reasons to believe collusive bargains were entered into in anticipation of the captures made in consequence of such intelligence: in short, the island became a rendezvous for free-booters of every nation to assemble at their ease, fit out privateers, and commit depredations on English property.

To put a stop to these proceedings, a strong armament of 12,000 troops, with twenty ships of war, was simultaneously dispatched from India and from the Cape of Good Hope, for the conquest of the Mauritius in 1810: a landing was effected some distance from Port Louis; and after the French troops and the national guard had suffered several repulses, a capitulation was entered into, and the island became a dependency of the Crown of Great Britain. At the peace of 1814, the possession was finally ceded to us, and it has since remained a colony of the empire, without any occurrence deserving of comment.

---

Physical Aspect.—From whatever quarter the Mauritius be approached, its aspect is exceedingly romantic and picturesque;† the land rises from the coast to the middle of the island, and chains of mountains intersect it in various radii, from the centre to the shore: three principal ranges rise 1,800 to 2,800 feet above the sea; few presenting bare rock, except at their very summits.‡

Plateaux of several leagues in circumference, and of different elevations, form the districts of Moka and Pleins Wilhems. Several streams have their source among the mountains, running generally through deep ravines, pervious, however, to the breeze and to the rays of the sun.

The principal rivers are named *Port Louis, Latanier, Pleins Wilhems, Moka, Rampart, Great and Little Black Rivers,*

* The population of Port Louis was then estimated at three-fifths of that of the whole island, which contained 48,000 slaves, and 8,000 Europeans and mulattoes.

† The Mauritius scenery depicted by Bernardin de St. Pierre, in *Paul and Virginie*, is strictly correct; but the narrative, charming as a fiction, has few claims on the score of truth.

‡ The following are the names and heights, in *yards*, of the principal mountains:—Long Mountain, flagstaff, 178; Port Louis, ditto, 332; the Pouce, 832; Pieterbooth, 840; Corps de Garde, 738; Rampart, 792; Trois Mammelles, 684; Bamboo, 644; Little Black River, 848; Post Mountain, 618; Morne Brabant, 566; Mountain of Savanne, 710.

*Post, Creole, Chaude, Savanne, Tombeau;* and about twenty others of less note.

Grand River rises in the interior of the island, takes its course through the hollow of a deep ravine, receives many tributaries in its progress, divides the district of Moka from that of Pleins Wilhems, and falls into the sea, on the west side of the bay. In its passage several considerable cascades are formed, which, added to the great perpendicular height of the banks, varied with the richest foliage and abrupt masses of rock, present to the eye many picturesque and beautiful views. The stream itself is shallow, but navigable for boats for a few hundred yards before its entrance into the bay. The water is excellent, and conveyed to Port Louis by an aqueduct three miles in length. A pretty village, surrounded by many country seats, is built on both sides of the river, which is crossed by a bridge with five arches. The beauty of the scene is enhanced by a chain of mountains, of which the *Decouvert* forms one termination, the *Pouce* nearly the centre, and *Au Riz* the opposite limit; the whole constituting nearly a semicircle. Black River, situate on the west or leeward side of the island, and distant from Port Louis about nineteen miles, takes its rise from behind a chain of southerly mountains, after traversing a deep ravine at the foot of the Peton; and flowing between them and the mountain called Black River, it passes over a pebbly bed with a gentle current (except in the wet season), and is barred where it joins the bay by a bank of sand and coral.

The two principal Ports are—*Port Louis,* to the north-west or leeward; and *Mahebourg,* or Grand Port, on the south-east or windward shore.

Port Louis (the seat of government) is a neat town, well laid out, and contains many handsome buildings, with good markets. The shops are numerous, and are characterised by a more European aspect than those of any other colony. The shipping lies close to the busy town, and adds to the picturesqueness of the scene. Behind Port Louis the *Champ de Mars* extends in a gradual slope to the mountains; around this park there are many neat villas, shaded by groves of various trees. The buildings erected by the French are generally creditable to their taste. The government house is a large misshapen building, but commodious within. The town and its envirous are encompassed by a chain of lofty eminences, except on the north-west side, which is bounded by the sea; the plain is about 3,700 yards in length, and 3,200 in breadth, divided, however, towards the centre by a ridge called the *Small Mountain,* which joins at right angles the great chain of the *Pouce* (so called from its resemblance to the thumb of a human hand), which is 2,496 feet above the sea. Further eastward, in the same chain, is the *Pieterbooth* mountain, 2,500 feet high, terminated by a natural obelisk of bare rock, surmounted by a cubical mass larger than that on which it is balanced, and looking like a pyramid, with an inverted cone on its summit: this extraordinary pinnacle was ascended by a party of four British officers on the 7th of September, 1832, and the ensign of England planted on the dizzy height, where never before flag waved, or human footstep trod.* The contiguous *Pouce,* whose summit is within 260 feet of the height of the *Pieterbooth,* was ascended by lieutenants Fetherston, Clark, and myself, in 1825.

The harbour of Port Louis has on its north-east Tonnelliers Point. It was formerly insulated, but, previous to the British capture, joined by a causeway to Port Louis, termed Chaussée Tromelin. The river Lataniere here enters the harbour in many streamlets.

*Fort Blanc* is at the opposite side of the harbour to Fort Tonnelliers; and the batteries on both sides command the entrance into the port.† Flacq (a military post) is situate on the north-east coast, in an open, well-cultivated plain, the country rising gradually towards the interior, bounded by a chain of mountains from six to eight miles distant, and watered by *La Poste* river.

Port South-East has two entrances, but on account of the difficulty of getting out of

* A very interesting account of the ascent, written by Lieutenant Taylor, of the royal engineers, has been published in the Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society.

† During the war, four of our frigates attempted to enter Port Louis to cut out some Indiamen captured by the French vessels: they ran aground and were exposed to the cross-fire of the batteries; one of their commanders (Captain Willoughby) would not allow his colours to be hauled down; and when his crew were all *hors de combat,* the British vessel was boarded by the French, and Willoughby was found sitting on the capstan, his arm dangling in its socket, his eye hanging on his cheek, singing "Rule Britannia!" Even thus maimed, the dauntless sailor fought until overpowered by numbers.

the harbour, it is not so generally practicable a haven as Port Louis; but is used by the coasting vessels. About five miles to the northward of Grand Port is situated the lofty eminence called *Leon Couché*. The *Bamboo* mountain, which is the principal height around the port, rises 966 yards above the sea.

There are several Lakes: the principal, called the *Great Basin*, is situated on the most elevated plain in the island, and surrounded by wooded heights, which attract the clouds, and feed the streams running from the lake, which is of considerable depth.

The Caverns are extremely curious, and appear like vast quarries of stone, originally resting upon earth which has since abandoned them, giving the semblance of vaults formed by human labour: they are all situated on gentle declivities. I entered one, accompanied by guides with torches; but after traversing a considerable distance, the men refused to attend me further, alleging that the dreary passage communicated beneath the ocean with the island of Bourbon. Although some distance from the sea, the roar of the waves was as distinctly audible as if they had been actually rolling over our heads.

---

Geology.—The appearance and composition of the island would indicate it to be of volcanic origin. The rocks are disposed in strata, which rise from the sea-shore, and form in the centre of the island an elevated plain, upon whose declivity are several rocky eminences. These may be regarded as the remains of an immense exhausted volcano, the sides of which have fallen in, either by the effects of a violent eruption or by an earthquake, leaving the firmly supported walls standing. The structure around consists of ironstone, and a species of lava of a gray colour, the soil produced from the decomposition thereof forming an earthy substance composed chiefly of argyl and an oxyde of iron.

The tops of the mountains are in general indented with points like the comb of a cock; the few which have flat summits present the appearance of a pavement.

A bank of coral surrounds the shore for the distance of a quarter of a league: where the coast is steep, rocks prevail, as at the Quoin de Mer, &c. Wells have been sunk forty to fifty feet near Port Louis, where nothing but a bed of flints was found, and a kind of clay which contained talc and lenticular stones; although excavated to the level of the sea, no coral was arrived at, nor any coral or shells discovered in the elevated parts of the island, though so plentiful on the sea-shore—a proof that the ocean has not covered the land, or, in other words, that it is not of diluvian origin: no trace of a volcanic crater, however, exists.* A mineral spring near Port Louis is much resorted to by invalids.

The Soil is in many parts exceedingly rich; in some places it is a black vegetable mould, in others a bed of solid clay or quaking earth, into which a stake of ten feet in length may be thrust without meeting any resistance. The surface of the plain at Port Louis is of coralline or calcareous rock, with a slight covering of vegetable soil: at St. Denis it is of a reddish hue, lightly spread over a stratum of stone; the Field of Mars is a bed of rich clay mixed with flints; but more generally the earth is of a reddish colour, mixed with ferruginous matter,† which often appears on the surface in small orbicular masses; in the dry season it becomes extremely solid, and resembles potters' earth from its hardness; after rain it becomes viscid and tenacious, yet it requires no great labour in cultivation. Many of the plains and valleys are strewed with huge blocks of stone, but there is no real sand in the island.

---

The Climate is salubrious:‡ there are four seasons; the first begins in May, accompanied by south-east winds, when squalls and rains occur; the second, with September or October, when the south-east changes to the north-west; the sun then approaches the zenith, and the atmosphere becomes genial: the rains and winds return again in December, when the third period commences; and this gives place in March to the fourth or dry season, which lasts for only about eight weeks. These are the seasons as regard the cultivator; but they

* There is one at Bourbon which not unfrequently sends forth flames.

† This description of soil is found well adapted for the growth of the sugar-cane in the West India Islands. (*See* Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts, &c.)

‡ There are no marshes or swamps on the island. At Port Louis, and some of the other parts of the coast, there are flats occasionally overflowed by the tide: it may have been the malaria arising from these, aided by the peculiar state of the atmosphere, that the epidemic cholera raged in 1819. It is alleged that this fearful disease was brought by a trading ship.

may be generally divided into two, when the winds blow from the south-east to south, and from the north-east to north, forming a kind of monsoon. The south-east gales, although they never exceed a certain degree of force, are always more or less strong and violent; they give a freshness to the air, yet, while they blow, vegetation is imperfect. The winds from the south prevail in winter, and are cold; east winds are infrequent, and generally accompanied by abundant rain. The north-west and west winds are hot, often gentle, interrupted by calms, violent storms, and great rains. "Violent commotions in the atmosphere," says Dr. Burke, "have from long experience been generally observed synchronous, with the changes of the moon."

The following meteorological table will show the state of the climate at Port Louis, situated on the north-eastern, and probably the hottest side of the island:—

| Months. | Thermometer. | | Barometer. | | Prevailing Winds. | Weather. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Maximum. | Minimum. | Maximum. | Minimum. | | Days of Rain. | Rain. Inches | Rain. Dec. | Thunder |
| January . . . . | 87 | 77 | 30 | 29 | S.E. & N.W. | 7, 10, 11, 17, 18. | 8 | 47 | 1 |
| February . . . | 87 | 79 | 30 | 29 | — | 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16. | 10 | 19 | — |
| March . . . . | 85 | 78 | 30 | 29 | N.W. & S.E. | Ditto. | 10 | 4 | 3 |
| April . . . . . | 85 | 76 | 29 | 29 | S.E. & N.W. | Rain and tempests. | 4 | 91 | 6 |
| May . . . . . | 79 | 71 | 30 | 29 | S.E. & N.W. | Ditto and cloudy. | — | 85 | — |
| June . . . . . | 79 | 73 | 30 | 30 | S.E. | Cloudy. | — | 57 | — |
| July . . . . . | 75 | 71 | 30 | 30 | — | Do. 18, 19, thunder. | — | 56 | — |
| August . . . . | 77 | 72 | 30 | 29 | — | 1, 2, 5, 6, 15, rain. | 1 | 59 | — |
| September . . . | 79 | 70 | 30 | 29 | S.E. & N.W. | 2, 3, 6, 9, 20. | — | 86 | — |
| October . . . . | 93 | 73 | 30 | 29 | S.E. brisk. | None. | — | 86 | — |
| November . . . | 84 | 72 | 30 | 29 | — | 8, 9, 11, 22, 23, rain. | — | 40 | — |
| December . . . | 96 | 77 | 30 | 29 | E. & S.E. | Showery. | — | — | 1 |

At Black River Post the atmosphere is in general mild and dry, as the rains do not often reach the shore, for the lofty mountains in the neighbourhood attract the laden clouds. The months of September, October, and November, are dry and moderately warm; the mean of the thermometer 79, and the prevailing winds S.E., N.N.E., and N.W. In December, January, February, and March (which form the wet season), the heat is greatest; mean 86, winds N.N.W., W., and S.W. April, May, June, and July, cool and refreshing; mean 70, winds S. and S.E. in strong breezes. At the *Powder Mills* the mean heat throughout the year, is at sunrise 70, afternoon 86, and sunset 72. On the mountain eminences the climate is that of a temperate region.

Many of the E. I. Company's civil and military officers seek and find health at Mauritius; and I have myself, when suffering from an African fever, found the air, especially at Moka, elastic and invigorating.

The hurricane months are January, February, and March; but these tempests do not occur every year: their return is uncertain; nor does it appear that of late years they have been so numerous or so severe as they were wont to be. At Tonnelliers battery a large 24-pounder was shown me, which, in a *coup de vent,* was blown from the rampart, whirled about in the air like a feather, and then dropped several hundred feet from its original position. The inhabitants travelling on the roads cannot keep their feet when the hurricane is blowing in its strength.*

* Owing to the purity of the atmosphere, the sky at the Mauritius is of an intense blue; and the mountains stand out in bold relief. Connected with the atmospheric rarity, is the singular fact of a Frenchman (I think M. Fillifay by name) having discerned ships at sea some hundred miles distant. The time for observation was at morning dawn, when the observer proceeded to a gentle eminence, and looked in the sky (not on the horizon), where he beheld, *with the naked eye,* the object inverted within his peculiar vision, which was of course extended or contracted according to the rarity of the atmosphere. The reality of this strange faculty was verified by several striking instances of correctness, viz., when the British vessels were assembling at Rodrigue (300 miles to the eastward of Mauritius), in 1810, to attack the island, M. Fillifay stated so to the French governor, and was, it is said, imprisoned for raising false alarms: at another time he discerned what he described as *two vessels* joined together, or if there were such a thing, a *four-masted ship;* in a few days an American *four-masted schooner* entered Port Louis: again he saw an Indiaman dismasted when nearly 400 miles from the island, and afterwards announced her to be erecting jury-masts and steering for the island, which proved to be the case. When at Port Louis I went on shore frequently with my brother-officers at noon, when M. Fillifay, in his ancient dress (somewhat like our Greenwich pensioners), rode on his stout mule down to the wharf to inform the port officer what vessels were in (*his*) sight. When asked, his answer would perhaps be, "a ship north-east 200 miles—nearly becalmed;—a schooner west, will make the land to-morrow;—two brigs standing to the southward," &c., &c.: his "report," which was invariably accurate,

The range of weather round the coast is thus shown; the average being deduced from the different military stations:—

| Months. | Thermometer. | | Weather. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | High-est. | Low-est. | |
| January . | 86 | 74 | Warm and rainy, storms, sometimes thunder. |
| February . | 86 | 74 | Violent gales, occasional hurricanes and thunder. |
| March . . | 85 | 74 | W.S.W., rain less frequent, heat moderate. |
| April . . . | 88 | 73 | Fine season, delicious temperature. |
| May . . . | 82 | 70 | Winds westerly, dry, and air fresh and agreeable. |
| June . . . | 80 | 70 | S.E. constant, rain in drops. |
| July . . . | 79 | 64 | Ditto, strong breezes by day, calm by night. |
| August . . | 80 | 71 | Rain more or less daily, mountains cloud-capt. |
| September | 79 | 68 | Ditto, ditto, principally harvest weather. |
| October . . | 80 | 65 | Temperate, sometimes warm. |
| November | 83 | 71 | Winds variable, heat increasing, storms. |
| December | 86 | 73 | Ditto, ditto, sun vertical, heat moderated by clouds and rain. |

Population.—The first settlers at Mauritius and Bourbon were European pirates, who obtained wives from Madagascar. Their importance, in 1657, in the Eastern seas, may be estimated from the following occurrence, which took place at Bourbon, on which isle the French East India Company had then an establishment. The Portuguese viceroy of Goa anchored one morning in the roads of St. Denis, and disembarked purposing to dine with the governor: he had scarcely landed before a pirate ship of 50 guns came into the roads, and captured his vessel; the victorious commander then went on shore, demanded to dine with the governor and viceroy, and seated himself at table between these gentlemen, declaring the latter to be his prisoner. Wine and rich cheer put the pirate in good humour: at length M. Desforges, the governor, asked what the viceroy's ransom was to be rated at? "A thousand piastres," was the reply; "that," said M. Desforges, "is too little for a brave fellow like you to receive from a great lord —ask enough, or ask nothing." "Well, well, I ask nothing," said the corsair; "let him as your guest go free;" which the viceroy instantly did, and the court of Portugal recompensed the French governor.

After the colonisation of Mauritius by the French, a great number of adventurers flocked to the island from Europe, and other places, and slaves were introduced from Madagascar and Mozambique; but at what precise period we have no record. It would seem that the island was more populous during the period prior to the French revolution, than subsequent to that event, as it is on record that, in 1792, 20,000 persons perished of smallpox in the Mauritius. In 1799, the population was stated by Baron Grant, at—slaves, 55,000; whites and mulattoes, 10,000: total, 65,000. The armed force, national guard, blacks and mulattoes, numbered 2,000; blacks and mulattoes (to serve as chasseurs), with the artillery, 3,000: giving a total of 5,000.

In 1767 the population was 18,777, of whom 3,163 were whites, and 587 free blacks; the remainder slaves: in 1787, whites, 4,372; free blacks, 2,235; slaves, 33,832 = 40,439: in 1797, whites, 6,237; free blacks, 3,703; slaves, 49,080 = 59,020: in 1807, whites, 6,489; free blacks, 5,919; slaves, 65,367 = 77,768: in 1817, whites, 7,375; free blacks, 10,979; slaves, 79,493 = 97,847: in 1827 there were whites, 8,111; slaves, 69,076; free coloured, 15,444 = 92,631: in 1832, slaves—males, 38,124; females, 24,932 = 63,056: total population about 99,000. These must have been somewhat vague estimates. In 1836 the numbers are said to have been—general population, males, 5,926; females, 14,485 = 20,411; negro apprentices (formerly slaves), males, 33,189; females, 20,602 = 53,791: total, 74,202. It is alleged that a large number of slaves were clandestinely introduced into the colony previous to emancipation; certainly there was a great waste of human life shortly before that period.

The compensation awarded to slave-owners by the British parliament, in 1834, was—for 1,404 claims on account of 26,830 predial slaves attached to the soil, £912,059: for ditto non-attached—claims, 1,077; number of slaves, 7,594—£262,732; for non-predial slaves, including tradesmen, overseers, domestics, &c. —claims, 4,905; number of slaves, 22,275—£811,307. The average rate of purchase was thus £38 per head.

When slave emancipation was decreed, the Mauritius government determined to attempt providing a supply of free labour by encouraging immigrants from British India. In 1834, the number introduced was seventy males; from year to year there was an augmentation of this valuable class from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, who were under indentures to labour a fixed number of years, and then to be conveyed back to their native country, partly at the expense of the local government. The statistics of this population movement stood thus between 1835 and 1852:—*Increase* by arrivals in twenty years was—males, 126,212; females, 20,365 = 146,577; by births—males, 5,856; females, 5,455 = 11,311. The *decrease* by departures—males, 31,912; females, 3,186 = 35,098; by deaths—males, 19,449; females, 3,157 = 22,606. This shows a severe mortality among an adult population, arising too probably from being overworked and under-fed. The rate of mortality varied from two to eight per cent. per ann.

was written down at the captain of the port's office, M. Fillifay being a *pensionnaire* on the treasury. The practice or science was, he alleged, teachable; and I understood that a lady was learning to announce vessels under the instructions of the far-sighted Frenchman.

In August, 1846, the resident population amounted to 158,462, and the military and crews of the mercantile shipping, to 2,627 = 161,089. The last census shows the number of fixed inhabitants, by districts, at 180,823. Exclusive of Port Louis (38,000) the number of mouths to each square mile is 158.

*Population by District Census on 20th November, 1851.*

| Districts. | Area in sq. miles. | General Population. | | | Ex-apprentices and their children. | | | Hindoos and other Indians. | | | Total. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males. | Fem. | Total. | Males. | Fem. | Total. | Males. | Fem. | Total. | Males. | Fem. | Total. |
| Port Louis and Vicinage[a] . . . | 10 | 14,471 | 13,635 | 28,106 | 5,788 | 5,192 | 10,980 | 8,989 | 1,834 | 10,823 | 29,248 | 20,661 | 49,909 |
| Pamplemousses, N. | 44 | 3,144 | 2,909 | 6,053 | 3,684 | 2,901 | 6,585 | 6,319 | 1,424 | 7,743 | 13,147 | 7,234 | 20,381 |
| ,, South | 44 | 981 | 808 | 1,789 | 1,064 | 757 | 1,821 | 6,630 | 1,415 | 8,045 | 8,675 | 2,980 | 11,655 |
| Riviere du Rampart | 58 | 1,432 | 1,266 | 2,698 | 1,467 | 1,179 | 2,646 | 8,732 | 1,954 | 10,686 | 11,631 | 4,399 | 16,030 |
| Flacq . . . . . . | 114 | 2,284 | 2,021 | 4,305 | 3,508 | 2,785 | 6,293 | 11,133 | 2,455 | 13,588 | 16,925 | 7,261 | 24,186 |
| Grand Port . . . . | 112 | 2,604 | 2,368 | 4,972 | 3,014 | 2,365 | 5,379 | 7,182 | 1,549 | 8,731 | 12,800 | 6,282 | 19,082 |
| Savanne . . . . . | 92 | 692 | 575 | 1,267 | 1,666 | 1,421 | 3,087 | 4,581 | 936 | 5,517 | 6,939 | 2,932 | 9,871 |
| Black River . . . | 95 | 845 | 807 | 1,652 | 1,946 | 1,499 | 3,445 | 4,106 | 888 | 4,994 | 6,899 | 3,194 | 10,093 |
| Pleins Wilhems . . | 71 | 1,385 | 1,128 | 2,513 | 2,955 | 2,285 | 5,242 | 5,157 | 981 | 6,138 | 9,499 | 4,394 | 13,893 |
| Moka . . . . . . | 68 | 568 | 574 | 1,142 | 1,539 | 1,293 | 2,852 | 1,453 | 278 | 1,731 | 3,580 | 2,145 | 5,725 |
| Total Residents . | — | 28,406 | 26,091 | 54,497 | 26,633 | 21,677 | 48,330 | 64,282 | 13,714 | 77,996 | 119,343 | 61,482 | 180,825 |

[a] Including Grand River, Vallee des Pretres, and Rochebois.

*Note.*—The military population, not included in the above, consisted of—males, 1,315; females, 209 = 1,524; crews of commercial shipping, 1,159: grand total, 183,508. Total Indian population in 1854—males, 96,142; females, 25,131.

The number of pure white inhabitants is not stated. The classification of population according to country, shows, of the British race born in the United Kingdom, or their offspring—males, 1,264; females, 683 = 1,947: in British colonies—males, 1,373; females, 738 = 2,111: in France—males, 635; females, 242; their offspring—males, 313; females, 336 = males, 948; females, 578 = 1,526. Of Africans and their descendants, 102,993; Asiatics and ditto, 72,236; Americans, 33; not stated, 1,583. Proportions employed in commerce, trade, and manufactures, 20·2; agriculture, 7; other occupations, 21·7. Proportion of *insane* in Creoles, 9 in 10,000; Africans, 22; Hindoos, &c., 11. *Blind*—by classes, and to each 10,000—Creoles, 11; Africans, 66; Hindoos, 7. Number of deaf and dumb, 107; infirm, 3,214. In all the above there has been a progressive increase since 1846.

The number of apprentices (formerly slaves) in February, 1835, was—males, 18,049; females, 12,979 = 31,028: children born between 1835 and 1846—males, 8,604; females, 8,698 = 17,302. In November, 1851, this class of the population numbered—males, 26,653; females, 21,677 = 48,330, which shows an augmentation, since 1835, of 17,302. Had emancipation not taken place, the decrease would probably have been equal to the present increase.

State of Religion.—We have no useful or cheering returns on this important subject. The different denominations of religion are stated in the census of 1851, to have been professed as follows:—Church of England, 904; Presbyterians, 71; Independents, 1,032; Protestant, not distinguished, 3,884; Roman Catholics, 93,561; Christians, not distinguished, 1,052; Mohammedans, 11,587; Hindoos, 48,838; Boodhists, 1,241; others, 3,487; non-baptized, 3,718; not stated, 10,338 = 180,823.

The ecclesiastical establishment paid from the public revenues, consists of a bishop and civil chaplain of the church of England, one minister of the church of Scotland, and a bishop and nine priests of the church of Rome: the bishop receives £720, and the priests £200 each per annum.

The statistics of education, in 1854, are thus shown:—

| Denomination of Schools. | No. | Scholars. | | Total. | Expenditure. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males. | Fem. | | £ |
| Government . . . . | 23 | 1,441 | 448 | 1,869 | 4,635 |
| Church of England . | 2 | 69 | 20 | 89 | — |
| Church of Rome . . . | 13 | 475 | 453 | 908 | 685 |
| Private . . . . . | 32 | 1,100 | 1,056 | 2,156 | — |
| Royal College . . | — | — | — | 296 | — |
| Total . . . . . | 70 | 3,085 | 1,977 | 5,318 | 5,320 |

This is a very small extent of instruction for youth, among a population of about 200,000. Allowing one in ten to be capable of receiving education, the number ought to be 20,000, instead of less than 6,000.

Education is little attended to by the planters; and, unhappily, our missionary societies have not extended their valuable labours to the Mauritius.

There are several newspapers—one in French, another in English, and a third in both languages, daily; one weekly, and one bi-weekly. A good almanac, with statistical and other information, is published annually.

Government.—A governor, the commander of the troops, the colonial secretary, and the advocate-general, form an *Executive* Council; these, with the addition of four official, and twelve non-official members appointed by the Crown, constitute a *Legislative* Council, which was organised in 1837.

*Military Force.*—A detachment of artillery, and two of H.M. infantry regiments. The officers receive island allowances in addition to their regular pay.

*The revenue*, in 1812, was £112,000; at the period of emancipation (1834), £170,000; it is now £370,000; of this sum, custom duties on imports yield £100,000; licenses and permits, £100,000; assessed taxes, £40,000; harbour dues, £16,000; registrations and mortgages, £16,000; postage, £3,000; fines and fees, £7,000; and other minor items. The local expenditure is less than the income by about £20,000. The ecclesiastical charges are but £5,500; education, £12,000; police and gaols, £26,500; judicial, £30,000; medical, £10,000; immigration of cooly labourers, £50,000 (in 1854); colonial pay and allowances to military, £15,000; contribution towards military expenses, £20,000; roads, streets, and bridges, £12,000; pensions and retired allowances, £10,000; public works, £18,000. The remainder is devoted to the civil government. Salary of governor, £6,000. Municipal income of Port Louis, £23,000 per annum.

*Coins.*—Accounts kept in British money; all sorts of coins are in circulation.

*Weights.*—In the transactions with the military commissariat department, imperial weights are used. With this exception, the weights in use in this island are the same as they were in France before the revolution, viz.—100 lbs. French, *poids de marc*, equal to 108 lbs. English; and the same proportions in the subdivisions, which are the ounce, gros, and grains. 16 ounces make one pound, 8 gros make 1 ounce, 72 grains make 1 gros. The quintal is 100 lbs. French. The ton is 20 quintals. Sugar is reckoned per pound or per quintal; coffee, per bag of 100 lbs. (net French); cotton, per bale of 250 lbs. Rice is sold per bag of 150 lbs.

*Measures.*—In the transactions with the military commissariat department, imperial measures are used; but the measures in general use are French. The French foot is to the English in the proportion of 100 to 92,89, or in common practice of 16 to 15. 12 lines make 1 inch, 12 inches 1 foot, 6 feet 1 toise, 5 feet 1 fathom. The aune is 44 inches, and it is to the English yard as 9 to 7. Every kind of cloth is measured and sold in this island by the aune or ell. The velt is equal to 1 gallon 7 pints 4-5ths English, but it is always taken as 2 gallons in commercial transactions; it is by the velt that every liquid is measured here. 3 gills make 1 pint, 2 pints 1 quart. 4 quarts 1 gallon, 2 gallons 1 velt. Nine English quart bottles are generally considered equal to a velt, and 40 drams to 1 gallon. A cask measures 30 velts. The ton of sugar is 2,000 lbs. French; ebony wood, 2,000 lbs.; coffee, 1,400 lbs.; cotton, 750 lbs.; cloves, 1,000 lbs.; grain, 1,400 lbs.; liquids, 120 velts; square cut timber, 32 cubic feet; boards, 386 feet; shingles, 3,300. The arpent, or acre, is 100 square perches; the perch is 20 feet French. The tonnage of cases, 42 cubic feet measurement.

Commerce, during the French and English occupation of the island, has flourished, as the Mauritius has been an entrepôt for the supply of goods to Madagascar, Africa, and other places. In 1833 (previous to the abolition of slavery), the value of imports and exports stood thus:—

Imports, 1833, £577,420; exports, £639,910; tons, 72,000: imports, 1855, £1,500,000; exports, £1,300,000; tons, 166,000.

The imports of goods in English ships from Great Britain, is about £450,000 per annum. Assuming the population to be now 185,000, it shows an importation at the rate of about £2 10s. per head annually.

*Tariff.*—Custom duties on manufactures of silk, 15; of woollens and leather, 10; cotton and all other textiles, 5—per cent. Paper, glass, hardware, cutlery, tea, and coffee, 10 per cent.: beer, 13s. per hogshead; per dozen bottles, 9*d.*; wine in cask, at the rate of 16s. per 30 gallons; in bottle, 2s. per dozen; spirits, 6s. per gallon; bacon, butter, cheese, ham, &c., 4*s.* per cwt. Unenumerated goods, ware, and merchandise, 6 per cent. *ad valorem.*

The climate and soil are adapted to the growth of various descriptions of tropical produce.* Sugar has long been the staple export of the colony; in 1812–'13, the exportation averaged 700,000 (French); in 1820, 15,000,000; in 1830, 67,000,000; in 1832 (the highest year of production during the slavery period), 73,000,000; in 1836, 63,000,000—lbs. In consequence of the abundant supply of labour, the sugar cultivation has been more than trebled; in 1840–'1, the crop amounted to 77,174,253; in 1854, to 250,000,000—French lbs. To furnish this large supply other species of culture have been neglected, and almost every article of food is imported. It is to be feared that it will be impossible to continue the production, as the land—of which there is but a limited extent available for sugar—cannot be replenished after the abstractions caused by the cane, even by the aid of the rotation of crops recently adopted, or the most plentiful supply of guano. Despite vacuum-pans and centrifugal machines, a severe reaction may, ere long, be looked for in the trade of the Mauritius, unless other articles of export be developed, for which the soil and temperature are adapted.

Dependencies of the Mauritius—Rodrigue, Seychelles, &c.—The island of *Rodrigue*, the *Seychelles islands*, the *Amirante isles, Diego Garcia*, &c., are subject to the authority of the governor of the Mauritius. Rodrigue, about 300 miles to the eastward of Mauritius, in 19° 13′ S. lat., (about twenty-six miles long by twelve broad), is mountainous, or, more properly speaking, a succession of hills, clothed with verdure;

* *List of fruits cultivated at the island of Mauritius.*—Mango, cherimolia, ramboutan, guava, plantain, lime, bergamot, jambosa, mabolo, celebes mangosteen, carambole, mammee, apple, jack, fig, Tartarian mulberry, vontac, grape, tamarind, sweet hovenia, custard apple, alligator pear, Otaheite apple, Chinese guava, lemon, citron, Seville orange, jar plum, sapadilla, European plum, bilimbi, date, quince, St. Helena almond, voaving, blackberry, pomegranate, carandas, Otaheite chestnut, sour sop, litchi, hog plum, pink guava, orange, mandarine, combava, Brazil cherry, mangosteen, Madagascar plum, cocoa-nut, cashew-nut, bread-fruit, sorindi, jubeb, raspberry, grenadilla, cantor, wampi, sugar apple, longane, Indian plum, papaya, shaddock, Madagascar orange, rose apple, sapota, Cochin Chinese ditto, Chinese plum, double cocoa-nut, peach, rima, Japan medlar, pine-apple, strawbery, cacao, Indian fig, cookia. *Spices.*—Pepper, camphor, tea, sago, nutmeg, clove, allspice, cinnamon, coffee, betel-nut, &c.—Wages of predial labour, 13*s.* to 16*s.* a month. Bread, $2\frac{1}{2}$*d.* to 3*d.*; meat, 7*d.* to 1s. per lb.

the valleys are full of rocks and stones, which cover the surface to a great extent, leaving, however, a large portion of fertile soil. This is cultivated by a few French colonists from the Mauritius, with which a constant intercourse is kept up in transporting turtle from the former to the latter. There is abundance of fish around, but it is singular that those caught outside the reefs in deep water are poisonous, and several sailors have died from eating of them. One sort taken near the island resembles a whiting, and from its destructive qualities is named by the French *mort au chien*.* The early French settlers narrate that they found eels of an exquisite flavour on the island, so large that *one* of them was a load for *two men* to carry. On the north side of the island there is a bay affording excellent anchorage, a secure shelter for ships of all dimensions,† and abundance of wood and water. The air is delightful, the water clear, the vegetation luxuriant. Rodrigue is useful as a haven for shipwrecked mariners,‡ and likewise as a cruising station.

The SEYCHELLES or MAHE ISLANDS, situate to the northward of Madagascar, between the parallels of 4° and 5° S. lat., were partially explored by M. Lazarus Picault, in 1743, by order of Mahé de la Bourdonnais, the famous governor of the Mauritius; but in all probability they were previously known to the Portuguese, as were the Amirantes, a low and comparatively insignificant group, eighty miles distant; if, however, the Portuguese saw them, it seems strange that they were not explored, as we should then have had an earlier account of the *coco de mer* peculiar to those islands.

The Seychelles capitulated to the English in 1794, after which their flag was considered neutral by the English and French, when belligerents: on the capture of the Mauritius, these isles were taken possession of as a dependency of that colony, and have since remained under the superintendence of an agent appointed by the governor-in-chief.

The size of the principal islands is thus shown:—

| Names. | Acres. | Names. | Acres. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mahe | 30,000 | Conception | 120 |
| Praslin | 8,000 | Felicity | 800 |
| Silhouette | 5,700 | North Island | 500 |
| La Digue | 2,000 | Denis | 200 |
| Curieuse | 1,000 | Vache | 200 |
| St. Anne | 500 | Aride | 150 |
| Cerf | 400 | | |
| Frigate | 300 | Total acres | 50,120 |
| Mariane | 250 | | |

There are above fifteen smaller islands, resting on a bank of sand and coral.

*Mahé*, the chief island in the group, is sixteen miles long, and from three to five broad, with a steep and rugged granitic mountain in the centre. The town of *Mahé* is situate on the north side, in a small glen, irregularly built, and containing some good houses; the principal persons being, however, in the environs. The scanty population, when I visited the group in 1825, was—whites, 582; free coloured, 323; and slaves, 6,058: total, 6,963. There is, however, a scattered population on many of the flat islands spread about those tranquil seas; sometimes on approaching one of these low verdant isles, the recent creation of the coral insect, we were surprised by a boat pushing off from the lonely shore, and a dark-coloured Frenchman, or Portuguese, would come on board our frigate, bringing welcome presents of eggs, milk, and fowls, at the same time declaring that the island was his estate, and that his family would receive us hospitably if we would land. On several of the Seychelles and Amirante group we found no human inhabitants, but abundance of hogs and goats, as also papaws, cocoa-nuts, and other edible fruit; indeed a cruise in the Seychelles archipelago is very charming; the beauty of the skies, the serenity of the atmosphere, the purity of the breeze, give a peculiar charm to the soft scenery around. The oldest resident of these peaceful isles never witnessed a gale of wind; but the sea-breeze is constant, and tempers the heat so as to divest a nearly

* The existence of poisonous fish has never been properly accounted for; we know of no birds or animals that are poisonous; even the most venomous snake, when decapitated, is good eating. Some think that the fact is owing to copper banks, on which the fish feed; but it is remarkable that those caught on the same bank are at one time poisonous and at another edible. Some sorts are, however, poisonous at all times, and I have seen a dog die in a few minutes after eating one. Mariners ought to reject fish without scales, unless they know them to be good; and a silver spoon, if boiled with the fish, will turn black should it be noxious.

† The squadron which was collected from India and the Cape, for the conquest of the Mauritius, in 1810, rendezvoused here.

‡ A vessel from Bombay (the *Eldon*), laden with cotton, took fire at sea in October last (1834), and the crew, after being many days in an open boat, reached Rodrigue when almost perishing, and from thence the Mauritius. Cases have occurred proving the value of the island in time of war.

vertical sun of the ill effects of its fervid rays. I spent whole days wandering from island to island among the Seychelles group, and revelling in their romantic scenery, with no other protection from a tropical sun than a broad-brimmed straw hat, yet without feeling the slightest inconvenience, and with but little fatigue. The thermometer varies from 84° to 64°, its mean being 70° to 72°; the healthiness of the station is indicated by the great age and large families of the inhabitants.

Although the bank on which this archipelago is situated is of coral formation, all the islands except two are of granite; huge blocks of which, generally piled up as it were in a confused mass, form their peaks, which are covered with verdure. Lieutenant (now Captain) R. Owen, R.N., and myself, with a party of seamen, ascended North or Fearn Island after two hours and a-half difficult climbing. Towards the summit, for many feet, there was nothing but huge blocks of granite, piled on each other as a number of paving-stones would be on an Irish *cearn;* several of these rocks were of the magnitude of a small-sized house, and some so nicely poised that they might be moved with the hand.

The Seychelles possess many excellent harbours, and being never visited by tornadoes, the neighbourhood is frequented by whalers who fill up their vessels rapidly with sperm oil. The inhabitants cultivate cotton of a superior quality, spices, coffee, tobacco, rice, maize, cocoa-nuts, &c., and carry on a lucrative trade in the numerous small vessels which they possess, in articles suited to the Indian, Mauritius, and Bourbon markets.* The vegetation around is extremely luxuriant; the most remarkable specimen is the *coco de mer*, so called because the nuts were found on the shores of Malabar, and on the coasts of the Maldive Islands, many years before the place of their growth was ascertained; each nut then sold for three or four hundred pounds, from its supposed medicinal quality. This fruit is confined in its growth to the Seychelles, and even there to two islands—Praslin and Curieuse. It springs from a species of palm, sixty to eighty feet high, with full leaves; from their junction hangs the nut, one foot long, eight inches thick, with a light-coloured tasteless jelly in each of the compartments; the seed-vessel is about two feet long and three inches diameter, studded with small yellow flowers issuing from a regular projection, which resemble those of the pine-apple. The smell arising from the flower is by most Europeans considered intolerable, its offensiveness increasing the longer the flower is kept.

Various spices grow on Mahé, &c., such as the cinnamon plant, cloves, nutmeg, and pepper, which were introduced by order of M. de Poivre, the intelligent governor of the Mauritius, with a view of rivaling the Dutch in the Moluccas. The plantation† was tended with great care as a national undertaking, until, at a critical period, the French became apprehensive that the islands might be attacked by a British squadron, when orders were given by the governor of the Mauritius to surround the spice garden with bundles of dried faggots, and other combustible matter, and the moment a British vessel of war hove in sight, to set fire to the whole. A large vessel shortly after appeared off the island with English colours, the spice trees were immediately burned, and the ship of war came into Mahé harbour, with the *tricolour* flag, it being a French man-of-war that had used a *ruse*, to ascertain whether the islands had a British force on them. The feelings of the French, while the valuable plantations were being consumed, may be readily imagined.

*Diego Garcia*, about four degrees from the equator, is one of those numerous coral islands with which these seas abound. It contains plenty of turtle, and has a few residents from the Mauritius.

The Amirante and other dependencies are flat, and require no separate notice. The population (chiefly African) of the thirteen islands included under the name of Seychelles, was, in November, 1851—males, 3,626; females, 3,185 = 6,811: of these, Mahé contained 5,541; Praslin, 461; Ladigue, 442; the Amirantes, 30; Seven Isles, north-east of Madagascar, 61; Chagos Archipelago, 334; Rodrigue, 495; Agalega, 242; Cotiny, 28: total of these dependencies—males, 4,476; females, 3,525 = 8,001.

Should a British trade hereafter arise with the eastern coast of Africa, the Seychelles may become a useful entrepôt.

* Some ships are afraid to fish on this bank, the whole being very violent when wounded.

† The central position of the Seychelles for trade with the eastern hemisphere, is thus shown:—*Mahé* to Madagascar, 576 miles; Comoros, 828; Mauritius, 928; Mombas, 930; Delagoa Bay, 1,800; Bombay, 1,680; Arabia, 1,230; Cape of Good Hope, 2,640 miles.

# SECTION III.—ADEN.

This singular-looking, desolate spot, owing to its excellent harbour and position, has from an early date been an object of attraction for commercial pursuits. When Constantine reigned, it is said to have been a great city, and was honoured with the title of "Romanum Emporium." The Mohammedans assert, but produce no proof, that its citizens were honoured by the preaching of Mohamet.*

For the following account of Aden, and its annexation to the British Crown, I am indebted to Captain Haines, the really estimable though unfortunate† governor of the settlement when I visited it in 1845:‡—

By the "doomsday-book" of Lahidge it appears that about A.H. 1141 [A.D. 1763], the Sheikh Foudthel ibn Ali ibn Foudthel ibn Sellah ibn Selim, declaring himself the chief of the Abdali tribe, and throwing off all subjection, prepared, in concert with the neighbouring tribe of Yaffai, to make himself master of Aden, stipulating first, that they should enjoy the revenues of the port alternately.

A.H. 1148, Aden fell into the hands of these two chiefs; and before six months had elapsed, the Sheikh of Lahidge, whose craftiness fully equalled his courage, turned his colleague out of the place, and made himself sole governor. His rapacity and extortion extinguished the few sparks of commercial enterprise yet remaining, and from this period may be traced the rapid downfall of Aden.

Sultan Foudthel ibn Ali was treacherously killed by the Yaffai, A.H. 1155, leaving two sons, Abdel Kerim and M'Houssan, and two daughters. He was succeeded by Abdel Kerim, who reigned seventeen years, during which Aden was governed by a favourite slave. This sultan deservedly bore the name of a wise and benevolent man, but the spirit of indolence prevented his people from profiting by the mildness of his rule. He died 1172, leaving five sons, viz., Abdul Hadi, Foudthel, Nasser, Ali, and Ahmed. Ali was killed by the fall of a stone on his head from one of the houses in Aden; Ahmed died early in life; and Abdul Hadi succeeded to the throne of his father. Tradition relates, that during the reign of Sultan Kerim, a dispute with reference to some ground took place between the Sayud of Hydroos and the sultan, which ended in one of the sons of the Sayud being treated with great severity. Fired with the insult to his sacred calling, the Sayud implored the vengeance of the Almighty on the tyrant, and prayed that he might never be blessed with posterity. His prayer was heard: the elder sons of the family had no children, and the "fukht" or throne of the Abdali chief was occupied by the descendant of his younger son, M'Houssan Foudthel ibn Ali, who, in the year 1190, was killed by order of his nephew Abdel Hadi. In this year the present Sultan of Lahidge was born. On the death of Sultan Abdel Kerim, A.H. 1172, his eldest son Abdul Hadi succeeded him, and reigned nineteen years, during which his cousin, Foudthel M'Houssan, caused him great trouble and annoyance. Repeated insurrections took place, and Aden, during the year 1185, was stormed by Azab Mukki Akrabi, who kept possession of it for two days, when he was driven out. Towards the close of his reign he became unable to attend to public affairs, and his brother Foudthel was employed in keeping the tribes in subjection.

The people, however, were not quieted until the instigator of all disputes, the uncle M'Houssan, was waylaid and murdered by the creeses (or daggers) of the sultan's slaves, in 1190.

In the year following the sultan died of smallpox, with nearly one-fourth of the inhabitants of Lahidge and surrounding villages; and it is worthy of remark, that though Aden was crowded with fugitives from the interior, the disease did not intrude within its limits.

In three instances since Aden has become a British settlement smallpox has appeared, but never spread; until the year 1845 afforded the melancholy

* Sultan Selim annexed Egypt to his dominions in 1517, and Suleyman the Magnificent succeeded him in 1520. There can be no doubt that when Selim endeavoured to annex Arabia to his dominions, a fresh stimulus was given to the trade of Yemen; and during his administration and that of his sons, every attention was bestowed upon Aden, as the principal station from which all their Indian conquests and expeditions against their formidable rivals, the Portuguese, were to emanate. Its importance is mentioned by that quaint old historian Ibn Batuta, and its eventual decay was doubtless caused by the Turkish evacuation of the country. In 1839 a few aqueducts, tanks, and ruined towers were all that was left to mark its former splendour. Man alone had not changed, and the Bedouin who daily enters the bazaar of Aden, is in all respects the same as his forefathers were a thousand years ago.

† Unfortunate in regard to pecuniary defalcations, caused by native treachery.

‡ Yemen (in which Aden, *the eye* thereof, is situated) is thus described by the Arab historian Ab-el-Rahman ibn Ali Dthabi:—"Yemen the blessed, is a large and populous country, endowed with every blessing by the Almighty." Sanâ is now, as formerly, the principal town in Yemen: it is termed by the Arabs the "Paradise of the earth," where the ark of Noah rested after the deluge, and where Ham built a temple and constructed a well, which were destroyed by Mohammed, or one of his successors. A. Hegira 921, in the month Suffer, sixteen Frank (Portuguese) vessels reached Aden, disembarked troops, but were driven out again by the Arabs. This Mohammedan account agrees with the statement of Albuquerque, who, A.D. 1513, invaded Aden, and was defeated with great loss, when he sailed away for Camaran Island, and was probably the first European who navigated the Red Sea. A. Hegira 923, Sultan Selim I., having overthrown the Mameluke power, determined on the conquest of Yemen, collected a strong force at Suez, under Suleyman Pasha, who made himself master of Aden. A. Hegira 1019, eighteen Portuguese vessels again unsuccessfully attempted to take Aden. The Turks and Arabs frequently contested the possession of Sanâ and Aden; but between the years A. Hegira 1043 and 1141, the governing family of Lahidge threw off all yoke, declared Lahidge and Aden free, and until August, 1844, no demand for tribute was ever made.

proof that the town was not invulnerable to the assaults of infectious disease, the smallpox having (probably owing to the crowded state of the population) spread to a considerable extent amongst the Jews and Mussulmans.

A.H. 1191, Abdul Hadi was succeeded by his brother, Sultan Foudthel ibn Abdel Kerim, who, after a peaceful and prosperous reign of sixteen years, died without issue (thus verifying the prediction of the Sayud of Hydroos); and in the year 1207 A.H., or 1791 A.D., was succeeded by his brother Ahmed ben Abdel Kerim ibn Foudthel ibn Ali.

This prince I saw at Aden in the year 1820: he was then a very handsome man, much beloved by his people, and a great promoter of agricultural pursuits. The long-continued years of anarchy and confusion that preceded his reign had, however, made the people habitual marauders; and it was in vain for Sultan Ahmed to attempt to suppress it. It was with this prince that Sir Home Popham entered into a treaty in the year 1800 A.D.

After a reign of thirty-six years, this sultan died; and though he was anxious to benefit his country, and behaved with extreme liberality to all foreigners, he left not one single monument to perpetuate his name. During the latter part of his life he became avaricious and miserly, and his successor rejoiced, on ascending the throne, to find the treasury stored with 50,000 German crowns.

A few years before his death, A.H. 1235 (A.D. 1819), the sultan was surprised by a party of 8,000 Burlakis, led on by their sultan Abdulla ibn Fureyd: unable to resist, he agreed to pay down 7,000 German crowns, which terms were accepted; but when the time came for the disbursement of this sum, he pleaded poverty, and the "Burlaki chief," ignorant of the true state of his finances, accepted half in goods, and returned to his own country, since which he has not made another attempt, although threats have been held out of attacking him this year.

The first treaty, so far as I can discover, entered into by the British with the Sultan of Aden, was that of Sir Home Popham, in 1800–'1, on the part of the governor-general of India and Sultan Ahmed Abdel Kerim, the uncle of the present chief. This treaty was made, doubtless, for political as well as commercial reasons; indeed, we availed ourselves of Aden as a rendezvous for a division of the troops sent under the command of General Baird, to expel the French from Egypt. Colonel Murray commanded this portion of the force, which remained at Aden some time, whilst the transports watered and refitted; and to this day the Arabs remember and speak of the visit of the English with pleasure. After the return of the troops from Egypt, Aden and its commercial treaty were alike forgotten, except by passing vessels, which occasionally watered there; and the once flourishing city had already sunk into an insignificant village, when, in 1829, some coals were sent to Aden and landed on Seera Island, for the use of the first steamer built in India, the *Hugh Lindsay*. This vessel, on her arrival, was six days and a-half taking in 180 tons of coals, owing to the indolence of the natives, who could not be induced to work except at intervals, notwithstanding Sultan M'Houssan Foudthel had promised Captains Pepper and Moresby, of the Indian navy, to do his utmost to expedite the coaling of the steamers, for which he had received valuable presents, amongst which were two 6-pounder field-pieces, with train complete. Owing to this serious detention, and to the distance of Aden from Bombay, Maculla was chosen as a coaling port, and Aden once more sank into oblivion.

About A.D. 1831, Turki Bilmass, the then governor of Mocha, sent a brig, with a mission on board, to arrange for the reoccupation of Aden by the Turks. The embassy was received by the sultan with every demonstration of respect, and were sumptuously entertained; but on the first night of their arrival, twenty-seven of their number were treacherously murdered by the orders of the chief, and the brig escaped to Mocha. Had not Mocha been shortly after stormed and taken by Ali ibn Mejittel, the Assyrian chief, Turki Bilmass would, doubtless, have brought the Sultan of Lahidge to a heavy reckoning for this base and perfidious conduct.

In the course of my survey of the south coast of Arabia, I found the Sultan of Aden the most inveterate plunderer of unfortunate vessels wrecked on the coast, especially in the instance of a ship from Java, that struck on one of the rocky patches to the westward of the place, and ran into Aden for safety; in several bugalows that ran ashore near the town; and, lastly, in the case of the Madras ship *Deriah Dowlut*, whose crew and passengers were treated with the greatest barbarity.

I had reported the conduct of this chief previously to government, in the naval department; but on hearing of their shameful conduct towards the *Deriah Dowlut*, I at once stood over to Aden, and whilst surveying its harbour trigonometrically, personally remonstrated with the sultan, telling him, that as a British officer, on the part of government, I held him responsible for the plundered property which was then selling in the bazaars. This occurrence was duly reported by me, in the naval department, to the Bombay government, who, in December, 1837, were pleased to appoint me as a commissioner for the arrangement of British affairs at Aden, in the following points, viz.—

1st. To obtain satisfaction from Sultan M'Houssan for his unwarrantable plunder of the *Deriah Dowlut;* and, in the event of this being satisfactorily arranged, to obtain Aden by purchase, if possible.

The honourable company's 18-gun sloop *Coote* was at that time at Mocha, and I was authorised to proceed in her to Aden. The *Berenice* steamer conveyed me to Mocha, when I immediately shifted into the *Coote*, and weighing a few days afterwards, reached Aden on the 28th of December. The following day, in answer to a letter from me, I received a notification from the sultan that he would meet me on the 4th of January in Aden, on which day I landed, and had my first interview with him. The sultan strenuously denied all knowledge of, or participation in, the plunder—offering to swear on the Koran, and calling God to witness, that neither he nor his tribe had anything to do with the business. As, however, I knew the very godowns in which plunder was then lodged, and I had seen the sale of part of it in Aden bazaar previously, I paid no attention to his protestations, and on the 6th demanded 12,000 dollars, or the restoration of the whole of the property. This occasioned great excitement in the town; but I persisted in my demand, although every effort was used to induce me to change my decision. A large body of Bedouins were perpetually paraded in front of our party, which consisted of Lieutenant Hamilton (Indian navy), Dr. Arbuckle, and myself, with three marines in a storehouse, and some threats were held out; but I remained firm in my decision,

and the sultan appeared equally determined to remain firm in his. At sunset I decided upon moving the sloop round, under the pretence of her being nearer to receive me, and I therefore wrote to the sultan, saying, that since he was determined to grant no satisfaction, I requested that my note might be sent to the *Coote*, which vessel, on its receipt, would come round to Seera to receive me; and during the interval of perfect silence which prevailed for three hours after the receipt of my note, we prepared to defend ourselves to the best of our power.

They stopped my note, and begged for one hour longer; at ten, P.M., the eldest son of the sultan came over, attempting an apology for his father's false and deceitful conduct—offered to give the required articles, which was done the next morning, the 10th of January; but many having been sold in Aden, I received nominally only 7,808¾ German crowns' worth of plunder, and a bill at twelve months' sight for 4,191 German crowns; and thus the affair was peacefully settled, to which effect I gave a certificate to the sultan, dated the 11th of January, 1838.

Having, after considerable labour and (if we may judge from the murder of the Turkish commissioner) some personal risk, accomplished the first part of my instructions, for the execution of which government were pleased to honour me with their approbation, I then commenced the more delicate task of amicably effecting a transfer of Aden to the British government, as a coal depôt and harbour.

To accomplish this, great tact was required, as the sultan possessed all the cunning, avarice, and dishonesty of an Asiatic,—was notorious from childhood for treachery and deceit, and now endeavoured to obtain a sum of money without granting an equivalent. The fear of his tribe prevented his openly granting the place to the British, as he would then have to divide the annual sum he received from the government amongst them. His favourite idea was to receive in secret a regular stipend: to use his own words, he wished for a monthly sum to be paid him like the Nabob of Surat. After many difficulties he gave me the promise of a transfer of Aden on the arrival of troops to take possession; and it was secretly arranged between us, that he was to receive, including everything, 8,700 German crowns per annum. He declined accepting the money at once, as he feared to excite the suspicions of his tribe; but, in writing, he gave me permission to build at once, and to send up troops in March.

This arrangement was concluded on the 23rd of January, 1838, and on the following day Sayud M'Houssan Weiss, Sultan Ahmed (the sultan's eldest son), and Hadji M'Houssan, were directed to meet me, to be personally present, and to witness the sultan's agreement with the British.

On the 27th of January, no horses came for either myself or my party. I therefore sent my interpreter to inquire into the cause, and pulled up in the *Coote's* pinnace to the head of the bay. After passing Ras Hedjaf, we observed the interpreter with spare horses, who called out lustily for me to pull in to where he was, and on doing so I was informed of a most determined piece of villany which was to be attempted to secure my person and papers. The plan had been revealed to my interpreter by a female slave, and corroborated by Rashed ibn Abdullah; but the forethought of my interpreter, Mulla Jaffer, defeated their purposes. This villany *is a fact*, and now acknowledged by many at Aden; amongst whom are the Sayud of Hydroos, Ali ibn Bon Bekr, and Rashed, who, on his death-bed, confessed the whole. Their words to me were —"God truly favoured you throughout, or you would not have ruled over the destinies of Aden since."

The worthy Sir Robert Grant, in his letter on the subject, said, that "this villany was from report, and all would deny it." In this he was perfectly correct; but the truth is *now* known, and Sultan Ahmed, from fear and an evil conscience, has never entered Aden since. It was strange that I had suspicion of treachery, and, on pulling up, had arranged with Lieutenant Hamilton, that in case of any attempt on the part of the Arabs, he was to shoot Sayud M'Houssan Weiss, whilst I was to fire at Sultan Ahmed; after which we were to make our way to the horses, and thus effect our escape. Thanks, however, to the slave-girl of Rashed and Mulla Jaffer, we are now alive and well. After this evil intent on the part of the son, I wrote to Sultan M'Houssan to inform him that I had all papers connected with the transfer safe in my possession, and should proceed to Bombay to report all particulars, when the government could act as they considered he deserved.

In September, 1838, I was again sent to Aden in the honourable company's sloop of war *Coote*, with a detachment of one officer and thirty Europeans as a body-guard, and accompanied by the late Lieutenant Western, of the engineers. We arrived at Aden on the 24th of October, and I wrote to the sultan, requiring him to give up Aden at once, in conformity with the treaty of the January previous. I pitched my tents on Ras Tarsheim, and the following day was visited by Rashed ibn Abdullah, and a Banian named Damjee, who brought me a message, saying that Sultan Ahmed would not give up Aden or the property, unless I returned him the bond for the 4,191 German crowns, and the grant of Aden given to me by his father. He himself believed that government did not require Aden, or they would have taken possession of it in March; and he required me to produce proof that I was authorised to receive Aden in the name of the British. I produced my authority, and then informed Sultan Ahmed that I required his father's authority for his conduct, and that I awaited a reply to my letter.

On the 27th of October, Captain Denton sent to Aden for supplies for the use of the *Coote*, which were refused, and he was not allowed water. I wrote to the governor, telling him that the refusal to sell us provisions was tantamount to a declaration of war, and that, if inclined, I could with ease seize their flocks that were daily sent to graze outside.

On the 30th of October, I received a letter from Sultan M'Houssan Foudthel, of which the following is a copy:—"Your letter has reached me, and I understand the contents: my feet are bad, and I cannot rise from my couch. My agents in the affair are Ahmed, who is now with you in Aden, and others. I now send, and I pray of you to settle this affair as may be most advantageous to us both."

[Seal.]

From Sultan Ahmed I also received the following:—"May God be with you: you must know that your letter to Ali Abdullah has been received, and I understand it. It is my duty, and you had better take care. Sultan M'Houssan is not now above me, nor are his answers (to you.) If you remain quiet, I will be on your head (*i.e.*, I will

protect you.) I am superior to you as well as to my father. If you come to the gate, I will permit you to enter, and then be upon you (*i.e.*, protect you.) This is the language of my Bedouins. Sultan Ahmed is our sultan, and we are his servants. If he order, we will obey, *and be upon you suddenly*. —Signed and sealed by Sultan Ahmed."

With this letter I also received a threat that our throats should be cut, and our tents and ships taken by boats; and as it was evident that friendly remonstrance was of no avail, I determined, for the safety of life and property, to strike my tents, and remove to the ship. On the 20th of November, to my surprise, the *Coote's* pinnace, under Lieutenant Hamilton, was suddenly fired upon by a party of matchlockmen, two men slightly wounded, and the boat shot through in several places. This act was without the slightest provocation or insult on the part of the British. I had certainly prevented their date-boats from entering the port of Aden, in return for their having refused supplies to the *Coote*—a measure which, had it extended to their whole trade, I should have been fully justified in adopting; but I was anxious to gain my point, viz., the quiet cession of Aden to the British, after a promise had been made to that effect. After this insult had been offered, and after British blood had been spilt, I gave the order, in my letter to Com. Penton, dated the 20th of November, 1838, to stop the trade by every means in his power.

Repeated skirmishes followed, as whenever a boat from the *Coote* approached the shore, she was sure to be fired at. A native boat having been seized by the *Coote*, was fitted out at my request, to secure a bugalow belonging to the sultan, which she captured, and I had her fitted as a mortar boat. On the 14th of December the Arabs begged for a truce of two days, which I willingly granted; but it was to no purpose, as I received a letter from the Somali coast, enclosing a letter of Ahmed M'Houssan's during the interval. This letter contained the offer of a bribe of 200 German crowns to Seyarat (on the opposite coast), to induce the people to refuse us water, and to murder any European who landed. The arrival about this time of the honourable company's schooner *Mahé*, and the barque *Ann Crichton*, laden with coal, first induced the Arabs to believe that we were in earnest. On the 11th of January, a smart and very gallant skirmish took place off Seera, between the battery on the Mole and the schooner *Mahé*, with two gun-boats. Two Englishmen were wounded, and between twenty and thirty Arabs killed and wounded. On the 16th of January the following squadron, from Bombay, reached Aden:—Her Majesty's ship *Volage*, 28 guns, Captain Smith; her Majesty's ship *Cruiser*, 16 guns; with 300 European and 400 native soldiers, under Major Bailie.

I immediately sent a peremptory letter to Sultan M'Houssan, who was then in Aden with 700 Bedouins, to deliver the place up. The answer being evasive, and hearing that he had sent for 1,200 Foudthlis, I decided at once on bombardment and storm of the town, and wrote the letters marked A and B* to the respective military and naval officers. I supplied Captain Smith with a plan of attack, according to my ideas, and had the honour to take the *Volage* to her position. My report C,† after the capture of the place,

* (A) "Sir,—All negotiations with the chieftains of the Abdullah tribe having failed in bringing them to perform their written promise of transferring Aden to the British, and their having declared war by opening fire on the honourable company's ship of war *Coote*, and her boats,—in fact, after all reasoning and every strenuous endeavour has been employed by me to bring the deceitful and dishonourable tribe to their senses by mild and conciliatory measures have proved unavailing, I am under the necessity, as the last and only resource left to obtain satisfaction for the repeated insults offered to the British, to solicit that force may be used to compel them to evacuate the ground of Aden to the British, as agreed to under the sultan's seal in January, 1838. I have therefore the honour to request that you will, with the squadron under your command, in co-operation with the troops under the command of Major T. Bailie, adopt such measures for the immediate capture and occupation of Aden as may appear to you both best calculated to obtain it. I take the liberty of pointing out that many of the poor inhabitants of Aden have been compelled by the chieftains to remain there, consisting principally of Jews, Banians, and Zoores; I therefore earnestly solicit that, if possible, their lives be preserved. I also beg, that if fortune should place the sultan or his sons, any chieftains or sayuds, in our possession, that their lives be spared, and that any individual so captured be secured to await future decision regarding them. Having a perfect knowledge of the localities of the place, I shall feel most happy to afford you any information on the subject; and if from a thorough knowledge of the bay and anchorage, my services or advice be advantageous, I shall feel proud to accompany the commander of any vessel of the squadron in taking up a position for the destruction of their strongest battery. I have the honour, &c. (Signed, S. B. Haines, Political Agent.)—Aden, 16th January, 1839.

"To Capt. Smith, H.M.S. *Volage*, and sen. officer, Aden."

(B) "Sir,—All negotiations having failed in obtaining Aden by mild and conciliatory measures, I have the honour to request you will, with the force under your command, in co-operation with Captain Smith and the squadron under his command, adopt such measures for the immediate capture and occupation of Aden as may appear to you both most advisable. There are several Jews and Banians, and a few Zoores Arabs, who have been compelled, contrary to their inclination, to remain in the town: may I solicit that, if possible, their lives be spared; and should it be our good fortune to obtain possession of the person of the sultan or his sons, any chieftain or sayud, I request they may be treated with respect, and secured to await further decision. I shall be most happy to afford you every information in my power. I have the honour, &c. (Signed, S. B. Haines, Political Agent.)—Aden, January 16th, 1839.

"To Major T. Bailie, commanding the military force."

† (C) "Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, for information of the honourable the governor in council, that the force for the occupation of Aden arrived on the 16th January, when I immediately dispatched the letter marked A into the town, addressed to all the chieftains; the answer was frivolous and unsatisfactory, and with it I received a secret message from Rashed Abdullah, saying they only wanted time to obtain Bedouins, and they were preparing the great guns for service. In consequence of the above information, I considered it advisable to lose no time in capturing it, more particularly as we had but a few days' water for the troops, and therefore wrote the letter marked No. 3 Political, to Major Bailie [marked B, and given in previous note.] In offering an opinion on the plan of attack, I gave to Captain Smith a rough sketch, laying the *Coote* close to the battery, with the troops to storm, in two divisions, when the fortifications were destroyed. This idea was followed in the attack, with the only exception of Captain Smith wishing to place his own ship where I placed the *Coote*, and the latter in Hakat Bay. Captain Smith accepted my services in taking his ship in, and I feel proud to say that he was pleased with

will explain what was done at the time. The loss was—fifteen killed and wounded; amongst the latter, Lieutenant Nisbett, I.N., severely, and I received a mere bruise from a ball that first struck the capstan of the *Volage*. The loss of the Arabs was 150 killed and wounded.

Aden, when captured, was defended by 700 fighting men from the interior. It was a miserable village, of about 600 huts (belonging principally to Jews), situated within the largest crater, with stupendous natural battlements surrounding it. The dilapidated remains of former magnificence were in many places visible. Three brass guns, sixteen to seventeen feet in length, and conveying a ball of from eighty to a hundred pounds, cast in Anno Hegira 901, and mounted on rude carriages, were found, and presented by the captors to her Majesty. Their united weight was nearly sixteen tons.

My first object, after the taking of Aden, was to keep all the tribes quiet until the troops had thrown up temporary defences, in which I succeeded; the field-works and redans, with the ditch, were erected by Lieutenant Western, of the engineers, on the line of the old Arab wall (the Durub el Huraibi.) Fortunately these temporary works were completed before the Arabs had been brought over, by the influence of the sultan, to make one more struggle for the recovery of Aden. On the morning of the 11th of November, 1839, the wall was attacked by a body of about 5,000 men, who were defeated, with a loss of 200 men killed and wounded. Some days after this defeat the sultan wrote to me, saying —"You have thrown dust in our eyes. You have, by kind words and gifts, blinded us, whilst you were throwing up forts to destroy us. O, commander, pity me; for it is the fault of my tribe! Forgive me, and restore me my pension."*

On the 15th of March, 1840, and the 10th Mohurrun, 1256 A.H., Sultan M'Houssan Foudthel wrote to the Bombay government, and acknowledged the grant of the hond, asserting at the same time, incorrectly, that I had extorted it from him, when, in reality, he sent it to me in secret from Lahidge. This he also acknowledges under his own hand, as follows:—"A great number of Arabs having assembled, I informed Commander Haines that I would apprise them of the engagement *agreed upon between us and that officer*, and impress upon them the benefit of the arrangement; but he did not consent to it. He resolved upon hostilities, plundered our houses, killed our subjects, and carried off our property."

This letter acknowledges the transfer; but the latter part is untrue, as hostilities commenced on the part of the Arabs, who had a body of men in the town to defend the place, and whose only object in soliciting further delay was to give time for their Foudthli friends to enter and strengthen the garrison. Whilst the crafty Sultan M'Houssan was writing to me repeatedly for forgiveness after his first attack, nay, whilst he was writing the letter above quoted, he was engaged in secretly congregating the tribes to renew the attack upon Aden. A second attempt, with a force of four to five thousand men, was made on the 20th of May, 1840, and again defeated, with great loss on the part of the enemy, whilst the British had only six wounded. This second defeat exasperated the sultan beyond measure; and notwithstanding the significant proof he had received that a good look-out was kept, and that my information regarding his movements was invariably true, he

the position I gave her. Everything being prepared, with the troops in the boats under cover of the ships, and the reserve on board the honourable company's sloop *Coote*, the *Volage* stood in and took up a position at 9.30 A.M., within 300 yards off their strongest battery. The *Cruiser* ten minutes after took up her's, as did the schooner *Mahé*, in Hakat Bay. The fire of the three vessels was tremendous and destructive. The battery and town were soon brought down, but still the defenders of Seera lay under cover of the point, ready to fire on the troops as they pushed off. The *Mahé* schooner weighed and took up another position, flanking the Bedouins at fifty yards distance, when the fire on her was very heavy, but her return soon drove them out, and they retreated and fired from every cover they could find, until, from the cross-fire of the *Volage*, *Cruiser*, *Coote*, and *Mahé*, and bomb-vessel, they were afraid to show themselves. At 11.45, the troops left in two divisions, each party landing nearly at the same interval, and met with but little opposition, the sultan's sons and the greater part of the Bedouins having retreated out of the town on the boats pushing off for the shore. About ten minutes after landing the British flag was hoisted on the sultan's palace, and about 12.30 the boat of the *Mahé* schooner, and one from the *Volage*, took possession of Seera, hoisted the union-jack, and took 139 prisoners, who were marched into the town. I could not but admire the splendid fire from the shipping and mortar vessel, and the behaviour of the little *Mahé* drew forth the admiration of every person; and it is only wonderful how the prisoners lay so close under the rocks, or that any of them escaped. Nothing could have been more regular than the landing; the men were steady to a degree; they behaved with courage and stormed the place gallantly; but what is still more to be admired, and a greater proof of their discipline is, that after landing, neither male or female was molested. The loss on the side of the British, as will be seen by Major Bailie's letter, which I have the honour to forward, was very trivial until the unfortunate insurrection of the prisoners from Seera. The killed and wounded, including navy and army, are fifteen; eight of these casualties occurred after the place was in our possession. The loss of the enemy has been very severe; 139 are now said to be missing, besides many wounded inland; and we have twenty-five men, two severely wounded, to return inland. Among them is one chieftain, Sheik Ruggub Hazzabee, and Ali Salaan, a nephew of the sultan. I have supplied the unfortunate sufferers with food and everything to make them as comfortable as circumstances will admit of, and they receive kind medical attention from Dr. Malcolmson, of the 24th regiment. I have also given a few dollars for the support of their families. My best thanks are due to Captain Smith, the senior naval officer, for most willingly attending to every suggestion, and particularly in preventing his men from plundering and insulting the people. My best thanks are also due to Major Bailie for his kind attention to my request both at the period of storm and afterwards. The inhabitants were driven for safety to the Musjud el Hydroos, where a strong guard was placed by Major Bailie for their security. On the day after the storm, the inhabitants, afraid to return to their houses, would not do so until I reasoned with them and informed them I was about taking up my quarters in the town. It would appear like presumption in me to point out peculiar instances of merit; I therefore leave it to the senior naval and military officers to do so; and merely state that it is my firm conviction that British soldiers and sailors could not have behaved better. I have the honour, &c. (Signed, S. B. HAINES.)—Aden, 25th January, 1839.

"To J. P. Willoughby, Esq., Secretary to Government."

* The pension had been given by the British government, on the occupation of Aden, according to the original terms, viz., 8,700 dollars per annum; and this of course was stopped when Aden was attacked by order of Sultan M'Houssan.

determined upon a third attack, which was duly notified to me by my confidential agents inland. About fourteen days previous to the time fixed upon, I stopped all communication with the interior, the interim being employed in stationing a block-boat to protect the left flank, and constructing snme small towers for extra guards. My closing the roads was a measure that the sultan had never thought of. He had considered that we could not subsist without supplies from the interior, and my now cutting off all communication, filled him with dismay. On the 5th of July, 1840, at forty-five minutes past two, A.M., the third attack took place, the Arab force mustering fully 5,000 men, under their principal chiefs, with the sultan of the Foudthli tribe, and Sultan M'Houssan's eldest son Ahmed leading them. They advanced with their usual impetuosity, when a sudden and unexpected fire from the block-boat, within a distance of twenty yards, and the gun-boat within a hundred yards, staggered them, whilst the fire from the wall completed their discomfiture, and they retreated with a loss of one of their principal chiefs, and nearly 300 men, without the slightest injury having been sustained by the British.

This defeat had such an effect upon the interior chieftains, that many of them swore never again to risk their lives in attacking Aden. I, of course, was abused: my conduct was considered treacherous, as "I had prevented their entering Aden, whilst I was preparing traps for their destruction; and immediately after they were driven back, I opened the gates for trade as usual:" in addition to which, I had blockaded the Foudthli sultan's bunder, cut off his annual supplies, and knocked down his castle,—a mode of retaliation so effective, that I persevered in it until he sued for peace.

After the third defeat, repeated applications for peace were made by the sultan, always, however, with the proviso that the pension was to be restored. This, however, was declined until they had by their peaceful behaviour given proof of their good intentions; whilst I adhered to the original determination that two sons of the sultan should be sent in as hostages. On the 10th September, 1841, a body of perhaps 400 men, just as it was dark, crept close to the wall and fired at the sentries, fortunately without effect. The return fire killed and wounded eleven men and three camels.

From the 10th September, 1841, Aden has enjoyed comparative quiet; and in the beginning of February, 1843, Sultan M'Houssan entered Aden and sued for peace, which was granted, though the question of the pension was reserved for the future decision of the government. The annexed treaty,* marked (D), was then agreed on between Sultan

* "*This treaty is made by Sultan M'Houssan Foudthel, his heirs and successors, the tribes of the Azeebi and Selamee, on their visit to Aden on Saturday, the 27th day of Shai el Hadz el Haram,* 1258.—Being anxious to make peace with the British government, Captain Stafford Bettlesworth Haines, in the name of the British government, has given his consent, and has made peace with Sultan M'Houssan Foudthel and his adherents; and on this treaty has Sultan M'Houssan Foudthel placed his seal, and Captain Stafford Bettlesworth Haines, on the part of the British government, has set his seal. Inasmuch as peace is good and desirable for both parties, the Sultan M'Houssan Foudthel of Lahidge, in the name of himself, his heirs, successors, and the tribes of Selamee and Azeebi, and Captain Stafford Bettlesworth Haines, on the part of her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria I., of Great Britain and Ireland, have made this holy agreement, that between the two governments shall exist a firm and lasting friendship that shall never be broken from the beginning unto the end of all things; and to this agreement God is witness. *Article 1st.* In consideration of the respect due to the British government, Sultan M'Houssan Foudthel agrees to restore the lands and property of all kinds belonging to the late Hassam Abdulla Khateel, agent to the British at Lahidge, after such property shall be proven. But the Sultan M'Houssan expects in return, that certain revenue and territorial books styled Deiras, said to be in the possession of the Khateel family, should be restored to the government of Lahidge, and then their persons shall be safe should they wish to go inland. *Article 2nd.* The sultan will, on the same consideration, and has, in the presence of witnesses, settled all claims made by Shumaiel the Jew. And he will also attend to all claims that may be brought against him during his fifteen days' residence in Aden. *Article 3rd.* Such transit duties as shall be hereafter specified shall be exacted by the sultan, who binds himself not to exceed them. The sultan will also, by every means in his power, facilitate the intercourse of merchants; and he shall, in return, be empowered to levy a moderate export duty. *Article 4th.* The sultan engages to permit British subjects to visit Lahidge for commercial purposes, and to protect them, allowing toleration of religion, with the exception of burning the dead. *Article 5th.* Should any British subject become amenable to the law, he is to be made over to the authorities at Aden, and in like manner are the subjects of the sultan to be made over to his jurisdiction. *Article 6th.* The bridge of Khor Maksa is English property, and as such, shall be kept in order by them; but should it be proved that it is destroyed by the followers of the sultan, he shall repair it. *Article 7th.* The sultan binds himself, as far as he can, to keep the roads clear of plundering parties, and to protect all merchandise passing through his territories. *Article 8th.* British subjects may, with the permission of the sultan, hold in tenure land at Lahidge, subject to the laws of the country; and, in like manner, may the ryots of the sultan hold property in Aden, subject to the British laws. *Article 9th.* Such articles as the sultan may require for his own family shall pass Aden free of duty; and, in like manner, all presents and all government property shall pass the territories of the sultan free from transit duty. *Article 10th.* With regard to the stipend of the sultan, it entirely rests with Captain Haines and the British government. The sultan considers the British as his true friends; likewise the British look upon the Sultan of Lahidge as their friend.—This treaty is concluded on the 11th day of Shai Mohurrun el Haram Ashoor, in the year of the Hegira 1258 (11th February, 1843.)—Signed and sealed by SULTAN M'HOUSSAN FOUDTHEL, STAFFORD BETTLESWORTH HAINES (Captain, Indian Navy), Political Agent, Aden." A further bond was obtained by Captain Haines from Sultan M'Houssan prior to granting him his monthly salary, after his repeated attacks on Aden.—"The right honourable governor-general of India having been graciously pleased to grant to me a monthly salary of 541 German crowns, so long as I continue to act honestly and amicably towards the British, in every respect adhering to the terms of my late bond dated February 11th, 1843, especially sworn and delivered to Stafford Bettlesworth Haines, Esq., captain in the Indian navy, and political agent at Aden, I hereby solemnly attest the religious sincerity thereof; and moreover declare that in all things relating to the peace, progress, and prosperity of Aden, I will use every effort to arrest calamity, and lend my utmost aid to support the interest of the British flag; and I will conform, in all intention and purpose, to the articles specified in my late bond dated February 11th, 1843. I further bind myself by oath, that should any breach of faith or trespass on the aforesaid bond, either as concerning myself, children, chiefs, or

M'Houssan and myself, dated 11th February, 1843; but it was not until February, 1844, that the monthly stipend of 541 German crowns (equal to his former pension) was granted; and through the kindness and generous liberality of the government, he received at the same time one year's back pay, he having entered Aden to sue for peace in February, 1843. Prior to paying this treacherous old chief his pension, I considered it advisable to further ensure his fidelity by an additional bond to the treaty of the 11th February, 1843 (11th Shai Mohurrun el Haram Ashoor, 1258.) This second bond is stringent in the extreme, and dated 20th February, 1844. [*See* Note below.]

The principal tribes in the neighbourhood of Aden are as follows:—The Abdali tribe, amounting to about 4,000 fighting men; Foudthli, 3,100; Houshebi, 6,000; Shezebi, 4,000; Yaffai, 49,000;* Ourlaki, 12,000; Joud, or Ratfan, 8,000; Ameer, 4,000; Allooi, 500; Subchi, 10,000; Dathun, 4,000; Oudelli, 2,500; Resass, 6,000 fighting men. Of these, the Abdali tribe is subdivided into thirty clans, viz., the Azeehi, 400 men (Sheikh Azabe); Muntsir, 100 (Hussein Muntsir), Sowayhthi, 70 (Isslim Soin); residence, Feeoush: Dunnum, 30 (Abi Ba Saleh); Feeoush: Badtha Batan, 90 (Mohammed Selhah); Feeoush: Harraina, 20 (Aouth Syud); Harraina: Musheheira, 80 (Aouth Saleh); Durrb: Ambutein, 30 (Nassebin Abdullah); Durrb: Al Mehella, 200 (Saleh Mohammed Abdullah); Mehella: El Asaisa, 40 (Foudthel Ali); El Wahul: Ahl Seyla, 120 (Foudthel Hydera); Seyla: Beit Eyath, 200 (Homeidi); Eyath: Al Sumsam, 10 (Nassur Foudthel Sumsam); Sumsam: Bin Seloon, 120 (Hydera bin Salem); Ober e Seloon: Bin Dthuroob, 30 (Murmish Dthurbee); Ober e Seloon: Saadryn, 200 (Mohammed Syud Miswad); Saadyn: Shudtheif, no fighting men (Ali bin Ismail); Shudtheif: Haskie, 100 (Sheikh Mukbil Hadi el Azidi); Haskie: El Hejjil, 100 (Saleh Selhah); El Hejjil: El Kidam, 200 (Foudthel e Noin); El Kidam: El Hassaini, 30 (Mohammed Kumesh); El Hassaini: El Selam, 70 (Selhah bin Ahmed); Mujhaffa: El Deyyan, 70 (Mansur bin Ali); Hurran: Thaleb, 150 (Ali bin Abdullah Kaisi); Thaleb: El Hammera, 400 (Salem Selhah el Ban); Hammera: Ober Bedr, 120 (Awuth bin Abdulla); Ober Bedr: Tharoor, 20 (Nassur Mufaili); Tharoor: El Meidan, 500 (Sheikh Mehdi); Meidan: El Thol Yemani, 200 (Yaffer Yemani); residence Thol: Houth Sufian Syud Mohammed Weiss, and about 10 men at Sufian; Thoseim, 20 (Nassur Foudthel); residence, Feeoush. Making an aggregate of rather more than 4,000 fighting men.*

Physical Aspect.—Aden consists of a mountainous peninsula, whose greatest altitude is 2,000 feet; it is connected with the mainland by a narrow, sandy isthmus, 120 yards wide, which helps to form a harbour sheltered from all winds. The prospect is very desolate: the heights present the appearance of black lava; only in a few ravines, where some stunted shrubs grow, is there any sign of vegetation. The town, which consists of mean and dingy habitations, is situated in the crater of an extinct volcano, which has a diameter of more than a mile; the cone walls have an altitude of 600 feet, and a circumference along the Sham-Shan ridge (which has an altitude of 1,776 feet) of about four miles. The building ground occupies an area of 380 acres.

The pass by which the crater is entered is strongly fortified, as are also other commanding positions; and a wall across the isthmus forms an outwork against the Arabs, and marks the limit of the British territory. From Steamer Point, where passengers land at an English hotel, there is an excellent road of about three miles,† along the margin of the bay,‡ to the camp and town of Aden, and skirted the entire distance by a lofty volcanic wall, of gloomy

any other person or persons of any tribe, or those in my pay, or any individual whomsoever in any way or by any means connected with my government or my jurisdiction, or should one or any of the aforesaid persons be in any manner convicted of having been privy to, or accessory to such breach of faith or trespass on the treaty, or of committing any act of plunder whatever on the roads leading into Aden from the interior, to take the whole responsibility on myself, and to be answerable to the British; and if I, or others above-mentioned, either openly, or by secret machinations, protect any offender, and do not render entire satisfaction to the British, I freely and solemnly swear to relinquish all claim to the salary granted by the right honourable the governor-general of India, and declare myself perjured before all men. I further swear, that if I do not strictly abide henceforth by the bond dated 11th February, 1843, and the above-mentioned conditions, all claims I may have on the kindness, friendship, and generosity of the British government is rendered null; and consequently, for any breach of truth or aggression on my part for the future, I render myself open to the severest retribution. Dated February 20th, 1844.—Signed and sealed by Sultan M'Houssan Foudthel of Lahidge."

* The Yaffai is the most powerful tribe in Yemen. They extend from the Foudthli country to the borders of Sanâ; they are under seven chiefs, who each have 7,000 fighting men under them. Of their country nothing is yet known. Its products are coffee, fooah, wuruss, and grain. They are celebrated for their horses, and are esteemed a brave race of men. The Houshebi country is very fertile, and produces grain, coffee, fooah, wuruss, aloes, honey, ghee, and senna. Aden is supplied with flour and grain chiefly by this tribe. From the Foudthli country hardly anything is produced beyond Kirbee and Jowari. The Shezeebee country is equally as fertile as the Houshebi mountains. Grapes of a very superior quality are brought from Taez, and the "Kaat" plants are a great luxury in Yemen, the leaves of which, when chewed, produce slight intoxication similar to the effects of opium. The remaining tribes all occupy fertile hill ranges, affording ample supplies, and enabling them annually to export large quantities of grain. The only barren soil, in fact, in Yemen, is the belt of sandy country that intervenes between the hills and the sea; and even in this the people supply themselves with Jowari grain sufficient for their own consumption. There is but one mountain stream in the neighbourhood of Aden, which is at El Ghyle, in the Houshebi country. It occasionally reaches Lahidge, where it is collected in a large shallow reservoir, the surplus water being lost in the sands.

† Cost about 26,000 rupees.

‡ The tides rise 6 ft. neap, and 8 ft. spring.

aspect. The territory within British jurisdiction comprises a circuit two miles and a-half inland by two and a-half alongshore; all the harbour, and neighbouring bays and coast, within soundings; and all the islands within those limits.

Geology,—undoubtedly of igneous origin; in fact, a huge mass of volcanic slag and charred rocks, with the town erected in the centre of its huge crater. It has the appearance of having been once an island, but in that case it must have been at a very remote period; for the peninsula of Aden is the same as it has been for ages, and many severe battles are stated to have been fought on the low isthmus that unites the mountain of Aden with the mainland. Large masses of conglomerate, composed of lime, shells, and pebbles, abound: coarse black granite, porphyry, and quartz in crystals, are also found. The greater part of the rocks of the peninsula are more or less vesicular, and present an amygdaloid structure: calcedony frequently occurs. The volcanic ashes at Steamer Point are 500 feet above the sea, mixed with decayed shell (*murex inflatus*, common on the coast): glassy slag, or obsidian, though not plentiful, is sometimes seen in veins or streams down the sides of volcanic peaks, like lava, flowing in cascades, and assuming fantastic shapes. At some very distant period, the greater part of this coast must have experienced the effects of powerful volcanic agency; for traces of fire are everywhere visible.

Climate may be divided into two seasons. From the 15th of April to the 15th of October, the weather is exceedingly warm, and the whole peninsula, with the exception of the western and southern points, visited at intervals with strong hot gusts of wind and dust from S.S.W. to W.S.W. (raising the mercury, in Fahrenheit's scale, to 104°), which sometimes last for several hours, and then suddenly subside into a calm, during which the heat is very trying to the garrison and inhabitants. But it should be observed, that during these strong winds, which, taking the average for six years, are said to blow with violence for thirty-eight days, the weather at the west point is pleasant, the mercury ranging only between 76° and 88°.

Notwithstanding the great heat above stated, there is no increase of sickness; on the contrary, it has been remarked that there is less sickness than during the remaining months of the year, when rheumatism and severe colds are experienced, in addition to other diseases.

From the 15th of October to the 15th of April following, is called the cold season, during which the winds are cool and pleasant, blowing strong or mild, according to the moon's age, from E.N.E. to S.E., with now and then an interval of land and sea breezes. Rain sometimes falls in December, January, February, and April; the mercury, in Fahrenheit's scale, ranging between 68° to 82°. During this period the climate is agreeable, and Capt. Haines considered equal in salubrity to any part of India.

In the cold season, catarrh, dysentery, fever, and rheumatism (with the Yemen ulcer among natives only), are the prevailing diseases. In the warm months, fever, hepatitis, and debility are general.

*Copy of Meteorological Table kept in the Hospital of Her Majesty's 17th Regiment for one Year, 1843–'4.**

| Months. | Maximum. | Medimum. | Minimum. |
|---|---|---|---|
| April . . . . . . | 95½ | 84 | 73 |
| May . . . . . . . | 102½ | 88½ | 75 |
| June . . . . . . . | 99 | 91 | 83 |
| July . . . . . . . | 98 | 90½ | 82½ |
| August . . . . . . | 100 | 90 | 80 |
| September . . . . . | 99½ | 88 | 80 |
| October . . . . . . | 95 | 83 | 69½ |
| November . . . . . | 89 | 82 | 72 |
| December . . . . . | 88 | 79 | 70 |
| January . . . . . | 88½ | 81½ | 72¾ |
| February . . . . . | 89½ | 80½ | 73¼ |
| March . . . . . . | 88½ | 81 | 74½ |

*Register of Rain Gauge during the Year* 1845, *of the Station and Staff Hospital, Aden.*

| Months. | 6 A.M. | | 6 P.M. | | Total. | | Number of rainy days. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | In. | Cts. | In. | Cents. | In. | Cents. | |
| January . . | — | 30 | — | 35 | — | 65 | 2 |
| March. . . . | — | — | 1 | 10 | 1 | 10 | 1 |
| May . . . . | — | 6 | — | 44 | — | 50 | 2 |
| June . . . . | 2 | 9 | 1 | 13½ | 3 | 22½ | 17 |
| July . . . . | 1 | 31 | 1 | 46½ | 2 | 77½ | 17 |
| August . . . | — | 69 | 1 | ½ | 1 | 69½ | 23 |
| September, 1st to 11th | 3 | 67 | 1 | 16½ | 4 | 83½ | 7 |
| Total . | 6 | 212 | 5 | 166 | 11 | 378 | 69 |

On the whole, the climate has proved healthy to our troops. In Sept., 1845, a regiment of Madras native infantry, 950 strong, had only thirty-four in hospital. H.M. 17th foot were also free from disease:†

* Received from Dr. Menzies, her Majesty's 94th regiment, through Lieutenant-colonel Milner.

† *Statement showing the reports of the state of health of her Majesty's 17th foot at Aden—strength 550 men.*—November 30th, 1841.—A considerable improvement in the health of the men that came in the *Auckland*; they landed at Aden fifty-five sick. Detachment per *Zenobia* look very sickly; twenty-

but hepatitis is said to be the result of long-continued residence; and a softening of the brain, and even lunacy, is not unusual among the European soldiery.* The Arabs are of the usual athletic, sinewy make.

The population in September, 1845 (independent of the garrison and official persons), consisted of—Europeans, 3: Portuguese, males, 136; females, 20: Arabs, males, 8,960; females, 3,210: Soomalies, males, 1,430; females, 620: Jews (of fair complexion), males, 590; females, 480: Banians, (a trading class of Hindoos), 196: Parsees, 38: East Indian shopkeepers, 100: Boras (Indian traders), 100: Afghans, 180: African Seedees, 180: Egyptians, males, 146; females, 80. Total males, 12,160; females, 4,410 = 16,270. There are no recent returns of the number of inhabitants.

The Arabs bring abundant supplies to the camp. I noticed, in one day, that 505 camels and 23 donkeys entered Aden: the average for the year is 350 camels daily. Prices in Sept., 1845:—Sheep, $1=4s.; bullocks, $5; milch cows, $7; kids, four for a rupee = 2*s.*; fowls, 8*s.* a dozen, and very good; eggs, sixty-four for a rupee = 2*s.* Fruits brought from the interior—grapes, apples, pears, musk and water-melons, quinces, apricots, lemons, plantains, cocoa-nuts; also various esculent vegetables. The best coffee is produced within three days' journey of Aden. Excellent wheat is grown in districts adjacent, viz., Katabah and Yafefaane: bread, 2*d.* per lb.; flour, 5*s.* a barrel of 84 lbs. Foreign supplies are free of duties.

five of them in hospital the day they landed; one died at sea, one in the harbour, one on shore, and several very bad cases in hospital: total sick, the day after landing, 138. January 4th, 1842.—Reported to the commander-in-chief that sickness has much decreased during the month, and that only sixty-one remain. January 30th.—The men of the 17th may now be considered healthy—only forty-five remain. February 28th.—Twenty-seven men remain in hospital. March 30th.—Reports that the 17th regiment continue in good health. April 30th.—Good health prevails in the regiment. May 31st.—Ditto, ditto. June 29th.—Reports the 17th healthy. July 29th.—Reports, for the information of the commander-in-chief, the decrease of the sick during this month, and the death of one brevet-major and four soldiers. August 29th.—Reports the 17th regiment in good health; only twenty-seven men in hospital, among which several from venereal disease. September 30th. — The 17th regiment very healthy this month. October 31st. — Ditto, ditto. November 30th. — Seven men in hospital, and general health of the remainder extremely good. December 30th. — The 17th regiment continues in good health; fourteen trifling cases in hospital this morning. January 30th, 1843.—Ten men of the 17th regiment in hospital, and the remainder are in good health. March 2nd.—The 17th regiment healthy, notwithstanding the sick in hospital have increased to twenty-five, but the cases, however, in general, slight. March 31st.—Reports the decrease of the sick in hospital; only nineteen men of the 17th regiment, two casualties, one died of dysentery, and one man accidentally drowned; seventeen sick remaining in hospital on April 1st, eight of which venereal. May 1st.—Reports, for the information of the commander-in-chief, that fifteen sick remain in hospital: no casualty during April. May 20th.—Reports one man of the 17th regiment shot himself in the barracks. May 29th.—Reports the 17th regiment extremely healthy. June 29th.—Reports the sick in hospital increased during the month, and one private died of fever; nineteen cases in hospital, but the regiment very healthy. July 28th.—Reports the 17th regiment in good health; one casualty occurred, a case of fever. August 29th.—Reports the 17th regiment healthy; no casualty during the month; only twenty-one were in hospital on the 28th, nine of which venereal. October 1st. — The 17th regiment healthy; no casualty during the month of September. October 30th.—Sixteen men in hospital; two casualties during the month, one fever case, and one worn-out soldier invalided. November 29th.—Reports the 17th regiment in very good health. January 1st, 1844.—The 17th regiment very healthy. January 29th.—Five casualties during the month of December last; the remainder extremely healthy; sixteen men in hospital. March 1st.—The 17th regiment continues in good health; no casualty during the last month—February. March 30th.—Reports nineteen men of the 17th regiment in hospital, and that one-half of the men are slightly affected with scurvy. April 29th.—The 17th regiment very healthy; the number of sick, during the month, is twenty; nine of which venereal. May 20th.—Very healthy, only thirteen men in hospital. June 27th.—Considerable increase in the sick list of the 17th regiment; thirty-two men in hospital, but for a very trifling nature, principally venereal. July 29th.—Thirty men in hospital this day. August 29th.—The 17th regiment continues very healthy; no casualty. September 30th.—The 17th regiment continues healthy; one casualty during the month (the hospital sergeant.) November 1st.—Thirteen men in hospital, the remainder healthy. December 30th.—The sick in hospital greatly reduced. January 31st, 1845.—The 17th regiment continues very healthy; four cases in hospital; one casualty during the month. February 28th.—Ten cases in hospital; the remainder continue very healthy. Her Majesty's 17th regiment left Aden in March, 1845, with only two men sick, after forty-one months' service. The 17th were in Aden three years and five months, and lost sixteen men by sickness, one drowned, and one shot himself: total, eighteen deaths, among 550 men, in forty-one months.

* *Return showing the proportion of sick and deaths in the right wing of her Majesty's 94th regiment of foot, at Aden, for seven months.*—Average strength of the wing for the period, 524; total number of sick treated, 694; total number of deaths, 16; proportion of deaths to number of sick treated, 1 in 43 six-sixteenths; proportion of average sick to average strength, 99 one-seventh—about five per cent.

*Statement of the Arrivals at, and Departures from, the Port of Aden, of square-rigged Vessels, with their Amount of Tonnage, from* 1st *May*, 1851, *to* 30*th April*, 1852.

| Arrivals under Colours. | Totals. | | Great Britain. | | Bengal. | | Bombay and Sub^s. Ports. | | Ports in the Red Sea. | | Africa, exclusive of Ports in Red Sea. | | Malabar. | | Persian Gulf. | | Amsterdam. | | Ceylon. | | Mauritius. | | Bourbon. | | Akyab. | | Java. | | Moulmein. | | Cruising and ret^d. from Sea. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Tons. | No. | Tons. | No. | Tns. | No. | Tons. | No. | Tns. | No. | Tons. | No. | Tns. | No. | Tns. | No. | Tns. | No. | Tns. | No. | Tns. | No. | Tns. | No. | Tns. | No. | Tns. | No. | Tns. | No. | Tns. |
| British . . | 83 | 37,126 | 45 | 23,187 | 1 | 788 | 9 | 2,542 | 13 | 5326 | 1 | 578 | 10 | 3963 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3 | 363 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 379 |
| American . | 10 | 2,492 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4 | 1024 | 6 | 1,468 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| French . . | 5 | 1,344 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3 | 764 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 234 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 346 |
| Spanish . . | 1 | 164 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 164 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Dutch . . . | 6 | 3,761 | 5 | 3,021 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 740 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Russian . . | 2 | 919 | 2 | 919 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Swedish . . | 1 | 300 | 1 | 300 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Norwegian . | 3 | 1,209 | 3 | 1,209 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Hamburg . | 2 | 400 | — | — | — | — | 1 | 200 | — | — | 1 | 200 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Arab . . . | 11 | 3,623 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | 770 | — | — | 9 | 2853 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Grand Total | 124 | 51,338 | 56 | 28,636 | 1 | 788 | 10 | 2,942 | 19 | 7120 | 12 | 3,174 | 19 | 6816 | — | — | 1 | 740 | — | — | 3 | 363 | 1 | 234 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | 725 |
| Departures: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| British . . | 81 | 36,012 | — | — | 7 | 3986 | 26 | 14,488 | 26 | 9136 | — | — | 4 | 1315 | 1 | 181 | — | — | 5 | 2188 | 1 | 332 | — | — | 3 | 1418 | — | — | 5 | 1824 | 3 | 1144 |
| American . | 9 | 2,302 | — | — | — | — | 1 | 187 | 3 | 774 | 2 | 504 | — | — | 3 | 837 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| French . . | 5 | 1,344 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | 580 | 2 | 690 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 74 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Spanish . . | 1 | 164 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 164 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Dutch ! . . | 6 | 3,761 | — | — | 1 | 737 | 1 | 488 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 616 | 3 | 1920 | — | — | — | — |
| Russian . . | 2 | 919 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 335 | — | — | 1 | 584 | — | — |
| Swedish . . | 1 | 300 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 300 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Norwegian . | 2 | 806 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | 806 | — | — |
| Hamburg . | 2 | 400 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | 400 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Arab . . . | 11 | 3,623 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 9 | — | — | — | 1 | 370 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 400 | — | — | — | — |
| Grand Total | 120 | 49,631 | — | — | 8 | 4723 | 28 | 15,163 | 40 | 10490 | 6 | 1,594 | 5 | 1685 | 4 | 1018 | — | — | 5 | 2188 | 2 | 496 | 1 | 74 | 6 | 2669 | 4 | 2320 | 8 | 3214 | 3 | 1144 |

*Statement of the Arrivals at, and Departures from, the Port of Aden of Country Craft, with their Amount of Tonnage, from* 1st *May*, 1851, *to* 30*th April*, 1852.

| — | Totals. | | Bombay and Sub^s. Ports. | | Cutch, Veravel, and Poorbunder. | | Ports in the Red Sea. | | Africa, exclusive of Ports in the Red Sea. | | Arabia, exclusive of Ports in the Red Sea. | | Persian Gulf. | | Malabar. | | Returned from Sea. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Tons. | No. | Tons. | No. | Tons. | No. | Tons. | No. | Tons. | No. | Tons. | No. | Tons. | No. | Tons. | No. | Tons. |
| Arrivals . . . | 794 | 26,045 | 38 | 4,732 | 28 | 2,396 | 179 | 6,538 | 403 | 5,727 | 76 | 1,579 | 47 | 3,708 | 5 | 693 | 18 | 672 |
| Departures . . | 754 | 24,624 | 27 | 3,203 | 6 | 424 | 192 | 8,378 | 390 | 6,828 | 119 | 4,244 | 20 | 1,547 | — | — | — | — |

*Note.*—The vessels under the British flag consist principally of those belonging to the Honourable East India Company, and to the Peninsular and Oriental Steam-packet Company, which convey the bi-monthly mails between England and India. The position of Aden is advantageous for a coasting and refitting station; and in the event of war, it is a commanding position, enabling us to maintain a dominant attitude in the Red Sea.

Water is plentiful within the crater: all the wells in the lower grounds nearest the sea yield a brackish fluid; those under the adjacent mountain range afford pure supplies.

There is no taxation, no transit or custom dues, no ground-rent: in fact, the place is in every respect a free port.

Great credit is due to Captain Haines, for the simple and effective government which he organised at a small expense. In civil cases a *punchayet*, or jury chosen according to caste, decides between the litigants. Drunkenness is punished by fine or the stocks; the latter proving very effective in preventing a repetition of the offence. The cost of the police was only £300 a-year. The total charge for Aden, irrespective of the garrison, is defrayed from the local revenues, including a pension of 1,158 rupees a-month to the sultan—which may be viewed as a ground-rent.

The government sea-custom receipts amounted, in 1843-'44, to 18,798 rupees; in 1844-'45, to 21,377.

COMMERCE.—Imports, 1843-'44 — value, 1,237,802; exports, 348,758 — rupees: 1844-'45 — imports, 1,263,016; exports, 492,121—rupees: shipping inwards, 1844-'5 —number, 58; tonnage, 24,170.*

Number and tonnage of small craft for one year—1st May, 1844, to 30th April, 1845: number, 383; tonnage, 7,808.

*Comparative Statement showing the Extent and Value of the Trade of the Port of Aden in* 1851–'52.

| Imports. | Value. | Exports. | Value. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rupees. | | Rupees. |
| United Kingdom | 438,283 | United Kingdom | — |
| Bengal | 76,604 | Bengal | 6,900 |
| Madras | 2,416 | Bombay and subordinate ports | 93,000 |
| Bombay and subordinate ports | 620,776 | Cutch, Veravel, and Poorbunder | 29,000 |
| Cutch, Veravel, and Poorbunder | 203,000 | Malabar | 270 |
| Malabar | 29,468 | Singapore | 237 |
| Singapore | 41,916 | Ports in the Red Sea | 260,657 |
| Ports in the Red Sea | 176,900 | Africa, exclusive of ditto | 242,523 |
| Africa, exclusive of ditto | 347,000 | Arabia, ditto ditto | 151,183 |
| Arabia, ditto ditto | 94,651 | Persian Gulf | 29,900 |
| Persian Gulf | 71,612 | United States of America | 18,120 |
| United States of America | 109,168 | France | 190,000 |
| France | 5,682 | Mauritius | 423 |
| Holland | 3,324 | Seychelles | — |
| Mauritius | 3,462 | Hamburg | 15,000 |
| Seychelles | — | | |
| Hamburg | 6,235 | Total | 10,36,713 |
| Spain | 16,398 | Treasure | 688,760 |
| Total | 22,46,895 | Grand Total | 17,25,473 |
| Treasure | 10,59,860 | | |
| Grand Total | 33,06,755 | | |

ABSTRACT.

| | Rupees. |
|---|---|
| Imports | 33,06,755 |
| Exports | 17,25,473 |
| Total | 50,32,228 |

The importance of Aden, with its spacious bay eight miles long by four miles broad, is unquestionable. The honourable Caleb Cushing, formerly ambassador for the United States of America and China, and now one of the cabinet at Washington, visited the station in November, 1843, and has expressed in forcible language his sense "of the extraordinary natural features of this new stronghold of the Island Queen which commands the Red Sea and the Sea of Arabia, as Gibraltar does the Mediterranean and a portion of the Atlantic." "Aden is," he adds, "even more than Gibraltar, a castle of nature's own construction. At Gibraltar, England has excavated for herself a citadel in the heart of a limestone mountain; at Aden, she has planted herself in an ancient crater, and sits secure within the primeval fortress formed by the lofty sides of an extinct volcano."

In a commercial point of view the position deserves an attention it has not yet received. The natural resources of the great Arabian peninsula, and of Abyssinia, with the adjacent African regions, are yet unexplored. It will be seen from the annexed tables of imports and exports that there is already a fair prospect of extensive traffic; and as there are many million intelligent and active inhabitants in the surrounding countries, all eager for trade, having numerous wants, and possessed of divers articles required in Europe, it is to be hoped that English skill, enterprise, and capital will be directed to the singular emporium which unites the geographical limits of Asia and of Africa. For one Arabian article alone there is an almost unlimited demand, viz., gum arabic, of which about 60,000 cwt., valued at £150,000, are annually imported into England. According to Dr. Vaughan of Aden, the gum is yielded by a small shrub of a dry and withered appearance (sometimes, however, rising twenty to thirty feet

* Under British flag—number, 52; tons, 22,831.

*Classified Statement of the Value and Quantity of the chief Items of the Import*

| Classification of Goods. | Imports. | | Exports. | | Totals. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quantity. | Rupees. | Quantity. | Rupees. | Quantity. | Rupees. |
| Ale and Beer | 129 h., 3,015 doz. | 19,627 | — | — | 129 h., 3,015 doz. | 19,627 |
| Alkali (Sajeekhar) | — | — | 5,173 cwt. | 4,278 | 5,173 cwt. | 4,278 |
| Aloes | 12 cwt. | 153 | 108 cwt. | 1,196 | 120 cwt. | 1,349 |
| Apparel and Hosiery | 126 pa. | 8,195 | 5 pa. | 540 | 131 pa. | 8,735 |
| Badloo Gold and Silver | 1,580 tolas | 2,300 | 1,736 idas | 2,559 | 3,316 tolas | 4,859 |
| Bangles | 24 pa. | 612 | 8 pa. | 128 | 32 pa. | 740 |
| Beads | 83 pa., 58 cwt. | 5,541 | 71 pa., 48 cwt. | 4,685 | 154 pa., 106 cwt. | 10,226 |
| Benjamin | 150 cwt. | 4,495 | 63 cwt. | 1,911 | 213 cwt. | 6,406 |
| Betel-nut | 297 cwt., 3,000 | 3,089 | 57 cwt., 22,000 | 419 | 354 cwt., 25,000 | 3,508 |
| Betel-leaves (pan) | 117 pa. | 673 | — | — | 117 pa. | 673 |
| Bhoysing | 200 cwt. | 406 | — | — | 200 cwt. | 406 |
| Bottles | — | — | 5,124 doz. | 1,281 | 5,124 doz. | 1,281 |
| Braziery | 39 pa. | 2,951 | 5 pa. | 152 | 44 pa. | 3,103 |
| Brimstone | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Cabinet ware and Upholstery | 66 pa. | 5,907 | 12 pa. | 2,165 | 78 pa. | 8,072 |
| Chillies, dried | 185 cwt. | 960 | — | — | 185 cwt. | 960 |
| China ware | 157 pa. | 4,203 | 25 pa. | 402 | 182 pa. | 4,605 |
| Civet | 92 lbs. | 2,275 | 14 lbs. | 353 | 106 lbs. | 2,628 |
| Clocks and Watches | 59 No. | 876 | — | — | 59 No. | 876 |
| Coals | 19,352 tons. | 416,220 | 100 tons | 2,500 | 19,452 tons | 418,720 |
| Cocoa-nuts | 108,000 | 1,663 | — | — | 108,000 No. | 1,663 |
| Coffee | 4,667 cwt. | 93,029 | 16,437 cwt. | 272,545 | 21,104 cwt. | 365,574 |
| „ Husks (Gbeesa) | — | — | 140 cwt. | 782 | 140 cwt. | 782 |
| Coir and Coir Rope | 335 cwt. | 1,505 | 105 cwt. | 402 | 440 cwt. | 1,907 |
| Confectionary and Preserves | 131 pa. | 2,081 | 53 pa. | 412 | 184 pa. | 2,493 |
| Coral | 32 lbs. | 959 | 35 lbs. | 1,100 | 67 lbs. | 2,059 |
| Cotton | 9,972 cwt. | 119,674 | 1,366 cwt. | 16,368 | 11,338 cwt. | 136,042 |
| Dates | 29,878 cwt. | 51,434 | 7,657 cwt. | 13,339 | 37,535 cwt. | 64,773 |
| Date-juice | 82 pa. | 417 | 100 pa. | 408 | 182 pa. | 825 |
| Dried Fruits, not otherwise enumerated | 94 pa. | 990 | 300 pa. | 3,017 | 394 pa. | 4,007 |
| Drugs, not otherwise enumerated | 203 pa., 23 cwt. | 5,671 | 70 pa. | 1,136 | 273 pa., 23 cwt. | 6,807 |
| Earths and Earthenware | 159 pa. | 1,390 | 47 pa. | 200 | 206 pa. | 1,590 |
| Feathers | 784 lbs. | 1,704 | 116 lbs. | 644 | 900 lbs. | 2,348 |
| Fireworks | 10 pee., 28 pa. | 520 | — | — | 10 pee., 28 pa. | 520 |
| Frankincense | 438 cwt. | 2,296 | 222 cwt. | 1,202 | 660 cwt. | 3,498 |
| Furniture and Wooden ware | 476 pa. | 3,904 | 219 pa. | 702 | 695 pa. | 4,606 |
| Galls | 8 cwt. | 332 | — | — | 8 cwt. | 332 |
| Ghee (clarified Butter) | 2,964 cwt. | 71,147 | 320 cwt. | 7,763 | 3,284 cwt. | 78,810 |
| Ginger, dry | 2,037 cwt. | 8,943 | 476 cwt. | 2,316 | 2,513 cwt. | 11,259 |
| Glass ware | 75 pa. | 2,204 | 10 pa. | 286 | 85 pa. | 2,490 |
| Grains:— | | | | | | |
| Rice | 31,930 cwt. | 94,218 | 8,824 cwt. | 25,734 | 40,754 cwt. | 119,952 |
| Wheat | 6,947 cwt. | 20,923 | 192 cwt. | 553 | 7,139 cwt. | 21,476 |
| Gram | 540 cwt. | 1,622 | — | — | 540 cwt. | 1,622 |
| Jowarree | 6,642 cwt. | 13,285 | 3,153 cwt. | 6,305 | 9,795 cwt. | 19,590 |
| Dhall and Moog | 1,174 cwt. | 3,798 | — | — | 1,174 cwt. | 3,798 |
| All other sorts | 174 cwt. | 320 | — | — | 174 cwt. | 320 |
| Grease and Fat | 17 cwt. | 196 | 37 cwt. | 455 | 54 cwt. | 651 |
| Gowla | 41 cwt. | 1,029 | — | — | 41 cwt. | 1,029 |
| Gums:— | | | | | | |
| Arabic | 7,884 cwt. | 123,125 | 5,807 cwt. | 83,677 | 13,691 cwt. | 206,802 |
| Myrrh | 456 cwt. | 13.652 | 624 cwt. | 18,474 | 1,080 cwt. | 32,126 |
| Gunny Bags | 47 pa., 94 cor. | 2,333 | 20 pa. | 240 | 67 pa., 94 cor. | 2,573 |
| Hardware and Cutlery | 258 pa. | 5,260 | 71 pa. | 804 | 329 pa. | 6,064 |
| Hides and Skins | 446 cor. | 2,163 | 1,781 cor. | 4,773 | 2,227 cor. | 6,936 |
| Honey | 9 cwt. | 223 | 15 cwt. | 399 | 24 cwt. | 622 |
| Indigo | 3 cwt. | 91 | — | — | 3 cwt. | 91 |
| Ivory | 123 cwt. | 24,838 | 127 cwt. | 25,254 | 250 cwt. | 50,092 |
| Jagree (coarse Sugar) | 924 cwt. | 3,292 | — | — | 924 cwt. | 3,292 |
| Lime-juice | 980 galls. | 475 | — | — | 980 galls. | 475 |
| Machinery | 15 pa. | 150 | — | — | 15 pa. | 150 |
| Marine Stores | 177 pa. | 6,264 | 32 pa. | 2,958 | 209 pa. | 9,222 |
| Mats | 4,899 pa. | 7,494 | 349 pa. | 663 | 5,248 pa. | 8,157 |
| Mats, Bags, and Baskets | 224 pa. | 1,281 | — | — | 224 pa. | 1,281 |
| Mat-rope | 281 pa. | 1,441 | 23 pa. | 131 | 304 pa. | 1,572 |
| Rushes (Jowlees) | 2,511 pa. | 1,993 | — | — | 2,511 pa. | 1,993 |
| Metals:— | | | | | | |
| Iron | 3,857 cwt. | 23,458 | 1,374 cwt. | 7,593 | 5,231 cwt. | 31,051 |
| Steel | 730 cwt. | 7,297 | 154 cwt. | 1,424 | 884 cwt. | 8,721 |
| Carried forward | — | 12,08,567 | — | 526,528 | — | 17,33,095 |

in height.) Incisions are made from which the juice flows, is removed when dry, and packed in goat-skins. Coffee, cotton, dates, and numerous drugs and dyes are also attainable, of excellent quality. Arabia at one period contained several extensive cities, and a large and flourishing population: by British commerce and Christian civilisation the descendants of Ishmael might again become the greatest

*and Export Trade of the Port of Aden for the Official Year* 1851–'52.

| Classification of Goods. | Imports. | | Exports. | | Totals. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quantity. | Rupees. | Quantity. | Rupees. | Quantity. | Rupees. |
| Amounts brought forward | — | 13,40,167 | — | 579,286 | — | 19,17,453 |
| Lead | 2,711 cwt. | 27,585 | 429 cwt. | 4,294 | 3,140 cwt. | 31,879 |
| Copper | 482 cwt. | 22,797 | 263 cwt. | 12,158 | 745 cwt. | 34,955 |
| Spelter | 1,332 cwt. | 14,346 | 927 cwt. | 9,765 | 2,259 cwt. | 24,111 |
| Refined Tin | 30 cwt. | 1,072 | 5 cwt. | 162 | 35 cwt. | 1,234 |
| Millinery and Haberdashery | 38 pa. | 4,040 | — | — | 38 pa. | 4,040 |
| Munjeet Madder | 305 cwt. | 3,277 | 1,744 cwt. | 19,495 | 2,049 cwt. | 22,772 |
| Musical Instruments | 4 pa. | 1,280 | — | — | 4 pa. | 1,280 |
| Oils:— | | | | | | |
| Cocoa-nut | 1,075 cwt. | 8,638 | — | — | 1,075 cwt. | 8,638 |
| Jingeely | 544 cwt. | 4,212 | — | — | 544 cwt. | 4,212 |
| Other sorts | 15 pa., 10 cwt. | 514 | — | — | 15 pa., 10 cwt. | 514 |
| Oilman's Stores | 307 pa. | 6,750 | 80 pa. | 420 | 387 pa. | 7,170 |
| Perfumery | 32 pa. | 2,067 | — | — | 32 pa. | 2,067 |
| Piece Goods | 4,542 pa. | 578,105 | 4,172 pa. | 352,423 | 8,714 pa. | 930,528 |
| Plate and Jewellery | 5 pa. | 1,364 | 2 pa. | 664 | 7 pa. | 2,028 |
| Plated ware | 12 pa. | 863 | — | — | 12 pa. | 863 |
| Provisions | 1,731 pa., 148 cwt. | 12,211 | 12 pa., 148 cwt. | 474 | 1,743 pa., 296 cwt. | 12,685 |
| Pudwas | 30 cwt. | 159 | 814 cwt. | 3,673 | 844 cwt. | 3,832 |
| Queen's ware | 22 pa. | 1,308 | — | — | 22 pa. | 1,308 |
| Rose-water and Flowers | 239 pa., 40 cwt. | 1,026 | 30 pa., 7 cwt. | 112 | 269 pa., 47 cwt. | 1,138 |
| Saddlery and Leather ware | 53 pa. | 1,152 | — | — | 53 pa. | 1,152 |
| Salt | 354 tons | 1,806 | 334 tons | 1,691 | 688 tons | 3,497 |
| Saltpetre | 202 cwt. | 1,393 | — | — | 202 cwt. | 1,393 |
| Seeds:— | | | | | | |
| Cotton | 570 cwt. | 732 | — | — | 570 cwt. | 732 |
| Jingeely | 6,482 cwt. | 23,889 | 29 cwt. | 104 | 6,511 cwt. | 23,993 |
| Other sorts | 423 cwt. | 2,285 | 76 cwt. | 364 | 499 cwt. | 2,649 |
| Senna-leaf | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Silk | 512 lbs., 1,374 cor. | 28,596 | 322 lbs., 351 cor. | 7,983 | 834 lbs., 1,725 cor. | 36,579 |
| Soap (Country) | 184 cwt. | 920 | — | — | 184 cwt. | 920 |
| Soda-water and Lemonade | 2,352 doz. | 3,576 | — | — | 2,352 doz. | 3,576 |
| Soormah | 32 cwt. | 633 | 8 cwt. | 174 | 40 cwt. | 807 |
| Spices:— | | | | | | |
| Pepper | 1,267 cwt. | 11,871 | 375 cwt. | 3,470 | 1,642 cwt. | 15,341 |
| Cloves | 51 cwt. | 1,400 | 4 cwt. | 121 | 55 cwt. | 1,521 |
| Cassia | 149 cwt. | 2,833 | 73 cwt. | 1,177 | 222 cwt. | 4,010 |
| Cardamoms | 32 cwt. | 3,792 | — | — | 32 cwt. | 3,792 |
| Other sorts | 14 pa. | 284 | — | — | 14 pa. | 284 |
| Spirits | 13,060 galls. | 26,619 | — | — | 13,060 galls. | 26,619 |
| Stationery | 109 pa. | 6,024 | 21 pa. | 1,452 | 130 pa. | 7,476 |
| Sugar and Candy | 4,872 cwt. | 46,946 | 564 cwt. | 7,208 | 5,436 cwt. | 54,154 |
| Sundries | 450 pa., 277 cwt. | 9,800 | 360 pa. | 2,072 | 810 pa., 277 cwt. | 11,872 |
| Tamarinds | 495 cwt. | 793 | — | — | 495 cwt. | 793 |
| Tea | 100 cwt. | 5,288 | — | — | 100 cwt. | 5,288 |
| Thread Cotton (Country) | 259 cwt. | 4,654 | 166 cwt. | 2,996 | 425 cwt. | 7,650 |
| Tobaccos:— | | | | | | |
| Tobacco | 4,767 cwt. | 57,160 | 2,270 cwt. | 23,428 | 7,037 cwt. | 80,588 |
| Snuff | 1,574 pa. | 34,788 | 160 pa. | 2,962 | 1,734 pa. | 37,750 |
| Cheroots | 264,050 No. | 3,144 | — | — | 264,050 No. | 3,144 |
| Gorocco | 138 cwt. | 1,751 | 20 cwt. | 246 | 158 cwt. | 1,997 |
| Tortoiseshell | 850 lbs. | 4,774 | 260 lbs. | 880 | 1,110 lbs. | 5,654 |
| Turmeric | 627 cwt. | 2,714 | 216 cwt. | 960 | 843 cwt. | 3,674 |
| Twist Cotton | 23,580 lbs. | 10,541 | 20,466 lbs. | 9,065 | 44,046 lbs. | 19,606 |
| Vinegar (Country) | 78 pa., 300 galls. | 740 | — | — | 78 pa., 300 galls. | 740 |
| Vermillion | 7 cwt. | 1,632 | — | — | 7 cwt. | 1,632 |
| Wax, and Wax and Sperm Candles | 33 cwt. | 2,550 | 41 cwt. | 1,530 | 74 cwt. | 4,080 |
| Wines:— | | | | | | |
| Spanish | 1,693 galls. | 9,816 | — | — | 1,693 galls. | 9,816 |
| Portugal | 151 galls. | 909 | — | — | 151 galls. | 909 |
| French | 471 galls. | 3,808 | — | — | 471 galls. | 3,808 |
| Other sorts | 302 galls. | 2,197 | — | — | 302 galls. | 2,197 |
| Liqueurs | 80 pa. | 1,342 | 49 pa. | 682 | 129 pa. | 2,024 |
| Wood:— | | | | | | |
| Agla | 37 cwt. | 17,900 | 23 cwt. | 11,080 | 60 cwt. | 28,980 |
| Sandal | 47 cwt. | 278 | — | — | 47 cwt. | 278 |
| Plants and Rafters | loose | 4,960 | loose | 1,075 | loose | 6,305 |
| Wurrus (a dye) | 5 cwt. | 424 | 348 cwt. | 27,825 | 353 cwt. | 28,429 |
| Totals | — | 22,46,895 | — | 10,36,713 | — | 32,83,608 |
| Treasure | — | 10,59,860 | — | 688,760 | — | 17,48,620 |
| Grand Totals | — | 33,06,755 | — | 17,25,473 | — | 50,32,228 |

merchants of the east: and as they acknowledge one true and living God, they might through His grace, and by English instrumentality, be brought to the conviction of a necessity for one sufficient atonement and ever-present Mediator. Christianity has attempted less in Arabia than in any other region; it should specially aim at the subjugation of Islamism in its stronghold.

# SECTION IV.

## PENANG (OR PRINCE OF WALES' ISLAND), MALACCA, AND SINGAPORE.

The picturesque island of Penang, on the west coast of the Malay peninsula, in 5° 15′ to 5° 29′ N. lat., and 100° E. lon., extends sixteen miles north and south, is twelve miles broad at the north end, and decreases to eight at the south, with a range of lofty hills in the centre; the area is computed at one hundred square miles.

When first known to Europeans the island was an untenanted waste, covered with forests, and formed part of the possessions of the King of Quedah on the neighbouring coast. In 1785, Captain Light, the commander of a "country ship" in India, having married the King of Quedah's daughter, received the gift of the island as a marriage portion; and having transferred it to the E. I. Company, they entered into a treaty with the Malay ruler (professedly to last as long as the sun and moon gave light!), and agreed to pay him six thousand dollars annually, which sum, in 1800, was raised to ten thousand, in consideration of the additional concession of a tract on the mainland opposite Penang, extending thirty-five miles along the coast, and four miles inland from the south bank of the Qualla Mudda to the north bank of the Krian river, lat. 5° 20′ N.: area about 140 square miles. To this territory the name of Wellesley Province was given, in honour of the distinguished nobleman, then governor-general of India.

Physical Aspect.—The valley of Penang, about three miles in breadth, is the level part of the island on its eastern side, and extends from the hills to the sea: it is of a triangular shape, the ranges of mountains forming the base, the apex, called Tanjong, jutting into the harbour, and having George Town and the fort of Penang built on it; while private houses extend three miles in every direction from the point. Almost the whole of the northern shore is mountainous, and through the centre of the island runs a range of hills, which decrease in height and magnitude as they approach the south coast. On the west and south of the mountains there is a considerable quantity of level ground of good quality, and generally well cultivated. Indeed, two-thirds of Penang is level, or has a gentle inclination. The east, owing to its moistness, is covered with rice-fields; the south and west valleys, though partly tilled for the same purpose, are chiefly laid out in pepper gardens and spice plantations. Everywhere close to the coast, as in Ceylon, there is an extensive belt of cocoa-nut trees; and scattered over the island, in various groups, are groves of the graceful areka palm (or Penang), from which the isle takes its Malay name. The hills and low grounds, where not cultivated, are thickly covered with wood. Vegetation is extremely luxuriant, and for several miles the eye rests on one dense mass of mountain forest. Besides George Town (the capital) there is only one large assemblage of houses, entitled James Town, situated on the sea-shore, four miles to the southward. Numerous small villages and Malay topes are scattered over the island, especially on the south side, often beautifully and romantically situated on the coast, or amidst spice groves in the vales.

The hill called the "Highlands of Scotland" is 1,428 feet above the sea, and the situation and climate is delightful. The whole of the valley is of alluvial formation; and it would appear that the sea once washed the base of the mountains; for on the opposite shore of Quedah, successive deposits of alluvial matter have been traced for several miles inland, indicating the gradual retirement of the ocean, ridges being observable running parallel with the present line of coast.*

The harbour of George Town is capacious and well defended, with good anchorage; it is formed by a strait about two miles wide, that separates Penang from the opposite Quedah coast on the Malayan peninsula: the whole navy of Great Britain might find shelter therein. The sea is placid throughout the year, and the periodical effects of the monsoons little felt, the winds partaking more of the character of land and sea breezes.

When storms rage at sea the tides are affected, and become irregular in their flow

* Several interesting details of this picturesque island were published by Dr. Ward, of the Madras service, in the *Singapore Chronicle* of July, 1833.

through the islands, sometimes running in one direction for several days with great rapidity, and then changing to another. The town is neat; the streets wide, straight, and at right angles; the buildings are respectable, and the Chinese shopkeepers (who are the principal tradesmen) lay out their "godowns" (or warehouses) tastefully. The roads are among the best in India.

Climate.—January and February are dry and hot months; November and December rainy ones; but excepting during the two first-named, a week seldom elapses without refreshing showers. The thermometer on Flagstaff-hill (2,248 feet high) never rises above 78° Fah. (seldom to 74°), and falls to 66°; on the plain it ranges from 76° to 90°. The climate is considered remarkably healthy. The temperature of the high land of Penang resembles that of Funchal at Madeira, possessing the advantage of a very limited range of thermometer, the greatest variation in twenty-four hours being 11°, and generally only three or four. The lightness and purity of the atmosphere elevate the spirits when suffering from the depression usually caused by long residence in the tropics, while the splendid and varied scenery, formed by stately forests, hill, and dale, the calm ocean around studded with rich verdant isles, and the opposite coast of Quedah with chains of mountains towering ridge over ridge, combined with the health-inspiring breezes, render a residence among the gardens of Penang a delightful restorative to invalids, who not unfrequently resort thither.

Geology.—The mountains are entirely composed of fine gray granite, and the smaller hills are of the same material, excepting some near the coast which are formed of *laterite*, as is also Saddle Island, on the south-west of Penang. A tin mine was worked some years ago in the hills, and probably many valuable minerals exist, equal in quality to those of the contiguous Malayan peninsula.

The Soil is generally a light black mould mixed with gravel and clay; in some parts there is a rich vegetable ground, formed by the decayed leaves of the forest, with which the island has for ages been covered: the coast soil is sandy, but fertile.

Vegetable Kingdom.—The botany of the island is rich and varied. On the mountains grow the poon, bitanger, rangas, red poon, dammerlaut, wood-oil tree, the cypress, and some superb species of arborescent ferns. The caoutchouc or elastic gum winds round all the trees in a spiral form. All the Malacca fruits, with the exception of the *duku*, grow in great abundance: the sugar-cane and pepper-vine are extensively cultivated: the quantity of pepper annually produced is large: cloves and nutmegs thrive well; the former cover the tops of the cleared summits; the latter are found in every part of the valley: one plantation alone, belonging to the hospitable planter whom I visited in 1844,* oc-

* The value of Penang, as a spice island, has been manifested from a period nearly cotemporary with that of its first settlement. Pepper engrossed the consideration of capitalists for many years, until the market price fell so low that their returns scarcely more than repaid the outlay. But previous to this check another source of gain had been opened by the cultivation of the nutmeg and clove tree. In 1798 a few spice plants were imported from the Dutch spice islands; and two years later there were brought from Amboyna 5,000 nutmeg and 15,000 clove plants. In 1802 a further and larger supply arrived, the collection of the government agent, Mr. Hunter, comprising no less than 25,026 seedling nutmeg trees, and 175 plants of ages varying from four to seven years. Shortly before this last period a government spice garden had been established, comprising 130 acres of land, lying on the slopes which skirt the base of the hill near Amie's Mills, a romantic spot, and well watered by a running stream now called Ayer Putih. This plantation, in some respects a mere nursery, contained, in the year above mentioned, 19,628 nutmeg plants, varying from one to four years' growth, 3,459 being four years of age. There were also 6,259 clove trees, of which 669 were above six and under seven years' growth. In the same year (1802), Mr. Smith, the botanist of the E. I. Company, reported that he had imported, in all, to the island at that date, 71,266 nutmeg and 55,264 clove plants, out of which a few were reserved for the botanical gardens at Kew, Calcutta, and Madras. Most of the plantations now in a productive and healthy state have been propagated from nuts yielded by some of the original importations, and a number of nutmeg trees which had been planted on the face of a hill and abandoned, were, after the lapse of about four years, rescued from thick jungle and found to be in a lively condition and bearing fruit. The wild nutmeg is indigenous to Penang, being an inhabitant of the hills. It is a tall forest tree, and bears a more oval-shaped fruit than the nutmeg of commerce. Both the nut and mace are less pungent and more astringent than the true spice, yet the Chaliahs have been in the habit of gathering them and selling them in the native bazaars. Several varieties are cultivated at Penang, and are chiefly distinguishable from one another by the tinge of the leaf and shape of the nut. In some, the former is small and light in colour, in others dark and large. In one the nut is oval or egg-shaped, hanging on separate tendrils of four or five inches in length; in another it resembles a small peach; and in a third it is small and nearly circular. In 1805 there were only twenty-three bearing clove

cupies a space of several square miles; coffee yields abundantly; extensive fields of pine-apples are found at the foot of the mountains; the tea plant grows wild; ginger, cinnamon, cotton, tobacco, and in fact every intertropical production is capable of being brought to the highest state of perfection.*

Zoology, &c.—The Malayan elk (*cervus equinus*) is found in the deep forests; the mouse and the spotted deer are very abundant; monkeys, the lemur volans, the wild cat, otter, and bat, form the only indigenous animals; and the snakes, as in all tropical isles, are numerous; a species of boa (the *python* of Cuvier), eighteen to twenty feet long, is found in the hills. Beef, mutton, and pork of excellent flavour, and a great variety of fish, furnish the bazaar.

Population.—When the company's establishment was formed at Penang, in 1786, the only inhabitants were a few miserable fishermen on the sea-coast. In consequence of the disturbances in the Malayan principalities, and the encouragement given to settlers by the E. I. Cy., a native population of various descriptions arose. The population of the settlement was, in 1821, 38,957; in 1828, 60,551, viz., about 33,500 on Penang, and 22,600 on Wellesley Province: 33,500 were Malays; 10,000 Chinese; 6,000 Chaliahs; and the remainder consisted of various neighbouring tribes. In 1853, the numbers were computed to be—on Penang, 39,589; on Wellesley Province, 51,509 = 91,098.

The returns of trade, revenue, and statistical information generally, are very imperfect; the island, and also Malacca, are under the authority of the governor of Singapore, who occasionally resides for a brief period annually at either settlement.

As a commercial and maritime station, Penang has many advantages; serving as an entrepôt for the various produce of China, the eastern islands and Straits, the native merchants from which take back in return British and Indian goods. It was at one time contemplated to form an extensive arsenal and ship-building depôt at George Town; and several fine vessels were built there, but the object was ultimately abandoned. It formed a rendezvous for the British squadron in the Indian seas during the Burmese war, for which purpose its position, salubrity, and abundant supplies admirably qualify it.†

---

Malacca.—The Malayan peninsula is 775 miles long, with an average breadth of 125 miles. Near its southern extremity, in 2° 14′ N. lat., 102° 12′ E. lon., is situated the British settlement of Malacca, extending about forty miles along shore by thirty inland, and containing an area of 1,000 square miles: bounded on the north by Salengore, at Cape Rochado; on the south by Johore, at the river Muar; on the east by the Rumbo country; and on the west by the Straits of Malacca.

History.—The Malayan peninsula, although the great majority of the inhabitants are Malays, is not the original country of those active, restless, courageous, but too generally vindictive and ferocious people. The present possessors (or Malayan princes and their subjects) migrated hither in the middle of the 13th century from Palembang in Sumatra, and founded the city of Malacca about the year 1252. As they extended their colonisation, the aborigines of the peninsula, who were oriental negroes with woolly hair, jet black skin (the Malays are copper-coloured), thick lips, and flat nose, like the African, and of diminutive stature, were driven inland to the mountains, where some of their posterity still exist. The Malayan chiefs soon became involved in hostilities with their neighbours, partly, perhaps, because their sultan, Mohammed Shah, adopted the Mohammedan religion from the Arabs, then the great

trees in the company's gardens; and in October, 1834, these gardens were sold for the trifling sum of 9,658 dollars. They contained then 5,103 nutmeg trees, 1,625 clove trees, and 1,050 seedlings. The whole being sold in lots, many of the trees were dug up and transplanted to other quarters of the island, and thus dispersed; numbers were lost from mismanagement. In 1810, the total number of nutmeg trees on the island was about 13,000, of which some hundreds only were in bearing, and from such clove trees as were then productive, a supply of 20,000 plants was obtained. There are now probably not less than 100,000 nutmeg trees in the island of Penang,

* Sugar is now being cultivated with success. When I visited the island, in 1844, the merchants and planters justly complained of the disadvantages under which they laboured: their spices were in fact subject to heavier duties, when entering the British markets, than those of their competitors the Dutch; and their sugar was absolutely prohibited in England. I submitted these grievances to Sir Robert Peel, in 1845, and they were promptly remedied.

† The inhabitants of Penang are chiefly Europeans and Chinese; the Indians and Malays preferring (as the French traveller, Dr. Yoan, truly remarks) to dwell in the country, under shady fruit-trees and fragrant flowers.—(*Six Moischezles Malays.*)

traders in the east. Although the rulers of Malacca were able to resist the attacks of the Siamese on their chief city, they were compelled to yield to the conquering Portuguese, who, in 1511, obliged Sultan Mohammed Shah, the twelfth of his dynasty, and the seventh of the city of Malacca, to retreat, after an obstinate resistance, to the extremity of the peninsula, where he founded the principality of Johore, which still exists. The Portuguese held Malacca until 1640, though with great difficulty, against the repeated assaults of the sultans of Acheen; it was then assailed by the Dutch, who gained possession after a six months' siege. In 1795 it was seized by the British, but restored to the Dutch at the peace of Amiens, in 1801. On the breaking out of the European war, in 1807, it was again taken by the English, but restored at the peace of 1815; finally, in 1825, it was obtained by England, together with the fort of Chinsurah on the river Hooghly, twenty miles from Calcutta, in exchange for the British settlements on the large and valuable island of Sumatra.

Physical Aspect.—The sea-coast is rocky and barren, with detached islets of cavernous rocks, which the Chinese used as places of sepulture. The interior is mountainous, being a prolongation of the Tenasserim Alpine chain, which is continued to the extremity of the peninsula; the greatest elevation (named by the natives *Lealdang*, by the Portuguese *Mount Ophir*) has an altitude of 4,000 feet above the sea. Colonel Farquhar was nearly six hours ascending to the table surface on the summit, which does not exceed forty yards square. The whole mountain appears to be a solid block of granite, here and there thinly covered with decayed vegetable soil; stunted firs are found near the top; and the vegetation is quite different from that met with in the plains and valleys. The principal rivers are the *Muar* and *Lingtuah;* small streams and rivulets are very numerous. The extreme point of the peninsula is a cluster of islets; the roadstead is safe; and in the south-west monsoon, vessels not drawing more than sixteen feet of water are secure in a harbour under the lee of the fort. Violent tempests are never felt in its excellent anchoring ground: the Sumatra squalls, which are common to the Straits, seldom last above an hour or two.

Climate.—The climate is reckoned one of the healthiest in India, the temperature being uniform, the thermometer ranging from 72° to 85° the whole year round. The mornings and evenings are cool, and sultry nights like those of Hindoostan are rarely experienced. There is no regular monsoon, but the rainiest months are September, October, and November. The fluctuation of the barometer throughout the year is trifling, the range being 30·3 to 29·83, giving an annual variation of only one-fifth of an inch. The average of casualties in the garrison, for seven years, was at the rate of only two per hundred.

Population.—The population of the settlement of Malacca,* during the palmy days of Portuguese power in the east, was probably very considerable. In 1750, the inhabitants only numbered 9,863; in 1766, 7,216; in 1817, 19,627; in 1822, 22,000: in 1836 the amount had augmented to 33,162, with 6,449 houses; of these 233 were whites, 2,289 descendants of Portuguese, 23,300 Malays, and 5,000 Chinese. In 1853 there were 54,021 inhabitants in the settlement.

Education.—A valuable institution, called the Anglo-Chinese college, was established in 1818, by the joint efforts of the late Rev. Drs. Morrison and Milne. The object in view was the reciprocal cultivation of Chinese and European literature, and the instruction of native youths in the principles of Christianity. Several valuable and interesting translations were made of the leading Chinese books, and English standard works were translated into Chinese: a foundry for types was established, paper manufactured, and a periodical commenced. The opening of China to British intercourse has diminished the necessity for this establishment.

Natural Productions.—The staple of the settlement is the tin mines, all of which are within a circuit of twenty-five miles round Malacca. In the valleys vegetation is extremely luxuriant; rice yields from 200 to 300 fold; the sugar-cane is equal to any produced in other parts of the globe; coffee, cotton, indigo, chocolate, pepper, and spices have all been tried, and thrive remarkably well. The spontaneous productions of the soil are numerous, consisting of an almost endless variety of fruits and vegetables. The country is covered with durable timber for ship and house building; the *Murbon* tree, which is nearly equal to teak, is extremely abundant. Canes

* The inhabitants of Malacca, in 1830, came to a unanimous resolution to liberate every slave in the settlement on 31st December, 1841.

and rattans form a considerable branch of the exports; the forests yield gums, resins, and oils in abundance; the camphor tree grows near the south-east extremity of the peninsula; a variety of medicinal plants and drugs may be observed in the woods; and the nutmeg is indigenous. If the gold and tin mines in the vicinity of Malacca were scientifically worked, they would prove of great value; at present, the Malay and Chinese miners seldom dig below six or ten feet, and, as the veins become thin, remove from place to place.* The gold from Hoolo Pahang, 100 miles inland from Malacca, is of the purest quality; and there are some small mines of gold at the foot of Mount Ophir, called Battang Moring, about thirty-six miles from Malacca.

Wax, cutch, dammeer, fish maws, sharks' fins, and birds'-nests (for Chinese soups), rattans, camphor, betel-nuts, gold-dust, sago, dragon's blood, ivory, hides, aguilla and sappan-woods, &c., are among the principal productions; poultry, hogs, buffaloes, and fish are plentiful and cheap. During the progress of the expedition against Java in 1811, thirty thousand troops, with their followers, were daily supplied with fresh provisions in great variety.

Commerce.—Malacca, being situate between the two great island emporiums of the Eastern Archipelago—Penang and Singapore, the one at the north-west, and the other at the south-east of the Straits—has necessarily a trade limited to its own consumption and produce. Before the establishment of commercial settlements at Penang and Singapore, and during the monopolising sway of the Dutch, Malacca was a place of considerable traffic.

*Weights and Measures.*—Throughout the Straits of Malacca the common weights are the pecul, catty, and tael. The Malay pecul, three of which make a bahar, is heavier than the common or Chinese pecul, which is = 133½ lbs. Rice and salt are usually sold by the coyan of forty peculs nearly, and gold-dust by the bunkal = 832 grs. troy. The gantang (by which grain, fruit, and liquids are sold) = 1¼ English gallon, is divided into two bamboos. Twenty gantangs of rice make a bag, and forty bags a coyan. Cloth is measured by the astah or covid of eighteen inches nearly. Land, by the orlong of twenty jumbas = 1⅓ acre.

The *Currency* of the Straits is Spanish dollars.

---

Singapore (*Singhapura.*) — This large trading settlement is situate on the southern extremity of the peninsula of Malacca just described, in 1° 17′ 22″ N. lat., 103° 51′ 45″ E. long.† It is elliptical in form, from twenty-five to twenty-seven miles in its greatest length from east to west, fifteen miles in its greatest breadth from north to south, and contains an estimated area of 275 square miles. Some fifty small isles, within ten miles around it, are scattered in the Straits; these have an area of about sixty miles; the whole settlement embracing a maritime and insular dominion of about 100 miles in circumference.

History.—The Malay annals relate that in A.D. 1252, Sri Iskander Shah, the last Malay prince of Singapore, being hard pressed by the King of Majopahit, in Java, returned to the mainland, where he founded the city of Malacca. That the Dutch or Portuguese may have settled on the island is probable, from the remains of religious buildings and other structures, which indicate its having been once thickly inhabited. On the design of Sir Stamford Raffles, the settlement of Singapore was first formed in February, 1818, and its sovereignty in its present extent confirmed to Great Britain in 1825, by a convention with the King of Holland and the Malay princes of Johore.‡

* The Chinese and Malay miners use lead and antimony for the adulteration of the tin. Antimony has the effect of hardening the admixture with lead, thereby increasing the difficulty of detection, as regards external appearance. The mode of working the mines in places appropriated by the Malays and the Chinese separately is very nearly similar, except at Sungie Hujong, where the Chinese chain-pump is advantageously used for raising the water out of the mine-pit. The apparatus is simple, consisting of a common water-wheel, a circular wooden chain about forty feet in circumference, and a long square box or trough, through which it runs in ascending. The wheel and chain revolve on a common axis, so that the motion of the former necessarily puts the latter into action. The chain consists of square wooden floats, a foot distant from each other, and strung as it were upon a continuous flexible axis, having a movable joint between each pair. As the float-boards of the chain successively enter the lower part of the box or trough (immersed in water), a portion of water is constantly forced up by each, and discharged at the top. At one of the mines the simple but efficient mode of its application is thus described:—There are three distinct planes, or terraces, rising above each other. On the middle one is the wheel; the lower is the pit of the mine: from the higher a stream of water falls and turns the wheel, which puts the whole machine into motion, and brings up another stream from the pit; these two streams from above and below, unite on the middle plane and run off in a sluice, by which the ore is washed.

† This is the position of the town.

‡ A pension of 24,000 Spanish dollars a-year is, I believe, paid by the E. I. Company to the Malay prince rajah of Johore, as an equivalent for the cession of Singapore and the neighbouring isles.

When taken possession of by the E. I. Company, Singapore had been inhabited for eight years by about *one hundred and fifty Malays*, half fishermen and half pirates.

Physical Aspect.—The island is separated on the northward from the neighbouring Malayan peninsula by a very narrow strait, which in its narrowest part is not more than a quarter of a mile wide. About nine miles distant from the opposite coast lies an extensive series of almost desert isles; the channel between these and Singapore (which may literally be called "*a corner shop*") is the main route of commerce between eastern and western Asia. The surface is low and level, with an extensive chain of saline and fresh-water marshes: several portions are covered with lofty timber and luxuriant vegetation; and here and there are rounded sand hills, interspersed with flat spots, the soil composed of a ferruginous clay with a sandy substratum.

The town stands on the south coast, on a point of land near the west end of a bay where there is a salt creek navigable for lighters nearly a mile from the sea; on the east side of the town is a deep inlet affording shelter to native boats. The town consists generally of stone houses two stories high, but in the suburbs called Campong-Glam, Campong-Malacca, and Campong-China, bamboo huts are erected on posts, often in the midst of stagnant water. On the east side of the harbour enterprising British merchants have constructed substantial and ornamental houses fronting the sea, presenting a strong contrast to the wretched tenements of the Malays. The ground is generally raised three feet, and the mansions have a handsome entrance by an ascent of granite steps, surmounted by a portico supported by columns of every order of architecture: the rooms are lofty, with Venetian windows down to the floor, and furnished in a luxurious manner; each dwelling being provided with baths and billiard-tables; while the grounds are tastily laid out with shrubs of beautiful foliage, and combine to give the town a picturesque appearance when viewed from the roadstead.

Climate.—Owing to proximity to the equator, and generally level surface, there is a high degree of temperature throughout the year, the mercury varying only from 73° to 85° Fah. The barometric range is also exceedingly small.

| Months. | Barometer. | | | | | | Thermometer. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Greatest Range. | | | Least Range. | | | Greatest Range. | | | Least Range. | | |
| | 6 A.M. | Noon. | 6 P.M. | 6 A.M. | Noon. | 6 P.M. | 6 A.M. | Noon. | 6 P.M. | 6 A.M. | Noon. | 6 P.M. |
| January . . . . | 30.03 | 30.06 | 29.99 | 29.90 | 29.90 | 29.87 | 77 | 86 | 83 | 72 | 75 | 74 |
| February . . . | 30.02 | 30.04 | 30.00 | 29.88 | 29.91 | 29.87 | 79 | 87 | 85 | 94 | 82 | 78 |
| March . . . . . | 29.97 | 29.99 | 29.97 | 29.83 | 29.85 | 29.83 | 80 | 88 | 86 | 73 | 76 | 79 |
| April . . . . . | 29.99 | 29 99 | 29.95 | 29.85 | 29.87 | 29.82 | 81 | 87 | 87 | 73 | 80 | 79 |
| May . . . . . | 29.94 | 29 99 | 29.91 | 29.83 | 29.84 | 29.82 | 81 | 87 | 86 | 75 | 78 | 80 |
| June . . . . . | 29.98 | 29.97 | 29.97 | 29.80 | 29.86 | 29.82 | 84 | 88 | 87 | 75 | 77 | 77 |
| July . . . . . | 29.95 | 29.96 | 29.92 | 29.82 | 29.83 | 29.83 | 82 | 88 | 85 | 73 | 78 | 77 |
| August . . . . | 29.95 | 29 99 | 29.95 | 29.85 | 29.88 | 29.84 | 81 | 87 | 85 | 75 | 78 | 78 |
| September . . . | 29.99 | 30.03 | 29.98 | 29.85 | 29.87 | 29.83 | 82 | 87 | 85 | 74 | 76 | 77 |
| October . . . . | 29.96 | 29.97 | 29.95 | 29.83 | 29.88 | 29.80 | 79 | 88 | 86 | 75 | 76 | 79 |
| November . . . | 29.91 | 29.95 | 29.93 | 29.80 | 29.83 | 29.80 | 79 | 86 | 86 | 71 | 80 | 79 |
| December . . . | 29.94 | 30.00 | 29.98 | 29.82 | 29.85 | 29.82 | 73 | 85 | 86 | 73 | 75 | 75 |
| Annual average | 29.97 | 29.99 | 29.95 | 29.84 | 29.86 | 29.83 | 80.2 | 87 | 85.6 | 73 6 | 77.6 | 77.6 |

The periodical rains are indistinctly marked, and of short duration; the rainy days during the year are about 150. Evaporation is very rapid. The climate is not insalubrious even for Europeans, many of whom have resided here successive years in perfect health.

Geology.—Principal rock a red sandstone, which changes in some parts to a breccia or conglomerate, containing large fragments and crystals of quartz. The whole of the contiguous isles before-mentioned as scattered around Singapore, are apparently of submarine origin, and their evulsion probably of no very distant date.

Population.—In 1820 (the year after British occupation) the island began to be peopled and frequented; and the protection of the British flag induced many to resort to the place. In 1823, there were 10,683 permanent dwellers, of whom 74 were Europeans; Malays, 4,580; Chinese, 3,317; Buggies and other adjacent islanders, 1,851; the remainder consisted of natives of India, Armenians, Arabs, &c. In 1833, the population numbered 21,000—namely, Euro-

peans, 119; Chinese, 8,517; Malays, 7,131; and the remainder Indians, Armenians, &c. The males numbered 15,000; the females, 6,000. In 1853, the residents had augmented to 57,421, of various races. To the foregoing must be added about 1,000 convicts; with military establishment and camp followers, 600: making a grand total of about 60,000 persons, where a few short years ago there were not 100! The leading merchants, agents, shopkeepers, and auctioneers are Englishmen. There are several wealthy Chinese merchants; indeed the bulk of the traders, and the most valuable part of the citizens, are "the Celestials," several thousand of whom arrive annually from China by the yearly trading junks; about 1,000 settle at Singapore, and the remainder disperse themselves over the neighbouring islands. The Malays are chiefly fishermen, and the natives of the Coromandel coast boatmen.

There is a minister of the church of England and a few missionaries, who receive all possible encouragement from the excellent governor, Colonel Butterworth.

Natural Productions.—The island itself has few indigenous productions; it is in fact a commercial emporium, and probably will never be much more. Its chief staple is the agaragar of the Malays (*fucus saccharinus*), a fern-like plant, which abounds on the coral shoals around Singapore, and produces in China from six to eight dollars per pecul, in its dry bulky state. By the Chinese it is converted into glue and paint, used to glaze their cottons, and "sacrifice paper;" the finest portion is made into a rich jelly, which forms a delicious sweetmeat when preserved in syrup. The harvest of this sea-weed is from 6,000 to 12,000 peculs annually. There are about ten sago manufactories at Singapore, giving employment to 200 Chinese manufacturers. The famous gutta-percha* is chiefly brought from the neighbouring islands. Sugar, nutmegs, and other spices are now being successfully cultivated by the Chinese.

Commerce.—As a trading entrepôt, Singapore presents a remarkable illustration of the advantage of position. In 1820, a few months after the British flag was hoisted, no less than 55,000 tons of European shipping called at the place to trade and for refreshments; and native vessels, of 13,000 tons burden, sailed with goods for neighbouring islands.

In 1821, one vessel cleared with a cargo of Straits produce for European markets; in 1822, four; in 1823, nine; in 1824, twelve (value of cargoes—Sp. dollars, 1,035,868); in 1825, fifteen; and so on increasing. In 1824, the exports were valued at 6,604,601; imports, 6,914,536 = 13,519,137 Sp. dollars.

The following statement shows the imports and exports of the settlement:—

| 1851–'52. | Merchandise. | Treasure. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. |
| Imports . | 30,262,080 | 4,614,871 | 34,876,951 |
| Exports . | 24,586,807 | 5,683,060 | 30,269,867 |
| Total . . | 54,848,887 | 10,297,931 | 65,146,818 |
| | Trade of 1851–'52 . . . . . | | 58,689,225 |
| | Increase in 1852–'53 . . . . | | 6,457,593 |

The total arrivals and departures of European or American vessels, in 1852–'53, was 1,058, of which 733 were British, 135 Dutch, and 61 American: the total tonnage was 273,955. The total number of native vessels was 2,107, with a tonnage of 70,194.

Government.—A lieutenant-governor, appointed by the governor-general of India, aided by a small council. A recorder performs biennially, or more frequently, legal circuit through the settlements.

Finance.—The receipts from the three Straits Settlements, in 1849–'50, amounted to 674,196 rupees; the charges to 689,020 rupees: balance paid from Indian revenues, 14,824 rupees = £1,390.

* *Gutta-percha* (*taban*), which now forms a large item of export from the Straits Settlements and the adjacent regions, has become an article of commerce within the last ten years, and already upwards of 3,000 tons have been imported into England. In 1844 I saw the article used at Penang for riding-whips, the only purpose to which it was then applied. The gum is obtained from a tree which grows sixty to eighty feet in height, and from two to three feet in diameter, with but a few small branches. The tree is cut down, and incisions made round it at intervals of about sixteen inches: the gutta or milky juice rapidly concretes, and, before boiling, has a dry ragged appearance like shreds of bark; it is light, tough, and with little apparent cohesive qualities. It would require twenty trees, according to Dr. Oxley, to produce 133 lbs. Mr. P. L. Simmonds (who deserves credit for the attention he has paid to the gums, resins, and oils of commerce) estimates that about one million of trees of full growth must have been destroyed during the past nine years. The natives entertain no fear of the supply being exhausted. Various other inferior gums, the produce of trees quite different from the *taban* proper, are now used in the adulteration of gutta-percha. The present import of this useful article amounts to about 21,000 cwt., at £5 10*s.* per cwt. = £120,000. The importation of the kindred substance (caoutchouc) is 27,000 cwt., at £7 per cwt. = £189,000. The sago pith is brought from the neighbouring islands.

# SECTION V.—HONG-KONG.

Shortly after the war commenced between England and China, in July, 1840, the island of Hong-Kong was occupied by the British, under the directions of Captain Elliott, partly on account of the harbour which it forms in conjunction with the mainland, and partly because it was a convenient station for the opium smugglers, from whence to dispatch this deleterious drug to different parts of the Chinese coast. Previous to the treaty of Nankin and the termination of hostilities in July, 1842, the dependents, connections, and officials of her Majesty's plenipotentiary in China, and the leading opium traders, had secured the few eligible spots on which buildings could be erected,—formed markets, and were deriving an income from these and other sources. When, therefore, the plenipotentiary dictated the terms of peace to the Chinese commissioners, he named, to their great surprise, Hong-Kong (which they knew not even by name) as the only territory we required; and the word Chusan was struck out of the instructions sent from England, because, if this fine island had been retained, the advantageous position occupied by interested persons at Hong-Kong, would soon have been neutralised when Chusan became a flourishing colony. Yet the latter, as compared with the former, is like the Isle of Wight contrasted with one of the Scilly Isles; and its insignificant position and area are but portions of its numerous drawbacks.* With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to a brief description of this settlement.

Locality.—Hong-Kong, which in the Chinese language signifies "Red Harbour," or "Flowing Streams," is in 22° 16′ 27″ N. lat., 114° 14′ 48″ E. long.; and lies about forty miles east of Macao. It forms one of a numerous but scattered group of lofty islands termed the "Ladrones," which vary in size and height, but agree in their arid and rugged features. The length of Hong-Kong is about eight miles east and west, with a breadth of two to four miles: it is separated from the mainland of China by a strait or inlet of the sea, varying in breadth from half a mile to three miles; one entrance, the Lymoon Pass, is less than a mile wide.

Physical Aspect.—The island consists of a broken ridge of mountainous hills running from W.N.W. to E.S.E., at an average height of about 1,000 feet; but from this ridge and its spurs various conical mountains rise to the height of 1,500 to 2,000 feet above the sea, and are very precipitous. The greater part of the coast shelves abruptly from the ocean, particularly on the north face; there are a few narrow valleys and deep ravines through which the sea occasionally bursts, or which serve as conduits for the mountain torrents; but on the north side of the island, especially where the town of Victoria is built, the rocky ridge approaches close to the harbour; and it was only by hewing through this ridge that a street or road could be made to connect the straggling series of buildings which extend along the water's-edge for nearly four miles, although comprising only about fifty European houses and some Chinese huts and bazaars. Here and there on the tops of some isolated hills, or along the precipitous slopes of the mountains, scattered houses have been constructed; but rugged, broken, and abrupt precipices, with deep rocky ravines, must effectually prevent any concentrated population from being able to provide efficiently for its own protection, cleanliness, and comfort. Hong-Kong cannot be said to possess any vegetation: a few goats with difficulty find pasturage. After the heavy rains of May, June, July, August, and September, the hills assume somewhat of a greenish hue; but the whity-brown or red-streaked ridges, with the scattered masses of black rocks, give a most uninviting and desolate aspect to the island, which is unrelieved by the adjacent mainland, whose physical features are precisely similar to those of Hong-Kong, the mountain-tops and sides presenting in many places a singularly heavy configuration and gloomy prospect.

Geology.—There is no igneous formation.

* In my official report on Chusan and on Hong-Kong, and in a minute on the British relations with China, transmitted to her Majesty's secretary of state, the circumstances connected with this discreditable transaction, and the fallacies put forth in its defence, were amply exposed to public view. The report on Hong-Kong is on the records of the House of Commons.

The island partakes of the same geological character as the coast of China group, south of the Quesan group of islands. The structure may be briefly described as consisting of decomposed coarse granite, intermixed with strata of a red, disintegrating sandstone, crumbling into a ferruginous-looking clay. Huge boulder-stones, which gunpowder will not blast, are imbedded in a stiff earth, or are else strewn over the tops and sides of the mountains. Gneiss and felspar are found in fragments, and there are indications of ironstone. That the granite is rotten, and passing, like a dead animal or vegetable substance, into a putrescent state, is evidenced from the crumbling of the apparently solid mass beneath the touch, and from the noxious vapour (perhaps hydrogen) which it yields when a fierce sun succeeds to heavy rains. On examining the sites of houses in Victoria, whose foundations were being excavated in the sides of the hills, the strata appeared like a richly-prepared compost, emitting a fetid odour of the most sickening nature, which inhaled, at night especially, proved poisonous. This strata quickly absorbs any quantity of rain, which then returns to the surface in the character of a pestiferous mineral gas.* The position of the town of Victoria,

* *Rotten Granite.*—Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology*, vol. i., p. 317, says—"The disintegration of granite is a striking feature of large districts in Auvergne, especially in the neighbourhood of Clermont. This decay was called by Dolomieu '*la maladie du granit*,' and the rock may with propriety be said to have the rot, for it crumbles to pieces in the hand. The phenomenon may, without doubt, be ascribed to the continual disengagement of carbonic acid gas from numerous fissures." It is this gas which is evolved at the Grotto del Cane near Naples, and which is so pernicious to animal life. It is disengaged at Limagna d'Auvergne in France, in large quantities; a lighted candle or other burning substance being extinguished by the gas. Water materially aids, by its solvent power, the operation of carbonic acid gas in the decomposition of rocks. This gas is invisible, destitute of smell, much heavier than common air; owing to its specific gravity it may be poured from one vessel to another; may be collected over water, which largely absorbs it, and is highly deleterious to animals. It is discharged from the surface of the water of some natural springs, and from narrow and deep valleys. Other gases are evolved from the earth. Dolomieu states that he ascertained the presence of sulphurous acid, muriatic acid, hepatic gas or sulphuretted hydrogen, and inflammable air or hydrogen, as well as carbonic acid. The most abundant of the gases extricated from the bowels of the earth, next to carbonic acid gas, is probably carburetted hydrogen, which is so rapidly destructive of life in coal mines. It is also sometimes emitted from the surface of the soil, or of springs and wells. M. de la Beche describes the manner in which the disintegration of rocks takes place, owing to the protracted action of atmospheric moisture. The felspar contained in granite is often easily decomposed. Some trap rocks, from the presence of felspar, are liable to decomposition, as in parts of Jamaica. The main composition of granite is quartz, felspar, and mica. Some qualities contain only felspar and mica. This is generally the case in Hong-Kong, where felspar is found in large crystals looking like quartzose gravel. The sound granite of Hong-Kong is in isolated blocks. No drainage can ever render the place salubrious; and it is exceedingly desirable that the fallacious attempt should be renounced, as its only effect is to drain money from the British treasury. If further proof be wanting, it is to be found in the following facts adduced by Dr. Heyne, of the Madras artillery, and which I did not see until after the text on the cause of sickness at Hong-Kong was written. The subject ought to be carefully attended to in the selection of sites for colonies, of towns, garrison stations, encampments, &c. Dr. Heyne observes that the ordinarily received opinions as to the vegetable or marshy origin of fevers will not hold good in Southern India, for "the hills are here not more woody than in other healthy places; some, indeed, where the epidemic of 1808 and 1810, as well as the endemic, were most destructive, are quite naked of trees, as Dindegul, Madura, and the rocks west of Seringapatam. Now, if it should be found, that this fever exists constantly and invariably among certain description of hills, when others of a different composition are as constantly free from the same, would it not become reasonable to suppose that the nature or composition of the rock itself must furnish the cause of the calamity? The hills where it is found to prevail, appear, at first view, to be quite harmless, as they are granite, which is the most common rock-kind on this globe. They contain, however, besides quartz, felspar, and mica, a great proportion of ferruginous hornblende, which, by its disintegration or separation from the rock, becomes highly magnetic, and in which, I suppose, the cause resides which produces this fever, besides a great train of other disorders. This iron hornblende occurs in such quantity that all rivulets, public roads, indeed, all hollows along these hills are filled with its sand; from which, also, all the iron in this part of the country is manufactured. This granite is remarkable for its disintegration, as it not only separates during the hot season in large masses of many tons, but crumbles as easily into its composing particles, and is found as sand in great abundance, not only near every rock, but near every stone, from whence it is carried by the torrents during the rains to the lower parts of the country, and thus forms the particular mark by which these hills may be distinguished from all others. It is generally not attracted by the magnet when united to the mass, even when it occurs as in hornblende slate, or greenstone, in the greatest abundance; but after it has been separated it is attracted as much as iron-filing. This may be owing to the incipient state of oxydation, or, more likely, to the development of magnetism by the high temperature to which it has been exposed in the hot season, which also may have weakened the cohesion of the rock, and caused its disintegration in the mass. Hills of this description form the principal ranges of the Ghauts, as far at least as the Godavery; they pre-

which may be likened to the bottom of a crater with a lake, prevents the dissipation of this gas, while the geological formation favours the retention of a morbific poison on the surface, which is occasionally called into fatal activity. There is no extent of marsh on the island capable of generating miasm; but the heavy rains are annually washing large portions of the mountain through deep ravines into the bay, and thus continually exposing a fresh rotten surface to the sun's rays, and preserving a focus of disease which will finally become endemic. Vast quantities of silt from the hills are being deposited along the shores of the harbour. Owing to this circumstance, and to the rapid receding of the tides from this coast, shoals are fast accumulating in the bay. The average depth is only four to five fathoms, except in the stream, where there are six to seven fathoms. In no great interval of time, the harbour of Hong-Kong will be, in many places, too occupied with shoals to admit large vessels.

Climate.—It is difficult to convey by thermometrical registry an accurate idea of the climate of any place. The range of the thermometer will not indicate the pressure of the atmosphere; the barometer, in or near the tropics, is of little utility as an index; the hygrometer imperfectly shows the quantity of rain in the air; while the height of the surrounding land, its configuration, the nature of the soil, the extent and quantity of the vegetation, the exposure to the sea and the prevailing winds, and the unseen but powerful effects of electro-magnetism,—all influence what is comprised under the word "climate." In some respects the whole coast of China partakes of the climactic characteristics of the opposite coast of the American continent, particularly as regards the extremes of temperature, and its depressing influence on mental and physical power.

For six months in the year (April to September), the heat varies from 80° to 90° Fah.; but during the other six months the heat is also occasionally excessive, the thermometer having been known to stand at 80° Fah. on Christmas-day. The island, being on the verge of the tropics, is subject to the extremes of the torrid and temperate zones. Even in the same day, the range of mercury in the thermometer is very great, and the vicissitudes are exceedingly trying to the European constitution.

But neither the range from heat to cold, nor the quantity of moisture in the atmosphere, will adequately convey an idea of the effects that this climate is capable of producing on the human frame. During April,

dominate also among the smaller, and in single hills and rocks in the low country, so that they might be taken as the exclusive rock formation of this country. However, fortunately, this is not quite the case. They are easily recognised at a distance by their very rugged and abruptly pointed appearance, and the great steepness at their tops. The ranges of this formation are also very interrupted, and generally consist of rows of single hills, although to the southward, I have found them also connected at bases, and in triple and quadruple ranges." This description answers for Hong-Kong. Dr. Heyne then gives an excellent topographic description of the hills "which have rendered themselves known to Europeans for the malignity of the fever," and after that of such as are as "constantly free of the hill fever." This is the right kind of topography. The hills where the fever is "totally unknown," are "primitive trap, which consists of quartz, felspar, and real hornblende." The epidemic fever of 1808 stopped short at a range of hills of this latter composition, in the Coimbatore district. "At the Pulicat hills, among which, as far as they extend to the southward (Chittoor), the hill fever is totally unknown. They consist entirely of flinty slate, and are bare in some places as they are woody in others, and as lofty and as low as the granite hills. The Cuddapah district is divided from Gurrumcondah on the south, and from iron granite and the hill fever, by a range of flinty slate. The seam bends there to the northward, where the ranges thicken as they advance, and leave narrow valleys as far as Cummuur, and further up the river Kishna. The whole or most of these hills belong to the clay-slate formation; some are calcareous; all, however, are free of the hill fever. Other fevers may occasionally be seen, such as simple intermittents and bilious remittents; but they do not, like the hill fever, run into a typhus, and the cautious may easily guard against and get rid of them. This is the largest extent of inland country free of the hill fever, viz., from Cuddapah to Kishna near Chintapilly, a place that has been at all times dreaded for its fevers. There the iron granite hills prevail again. To the westward of Cuddapah, the healthiness of the country extends to the Ganjecottah hills, which belong to the flætz trap formation, consisting of sandstone, limestone, jasper, and hornstone pebbles cemented together, and which are perfectly free of magnetic ironstone. Bababudden is another range of hills which is remarkably free of hill fevers, although it lies between places of notoriety for such, as Seringapatam to the south-west, Chittledroog to the north-west, and Naggury to the west, an unwholesome country amongst the Ghauts. It belongs to the clay-slate formation, and active magnets are found in large depositions on them. It rains on them for six months in the year continually, when plants keep fresh and alive in the open air for many days after they have been taken out of the ground, or broken off the stem." In fact, according to the observation of Dr. Heyne, the hill fever on this coast exists exclusively among the hills of the granite formation, or where ironstone is found in large quantities.

and part of May, when the sun is approaching rapidly from the equator, there is a dry burning heat, with a cloudless sky; but towards the end of May, and throughout June, July, August, and part of September, the rain descends in torrents, with a force and continuance such as I have never seen in India, Africa, Australia, or any other part of the world. The clouds pour down one vast sheet of water, washing away hills and rocks, furrowing the island with deep ravines, and saturating the soft, porous, putrescent strata, to the extent of many feet, with daily renewed moisture.

In the intervals of rain a nearly vertical sun acts with an intense evaporating power, and a noxious steam or vapour rises from the fetid soil, yielding a gas of a most sickly and deleterious nature. This morbific gas does not arise from vegetable or from animal decomposition: there is none on the island to any extent; but decomposed mineral substances, as before stated, yield an aeriform poison, under some circumstances, of a more deadly description than the products of the other natural kingdoms. This gas does not rise more than a few feet from the earth; it mingles slowly with the surrounding atmosphere, and, when not causing immediate illness, produces a depressing effect on mind and body, which undermines and destroys the strongest constitutions.

Military and naval men who have served in Africa and in India, feel the effects of the sun in Hong-Kong in a manner never before experienced. Even at Macao, only forty miles west of Hong-Kong, Europeans may walk about the whole day in the month of July, when to do so at Hong-Kong would be attended with almost certain death. Neither the Indian sepoys, Malays, or Chinese can endure the climate so well as Europeans, whose stamina they do not possess. The Chinese deem it exceedingly dangerous to prolong their abode in the island beyond a certain time. They consider Hong-Kong injurious to health, and even fatal to life. The Europeans who survive a brief residence in this climate generally have a lassitude of frame, and an irritability of fibre, which saps the spring of existence. A malign influence operates on the system in a most distressing manner, which is not removed by a return to Europe; on the contrary, the sufferers not unfrequently die soon after their arrival in England.

Diseases and Mortality.—The prevailing disease is a fever, combining the character of the African and West Indian fevers. It was first supposed to be epidemic, but it has now become endemic, and may be assumed to be the fixed malady of the island. Diarrhœa and dysentery form the next most immediately fatal class of diseases; but intermittent fever or ague destroys health gradually. In 1844, the strength, for the year, of the European and native troops was 1,526, and the number of soldiers who passed through hospital amounted to 7,893: thus, on an average, each man went through the hospital more than *five times in the year!* The sacrifice of life since our occupation of Hong-Kong has been enormous. Lieutenant-general d'Aguilar, when commanding the forces in China, wrote in 1845 to the Horse-guards, stating that a regiment of 1,000 men was *entirely destroyed in three years.** In 1849, the governor reported the mortality of the European troops, for the year 1848, as 20·43: in several preceding, and in subsequent years, this ratio was exceeded. It must be remembered that the invalidings and deaths on the passage to Europe are in an equal proportion. Recently the lives of many European soldiers have been saved by embarking them in transports moored in the centre of the harbour at the most sickly season.

Nor is it during only one period of the year that the island is unhealthy: in the cold season there are agues, low continued fever, diarrhœa, pulmonary complaints, dropsy, rheumatism, and various other dis-

* It was supposed that Saiwan, on the south-east side of Hong-Kong, would afford a healthy station for the troops: government expended a considerable sum of money in preparing and building a set of barracks, of two stories, with every view to comfort and health. The officer of the royal engineers having reported the cantonments to be habitable, the general in command sent a medical board to examine the building and station. The board reported that the station at Saiwan appeared healthy, that there was no apparent cause for disease, and that it was eligible for troops. The general resolved to begin with a small detachment, and twenty Europeans were sent to Saiwan. No sentry was to be mounted during the day, and but one at night. In five weeks five of the soldiers were dead, three more were in a dangerous state, and four were convalescent; one European woman and child were also dangerously ill. The remaining men were withdrawn, and a small detachment of native troops sent thither, in order to ascertain whether the climate would suit them. On the 17th July, 1844, only four men out of the twenty Europeans who had been to Saiwan, were reported fit for duty. The native soldiers died nearly as fast as the Europeans, and the post was ultimately abandoned.

eases arising from general debility of the system, and from the poisoned atmosphere.*

The mortality and sickness of Hong-Kong is not the result of the newness of the colony. New colonies, even in the tropics, have not been originally unhealthy. When the West India Islands were first colonised they were perfectly salubrious, as is proved by the large European population who resorted thither, and remained there many years. Calcutta and Bombay are reported to have been formerly much healthier than they are at present. The Australian colonies were perfectly healthy when founded; so also the Mauritius and St. Helena. I cannot name a single colony that was originally unhealthy, and that subsequently became salubrious. Soldiers, sailors, and civilians, Europeans and natives, women as well as men, residing in every part of Hong-Kong, have fallen victims to the climate, and at all seasons of the year.

An extensive study of the subject, and no inconsiderable experience in different climates, induces me to concur in the opinion of Dr. Thompson,† expressed when head of the medical department in China during the war—that the evil cannot be permanently ameliorated. The geological character, the immense quantity of rain, and the circumvallation of hills surrounding the town and island, render them hotbeds of disease, which may be less destructive one year than another, but which will ever and anon recur with varied violence. No drainage can remove this destructive miasm; independent of new roads or buildings, the yearly rains keep the surface continually saturated with moisture, and further uncover large portions of the hills, washing the putrefying substance down the deep ravines towards the sea; thus generating fresh cause for disease.

Population and Social Progress.—In January, 1841, natives of China were invited to settle in the island, under British protection, with a promise that they should be "governed according to the laws and customs of China, every description of torture excepted." A form of administration was organised; a chief magistrate and a harbour-master appointed, and fifty lots of land sold in June, 1841, the annual rental of which amounted to £3,224. Each lot was required to have a building erected within six months, of the appraised value of 1,000 dollars; and a deposit of 500 dollars was required to be lodged with the treasurer, as a security for the performance of this engagement. Building commenced with great spirit; the government spent very large sums of money upon the island, and the harbour was filled with ships of war and transports. Hong-Kong has had a fair trial for fourteen years. It will be asked, what progress has been made in population?

On taking possession, it was found to contain about 7,500 inhabitants, scattered over twenty fishing villages and hamlets. The requirements of the fleet and troops, the demand for labourers to make roads and houses, and for servants for the Europeans, increased the number of inhabitants; and in March, 1842, they had augmented to 12,361. In April, 1844, the Chinese population on the island was computed at 19,000, of whom not more than 1,000 were women and children; in which number were included ninety-seven women slaves, and female attendants on thirty-one brothels, eight gambling-houses, and twenty opium shops. In 1849, the total was rated at 29,507. In December, 1852, the resident population of Victoria was 15,962, and that of the villages, 4,820 = 20,782. To this amount is to be added, 2,055 Chinese in the service of Europeans, 459 Portuguese from Macao and Goa, and 476 Europeans and Americans. There is a considerable floating population in boats, and many vagrants. Altogether, there are under 25,000 in the settlement: and not one respectable or wealthy Chinaman has ever fixed his permanent residence in Hong-Kong.‡ An individual of reputed wealth, named Chinam, who had been engaged in the opium trade, came to Hong-Kong, built a good house, and freighted a

* In 1843, the surveyor-general of the colony reported to the government that "the number of interments had been so great (in the European graveyard) that the enclosure was almost full, and the hill behind so rocky, that it was impossible to dig into it; therefore, ere long, it would be necessary to provide another place." The surveyor further stated that it would be a difficult thing to select another appropriate tract, on account of the rocky and uneven nature of the island.

† Dr. Thompson, in his report to the governor-general of India, stated that regiments should be removed every three, if not every two years.

‡ The merchants and British residents in Hong-Kong, in a memorial to her Majesty's secretary of state, verify this observation: they say there is scarcely one foreign resident, except government officers, and those British merchants and traders who commenced building before the enforcement of the leases; there are no Chinese merchants, or even shopkeepers, with any pretensions to property! Few persons reside above a year or two.

ship. He soon returned to Canton, and died there of a fever and cold, contracted at Hong-Kong. It was understood, however, that had he lived he would have been prohibited returning to the island, as the policy of the mandarins on the adjacent coast is to prevent all respectable Chinese from settling at Hong-Kong; and in consequence of the hold they possess on their families and relatives, this can be done most effectually. At the same time, I believe that they encouraged the deportation of every thief, pirate, and idle or worthless vagabond from the mainland to Hong-Kong. The late distinguished Chinese scholar, Dr. Gutzlaff, who was engaged in making a census, says — "The most numerous class who have, since our arrival, fixed themselves on the island, are from Whampoa; many of them are of the worst character, and ready to commit any atrocity. The capital of the shopkeepers is very small; most of them live from hand to mouth, and lead a life of expedients, without principle or self-control. It is very natural that depraved, idle, and bad characters from the adjacent mainland and islands should flock to the colony, where some money can be made."*

Dr. Gutzlaff, whose prepossessions were strongly in favour of the Chinese, concludes this portion of the memorandum with which he favoured me, as follows:—"The moral standard of the people congregated in this place (Hong-Kong) is of the lowest description."

This observation is fully borne out by the numerous murders, piracies, burglaries, and robberies of every description which have taken place during the last fourteen years, almost with impunity; for the Chinese villains are formed into secret societies for mutual protection, and no man, innocent or guilty, dares inform against another. The European inhabitants are generally obliged to sleep with loaded pistols under their pillows,—not unfrequently to turn out of their beds at midnight to protect their lives and property from gangs of armed robbers, who are ready to sacrifice a few of their number in return for ample plunder. In 1854, Hong-Kong was publicly asserted to be "the most filthy, disgusting colony of the British empire:"† the only one certainly to which such epithets can be justly applied.

An hallucination seems to have seized those who built houses here. They were told that Hong-Kong would rapidly "outrival Singapore," and become "the Tyre or Carthage of the eastern hemisphere."‡ Unfortunately, the local government fostered the delusion respecting the colony. The leading officials bought land, built houses or bazaars, which they rented out at high rates, and the public money was lavished in the most extraordinary manner, building up and pulling down temporary structures, making zigzag bridle-paths over hills and mountains, and forming the "Queen's-road," of from three to four miles long, on which about 180,000 dollars have been expended, but which is not passable for half the year. The straggling settlement called "Victoria,"§ built along the aforesaid highway, was dignified with the name of "City;" and a high authority, Sir Henry Pottinger, prophesied that "Hong-Kong would contain a population equal to that of ancient Rome." The

* A writer in the London *Times*, speaking of his experience at Hong-Kong, says—"The community is migratory, property most insecure, and life often in danger, from the bands of piratical robbers that infest this and the neighbouring islands. The place has nothing to recommend it, if we except its excellent harbour. The site of the new town of Victoria is most objectionable, there being scarcely level ground enough for the requisite buildings; and the high hills which overhang the locality shut out the southerly winds, and render the place exceedingly hot, close, and unhealthy. Many of the worst description of Chinese resort there; and I have seen, during one evening at Victoria, more open scenes of vice and debauchery than I had observed during my three years' stay in the north of China."

† *Friend of China* periodical, dated Victoria, 10th July, 1854.

‡ It is erroneously supposed that Singapore has prospered mainly through Chinese trade. Such is not the fact. The total import tonnage of Singapore in 1838–'39, in square-rigged vessels, was 178,796 tons, of which that from China was 32,860. The native tonnage for the same year was 48,000, of which the Chinese vessels constituted 8,000 tons. The Straits produce which the Chinese require are brought to Singapore by Malay or other coasting craft, who would not proceed to the northward; and the proprietors of Chinese junks, with whom time is no object, and who go down the coast to the Eastern Archipelago with one monsoon, and return with the other, prefer the speculation with their varied cargoes, and the visiting of their countrymen at the different islands. There is no analogy whatever between Hong-Kong and Singapore; the geographical, territorial, and commercial advantages, which have contributed to the prosperity of Singapore, are totally and entirely wanting, and can never be created, at Hong-Kong.

§ Two miserable villages on the coast of Hong-Kong, with a few migratory inhabitants, half pirates and half fishermen, were honoured with the designations of Aberdeen and Stanley, the local government being desirous to propitiate the statesmen who then bore sway. Indeed, no means were spared to create a strong impression in favour of a worthless place.

surveyor-general, in an official report to his relative Sir Henry Pottinger, of twenty-two pages, dated 6th July, 1843, proposed building an entirely new town or "city" in the Woongnichung Valley (which may be aptly called the "Valley of Death"), with a grand canal, and many branch canals, &c.: two ranges of terraces of houses, &c.; courts of law, and various other offices; "acclimatising" barracks; additions to the present government house, for the secretaries and personal staff of the governor, isolated from all other buildings; a space of land to be reclaimed from the sea for a public landing-place, with an esplanade or public walk; a magnificent promenade of four miles, to be made on ground now covered by the sea, which was to be excluded by a sea-wall, at a cost of thirty-five dollars per lineal yard, exclusive of filling in, &c.; a circular road over hills and ravines round the entire island, &c., &c., adapted for carriages, and for moving troops with speed and facility to any part of the island, where they may happen to be required for the protection of the different villages! (these villages, be it remembered, containing nothing but a few hundreds of a thieving piratical population.) I refer to the government archives for full details of these and other most ridiculous projects, involving a heavy expenditure of public money, which none but the wildest theorists, or self-interested persons, could have projected or entertained. On the 17th of December, 1843, the surveyor-general laid before Sir Henry Pottinger the elevation of a building for a government office, &c., with a front of 360 feet in length, by 50 feet in depth, and which would probably cost £30,000 sterling. There was the greatest possible desire to spend a large part of the Chinese indemnity money on this wretched, barren, unhealthy, and useless rock, which the wealth, talent, and energy of all England could never render habitable, or creditable, as a colony, to the British name. In illustration of the mode in which the public money was proposed to be spent, I give the following abstract of a portion of the estimate of public works in Hong-Kong for 1844, and which Sir Henry Pottinger transmitted to England for approval:—

Completion of Queen's-road from West Point to the east side of Woongnichung Valley—dollars, 28,000; ditto to godowns of Jardine and Co., 15,000; new street formation in Victoria, 35,000; sewers in Victoria, 100,000; value of houses to be removed from Upper Bazaar and other places, 25,000; drainage of Woongnichung Valley, 7,000; bridle-path to Saiwan, 3,000; new church, 35,000; government-house, with suitable offices, &c., 70,000; house for judge, 24,000; house for advocate-general, 20,000; house for queen's solicitor-general, 20,000; house for colonial secretary, 20,000; house for chief magistrate, 20,000; house for treasurer, 18,000; house for land officer, 18,000; house for clerk of colonial council, 16,000; house for colonial surgeon, 16,000; house for chaplain, 16,000; range of buildings for advocate-general, queen's solicitor, &c., 100,000; prison, with house for gaoler, Hong-Kong, 45,000; debtor's gaol, Hong-Kong, 20,000; house of correction, Hong-Kong, 15,000; two police stations, north side of the island, 10,000; two smaller stations, 4,000; police station at Chuc Choo, 8,000; police station at Saiwan, 3,000; police station at Pok-fulum, 3,000; keeping in repair Chuc Choo road, 1,500; contingencies of five per cent., 35,775; consulate at Canton, 45,000: total dollars, 796,275. This is but a small portion of the contemplated expenditure; it does not include the formation of streets and roads in Hong-Kong, which, on account of the mountainous nature of the island, would cost about £100,000 sterling. It does not include barracks, stores, forts, arsenals, dockyards, wharfs, &c.—all projected, and which would cost several millions sterling before they could be completed.

Financial View. — There is no prospect that Hong-Kong can ever yield revenue adequate to more than a very small civil government. The limited size and rocky nature of the island, the absence of agriculture, manufactures, or commerce, and the fluctuating and predatory character of the population, forbid the hope of an income being raised adequate to the maintenance of the establishment that was at first organised. It is impossible to state precisely the amount of public money which has been spent on this miserable rock; from first to last, civil and military, I cannot estimate it at less than two million sterling: while the annual revenue, from every possible source, including some that are discreditable to a Christian government, was, in 1852, only £21,331. To this sum £12,000 had to be added from the parliamentary grant in aid of the civil disbursements for that year.

It is fallaciously asserted that the island expenditure ought to be defrayed from the tea duties levied in the United Kingdom. It might as well be said that the West India local governments should be paid from the revenue derived from the coffee and sugar imported into the United Kingdom. In both cases, the monies thus obtained are raised from the people of England, who are the buyers and consumers; for the incidence of taxation falls ever heaviest on the last purchaser of the taxed article. The

London merchant adds to the invoice cost of the tea bought at Canton, the freight to England, the insurance, interest of money, warehousing, customs' duty levied in England, and the fair profits of trade on every chest of tea he may sell to the grocer, who then regulates the price at which he can afford to retail the article to his customer, on whom finally falls the whole charges, taxes, and profits to the several parties before he drinks his tea. The revenue derived from the China trade is paid by the people of England; the merchant who carries on the trade does not pay a shilling of it.

As a general principle, colonies that cannot bear the expense at least of their civil government, are not worth maintaining. There does not appear any reason why Hong-Kong should be an exception to this rule. There is not, as has been fancifully supposed, any analogy whatever between Hong-Kong and Gibraltar. Hong-Kong *commands nothing:* a glance at the chart will show that the navigation of the China seas is perfectly independent of this island, by which even the entrance of the Canton river is not controlled. It is not possible by any outlay of money to make it a fortress, being itself commanded by the shore of the neighbouring mainland. But supposing several millions sterling were spent in fortifying Hong-Kong, and half a million annually expended for its garrison, the *cui bono* would constantly recur: no European or American state would think of capturing Hong-Kong, for it would be valueless to them; and if mere glory were sought by the acquisition, they must be aware the fame would be of short continuance, as troops and ships from India, from Australia, and from all our stations eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, would soon recapture the place or starve out the garrison. But Gibraltar is differently circumstanced; it effectually commands the narrow entrance to the Mediterranean, and, together with the fortresses and havens of Malta and Corfu, gives England a preponderating power in that great European sea, which is becoming daily of more and more value in her intercourse with the Anglo-Eastern empire. Moreover, "the Rock" is a valuable commercial entrepôt; at one period £1,000,000 sterling of cotton goods were imported through Gibraltar into Spain.

As a fortress Gibraltar is perfect; it is impregnable. It can boast a revenue fully adequate to its civil government, and averaging upwards of £30,000 per annum. The military expenses incurred by its powerful garrison saves the constant maintenance of a large fleet in the Mediterranean, preserves the balance of power, and materially conduces to the peace of Europe. The remarks applicable to Gibraltar may be repeated regarding Malta and the Ionian Islands, both of which stations not only pay their whole civil expenditure without one shilling charge on the British exchequer, but also contribute a considerable sum annually towards military defences and protection. Moreover, these places are valuable as trading entrepôts.

Every colony of the British empire provides for its own civil government, with the exception of certain small aids voted annually for the Bahamas, Bermuda, the Falkland Islands, St. Helena, and Heligoland, but these settlements are all intrinsically valuable: the Bahamas, for the geographical position of their harbours; Bermuda, as a strong fortress and dockyard in the Western Atlantic; the Falkland Islands, for their important position and fisheries in the great Southern Ocean near Cape Horn; St. Helena, as a strong fortress and recruiting station for ships doubling the Cape of Good Hope in their voyages to and from India, China, and Australasia, in time of peace; while in the event of war, its possession would be of incalculable value to British merchants, serving in the stead of a large fleet in the Atlantic. Even Heligoland, during the late European war, proved an important trading depôt for the Elbe and the northern parts of Europe; and the expense is only about £500 a-year. Numerous as are the colonies of the British empire, they are each of specific utility to England;—for their territorial extent as emigration fields to provide employment for a surplus population; for the production of sugar, coffee, corn, cotton, silk, indigo, timber, oil, wool, &c.; as maritime positions or military posts; as trading emporiums or fishing stations. I have in vain sought for one valuable quality in Hong-Kong. There are other good harbours around; and for 200 years we have not found the want of such. I can see no justification for the government expenditure of another shilling on Hong-Kong.

Religious and Social Influence.—The benefits derivable from our laws, institutions, and religion, can never be conferred on the Chinese through the colonisation of Hong-Kong. We are there, in fact, almost as

much isolated from China, its people, and supreme government, as if we were located in the Eastern Archipelago. By the adroit policy adopted by the Chinese authorities, a "*cordon sanitaire*," if I may so express it, has been drawn around Hong-Kong; no individual is permitted to proceed there except he be a thief, a pirate, or a spy; no respectable heads of families will venture to fix their residence in Hong-Kong; if they did, their relations still remaining on the mainland, would probably be "squeezed," imprisoned, tortured, or denounced as traitors to the Celestial Empire. Hong-Kong is viewed by the Chinese as a spot where adventurers and reckless characters may make something out of the English; and to which burglars and robbers may resort and live with impunity upon the profits of their villany. I am strongly of opinion, from circumstances that have come to my knowledge, that the mandarins view with indulgence all vagabonds who propose to quit their own country and proceed to the British settlement; that, in fact, direct encouragement is afforded them to do so.

Commerce.—The only item of trade noticed in the local returns as constituting the traffic of the settlement in 1853, was 36,499 chests of opium, which is distributed by smugglers along the coast. A large number of vessels annually arrive, call for orders, and proceed to their destination, northwards or otherwise, as they pass through the strait or arm of the sea which separates the island from the mainland. No matter how often these vessels may anchor, even for a few hours, they are entered as arrivals; and hence their numbers were swollen, in 1853, to 1,103, with an aggregate tonnage of 447,000 tons; but up to the present moment no governor has been able to note any sum as indicative of value in regard to the commerce of Hong-Kong. During disturbances at Canton, small quantities of goods were warehoused here, but they would not bear the charges, and those of transhipment, agency, &c. In fact, our trade is fast leaving Canton and being concentrated near the tea and silk districts to the northward—at Shanghae and Foochoofow—for whose protection Hong-Kong is almost as useless as Vancouver's Island on the opposite coast of America.

Were our colonial establishment to be fixed at some island or position to the northward, near the central regions of China, we should most probably obtain considerable moral influence over an intelligent and respectable class of people, who would communicate their favourable ideas to other and more distant parts of the empire; and by extending a knowledge of our language, pave the way for the introduction of Christianity. An English city at Chusan, for example, surrounded by an extensive agricultural population (the best-disposed and most orderly in China as well as elsewhere), evincing the practical results of the science and skill of Europe, would have a remarkable effect on the Chinese, whose inquisitiveness and imitative powers would soon induce them to copy many things primarily conducive to their physical, and ultimately to their moral and religious improvement.

*Political point of View.*—Hong-Kong was occupied by the troops and merchants of England in 1840–'41, when her trade was driven from Canton; when the Chinese government was avowedly hostile; and when the Portuguese authorities at Macao had expressed their inability to continue to permit British residence and resort to that port. At this period, the views of Captain Elliott were solely directed towards Canton. Hong-Kong was then deemed the most eligible spot for British occupation, on political and military grounds. And so it proved as long as operations were thus directed to a single point, and we were excluded from China. But after the expedition to the northward, the occupation of Chusan, and ultimately the establishment of peace, and the opening of five ports (including Canton) for free commerce and English residence, protected by a ship of war at each, the political and mercantile value of Hong-Kong entirely ceased. The late war has shown us the vulnerable point of China—namely, the Yang-tze-kiang river, which is aptly denominated by the Chinese, the "Girdle of the Empire." In the event of any future hostilities, our force would be directed at once towards Nankin and other places on the Yang-tze-kiang river, and not against Canton. It would be by interrupting the supplies of grain, and cutting off the trade of the great artery or canal, that war might be, with the least expenditure of blood and treasure, successfully carried through with China. In all points of view, Hong-Kong is worthless. Chusan may yet be ours, and would be valuable from its commanding position, from its comparative salubrity, safe haven, and capability of sup-

plying provisions, both from the resources of the island itself, and from the contiguous coast. A fleet of ships of war and transports might rendezvous at Chusan, and select, at will, the most fitting period of the year for offensive operations. No attack need be apprehended from the Chinese. Ships from Singapore and the southward, can now, by reason of a greater knowledge of the winds and currents, make Chusan, even against the monsoon, in nearly the same time they would occupy in reaching Hong-Kong. And, finally, the Chinese government, aware of the strength of such a position, would be the less disposed to break the peace, and would rely less implicitly on the strength of the forts in the Canton river.* The Tartar policy is to keep foreigners at the extremity of the empire; but this wary design ought to render Great Britain anxious to establish the depôt of her trade in the Chinese seas near the centre, instead of at its extreme verge.† An English settlement at Chusan would be within three days' sail of Pekin.

## SECTION VI.—EASTERN ARCHIPELAGO.

Labuan was ceded to England by the Sultan of Borneo, under the provisions of a treaty dated May 27th, 1847 ;‡ and the governmental establishment was formed thereon in 1848.

The island is situated six miles from Borneo, in 50° 19′ N. lat., 115° 10′ E. lon. Its form is triangular ; the length about eleven miles ; the breadth at the south end seven and a-half, and at the northern

* The possession of Hong-Kong has not induced the government of China to maintain their other engagements unbroken. Lord Palmerston, during a debate in the House of Commons, on 3rd July, 1854, stated, that "ever since the conclusion of the treaty of Nankin, the conduct of the Chinese authorities had been such as would have justified a rupture with that government. They had violated the engagements into which they had entered; and if any desire existed on the part of the British government to proceed against them, abundant cause had existed almost since the termination of the last war. They had refused, on divers pretences, to admit us to parts of Canton to which we ought to have access, avoided their engagements with respect to the Hongs, and nullified their stipulations in regard to the tariff. In point of fact, there was hardly a single engagement they had not broken." Mr. Gregson, M.P., an eminent merchant, connected with the China trade, said—"He quite agreed with what had fallen from the noble lord with respect to the conduct of the Chinese authorities, and he believed before long it would be necessary to take more determined measures to compel them to adhere to their treaties."—(*Times*, 4th July, 1854.)

† In my official report on *British relations with China*, printed by permission of her Majesty's government, in two vols. 8vo, the whole of the circumstances connected with the cession of Hong-Kong, the relinquishment of Chusan, and the state of our commerce, position, and prospects in the China seas, are fully set forth.

‡ The preamble of this treaty states that it was entered into with a view "to put an end to piracies which have hitherto obstructed the commerce between her Majesty's subjects and those of the independent princes of the eastern seas." Art. II. grants British subjects the right of trade and transit through all parts of the sultan's territories. Art. III. authorises them to purchase, rent, occupy, or in any legal way acquire all kinds of property in the said territories, and enjoy full and complete security for themselves and for their property. By Art V. and VI., internal duties, or any regulations injurious to trade, are prohibited; and the only sea-custom duties levied on British goods or ships, limited to one dollar per registered ton on vessels bearing the British flag; while all export duties are forbidden. By Art. IX., the sultan agrees to co-operate with her Britannic Majesty, by the use of every means in his power, for the suppression of piracy, and for more effectually enabling England to effect this object, and for the carrying on of trade with the dominions of Borneo. The sultan, by Art. X., "confirms the cession already spontaneously made by him, in 1845, of the island of Labuan, with the adjacent islets, and likewise the distance of ten geographical miles to the north and west of Labuan;" adding, "in order to avoid occasions of difference, which might otherwise arise," a distinct and unconditional pledge of not making any similar cession, either of an island, or of any settlement on the mainland, or in any part of his dominions, to any other nation, or to the subjects or citizens thereof, without the consent of her Britannic Majesty." By Art. XI., the sultan "engages to suppress all traffic in slaves, and to prohibit all persons residing within his dominions, or subject to him, from countenancing or taking any share in such trade:" persons or vessels so employed to be treated as if "engaged in a piratical undertaking." By a supplementary article, all British subjects residing within the limits of Borneo, and accused of any crime committed therein, to be tried and sentenced exclusively by the English

extremity not more than a mile: the superficial area is computed to be about thirty square miles. On the first formation of the settlement, the island was an unbroken mass of forest, only a small portion of which has, as yet, been cleared away. The surface of the land is broken into numerous hills, of no great elevation; the highest summit measured not exceeding 500 feet in altitude. The soil is, however, for the most part well adapted for cultivation, and the natural vegetation very luxuriant. Well-grown trees of valuable timber are observable in various places. There are several small streams, and the island is otherwise abundantly supplied with excellent fresh water by digging wells. The harbour is commodious; has a depth of water sufficient for vessels of large burthen, good anchorage, and is completely sheltered from the prevailing monsoons.

During the two first years of the settlement, the inhabitants suffered much from remittent fever, but at present Labuan is pronounced to be as salubrious as most tropical regions. Fever, ague, and rheumatism are the prominent maladies; but these do not prevail to any unusual extent. The island has never been visited by cholera, and is also free from dysentery, so common and dangerous in hot climates. The thermometer ranges from 76° to 96° in the shade, but as a gentle breeze is almost always perceptible, the temperature is not found to be very oppressive. Severe squalls of wind not unfrequently occur, especially during the change of the monsoons; but they are seldom of long duration. The oft-recurring thunder-claps are generally attributed to the influence of the lofty mountain ranges on the mainland of Borneo and in the vicinity of Labuan: the lightning is at times very vivid and dangerous; but these storms, as in other parts of the tropics, purify the atmosphere and reduce the temperature. There is no distinctive wet and dry season, as in India: the greatest quantity of rain falls during the uncertain weather attendant on the changing of the monsoons; October and November may be considered the wettest months. The north-east monsoon blows, with slight annual variations, from December to May, and the south-west during the remaining months; the former period being comparatively dry and healthy. The rain nearly always falls at night—a wet day being the exception; the annual quantity is frequently very heavy, often falling four inches in depth during the course of twelve hours.

The geological formation is probably similar to that of most coal basins. The island is formed of strata of friable sandstone, red and indurated blue clay and coal: the latter exists in abundance, and is found outcropping in several localities. The seam leased to the Eastern Archipelago Company, and on which they have established their works, is situated at Janjong-Kobong, at the northern extremity of Labuan: this section (in common with the other carboniferous strata) has a dip to the north-east of thirty or thirty-five degrees, and an average thickness of ten to twelve feet. The coal is considered of excellent quality: hitherto it has been very little used; but preparations are, it is alleged, in progress for working it on a more extended scale. The government receives from the company a royalty of 2*s.* 6*d.* per ton.

The Population consists of Europeans, Chinese, natives of India, and Malays, and numbered, in 1854, about 1,800, including a military detachment of about 120 sepoys. The classification was: whites—males, 28; females, 2 = 30: coloured—males, 1,173; females, 120 = 1,293: aliens and resident strangers, 240. Births for the year, 37; deaths (recorded), 2: the population is fluctuating. The town, situated on the north shore of the harbour, is small, and the dwellings mostly of native construction. The government-house, barracks, and European residences are detached, and situated inland on the neighbouring heights. The Eastern Archipelago Company have a settlement at their works at Janjong-Kobong.

The Government consists of a lieutenant-governor, secretary, and registrar; police magistrate and treasurer; surveyor, harbour and postmaster, and colonial surgeon.

Laws are enacted by a Legislative Council, composed of the lieutenant-governor and

consul-general, or some officer appointed for the purpose; and disputes or differences between British subjects, or which may arise between them and subjects of the sultan, or of any other foreign power, are to be heard and decided by an officer named by her Britannic Majesty, "without any interference, molestation, or hinderance on the part of any authority of Borneo, either before, during, or after litigation." This explicit treaty (which puts to shame the treaty of Nankin, made by Sir Henry Pottinger) bears the seal of the sultan and the signature of Sir James Brooke; is dated Bruné, 27th May, 1847, and signed in the English and in the Malay languages.

two other members. There is no Executive Council. There are two courts for the administration of justice—a general court and a police court: this latter acts as a court of requests in cases where the debts are small. The general court is presided over by the lieutenant-governor. The garrison consists of a detachment of about one hundred sepoys, and a party of some twenty artillerymen.

THE REVENUE is chiefly derived from opium and spirit "farms," and the royalty on coals. The first of these denotes the monopoly of preparing and retailing the noxious drug for smoking. The second item is a duty charged upon the consumption in the island of all wine, spirits, and beer. Both these monopolies are annually sold by auction for the highest monthly rents. The actual revenue for each year, since the formation of the settlement, has been as follows:—

| Year. | Local Revenue. | Parl. Grant. |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| 1848 | 59 | 9,827 |
| 1849 | 750 | 9,827 |
| 1850 | 1,798 | 6,914 |
| 1851 | 1,702 | 5,500 |
| 1852 | 1,691 | 4,000 |
| 1853 | 2,567 | 2,300 |
| 1854 | 2,535 | 1,000 |
| 1855 | Not ascertained. | None applied for. |

Nothing can be said under the head of religion and education: no Christian minister has been sent to the island—no chapel or erection of any kind dedicated to public worship by the British government; and for aught the Malays or Chinese know, the English have neither a creed nor a God.

*The trade* of Labuan is very small: it is chiefly carried on by native boats called "prahus"; and recently, owing to the increase of piracy, has been decreasing. The *Eastern Archipelago Company* are said to have two vessels engaged in carrying their coal to Singapore or China. Small vessels ply occasionally betwixt Singapore, Bruné, and Labuan.*

Bruné, the capital of the Sultan of Borneo (a wretched native town, with perhaps 30,000 inhabitants), distant about fifteen miles from the mouth of the river of the same name, and thirty from Labuan, has some traffic; the value thereof (together with that of the British settlement) is thus stated:—1852—Imports, £30,970; exports, £16,564: 1853—imports, £31,820; exports, £22,333: 1854—imports, £23,742; exports, £15,382. By far the largest portion of this traffic is carried on with Bruné. Tonnage inwards, in 1854—3,682 tons.

The leading articles of import for 1854, were—cottons, value £6,604; specie, £6,022; provisions and rice, £2,431; of export—coals, £7,169; sago, £2,182; specie, £2,041; gutta-percha, £957.

It is yet to be proved whether Labuan can ever become a commercial emporium: like Hong-Kong, no person will avow being responsible for the formation of a settlement there. No report appears to have been made to government, advising the acquisition of the island: it is out of the track of vessels passing up or down the China sea, except when beating against the monsoon; and, as regards coal, that is now found to exist near the mouth of the Bruné river, and in various other parts of Borneo. Excepting the expense incurred for a small military detachment, stationed to protect the town from the murderous forays of the pirates of the adjacent mainland,† the

* To the kindness of the present lieutenant-governor of Labuan (Mr. Scott), I am indebted for most of the facts relating to this settlement.

† Lieutenant-governor Scott, of Labuan, in his report to her Majesty's secretary of state, dated April 7th, 1852, says—"Acts of piracy on the northern coasts of Borneo have been somewhat more frequent than in 1850. This no doubt arises from the impression made by the active measures of Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane having by lapse of time worn away, and the inherent propensity a Malay has to return to this lawless traffic when unrestrained by personal fear of immediate punishment. Betwixt this and Malludu Bay, the pirates have not proceeded beyond the kidnapping of natives to be sold as slaves, and the plundering of small defenceless prahus. The north-east coast is still a focus of piracy, and remains unsafe for trading boats. In the month of October, the steamer *Pluto* proceeded thither with a view of opening friendly relations with the settlement, and the inhabitants of various rivers known to be rich in articles of trade; but from the limited time at her disposal, and the want of good pilots, little was effected. In the month of September, a small vessel belonging to Singapore was taken by Illanun pirates, at the entrance of Malludu Bay, and the captain and supercargo (both Englishmen), with three of the crew, murdered. The remainder of the crew were compelled to navigate the vessel under the direction of the pirates. Having entered Bengaya, in Labuk Bay, on the north-east coast of Borneo, Serriff Yassim, the chief of the river, having ascertained that the vessel was English, retook her from the pirates, and dispatched a messenger to report the occurrence to this government. I mention this meritorious action of Serriff Yassim, as it seems to offer a proof that a more extended intercourse and cultivation of friendly and commercial relations with the

local revenue defrays the total cost of the civil establishment. A well-armed steamboat, adapted for ascending rivers, is indispensable for the protection of the colony: If, after a few years more trial, the failure of the experiment should be clearly proved,* the transfer of the British flag to the mainland, will be highly advisable.†

north-east coast would effect much in the suppression of that piracy which now ravages those shores, and totally prevents all peaceable traffic. The subsequent destruction of the well-known piratical haunt of Tungku by Captain Massie, of her Majesty's ship *Cleopatra*, who proceeded thither in search of some of the pirates engaged in the taking of the British vessel, and known to be inhabitants of that place, will, it is sincerely to be hoped, have a salutary effect."

* The settlement suffered by the ill success of the trading association before named. The facts of the case are thus set forth by Sir James Brooke, in the *Vindication* of his character and proceedings, published by him in London, in 1853:—"The Eastern Archipelago Company was incorporated by the government of Lord John Russell, in 1847, for the avowed purpose of rapidly developing the resources of Labuan, and of taking advantage of the relations which existed between myself and the government of Sarawak, for the establishment of new branches of British commerce with the island of Borneo. * * * Her Majesty's government entrusted the formation of this company to Mr. Henry Wise, who, besides the royal charter, had obtained a lease of coal in Labuan, and a grant for working coal on the mainland of Borneo. * * * A legal instrument was executed previously to the formation of the company, and was subsequently incorporated into the deed of settlement, and contained the following clauses:—1st. 'Mr. Wise to be one of the managing directors of the company, irremovable except by a general meeting of the shareholders, for misconduct or incapacity.' 2ndly. 'Mr. Wise to be paid £6,000 within four calendar months after the complete formation of the company.' 3rdly. 'And also, the annual sum of £3,000 every year, during the first ten years of the existence of the said company.' 4thly. 'Mr. Wise to receive one hundred shares (*i.e.*, shares of £100 each) in the company, to be paid up out of the capital of the company.' 5thly. 'Mr. Wise also to receive £2 10*s*. per cent. on the amount of all dividends, and every bonus to be made by the company, provided that no such per centage should be payable in any case, or at any time, where and when the amount of such dividends and bonus should be less than £7 10*s*. per cent. of the company's capital. The above monies, shares, and per centage to be considered as in payment of the purchase of Mr. Wise's interests in the charter, and for the grant to Mr. Wise for the said term of twenty years (out of thirty years' lease), as before mentioned, of his interest in the said agreement with the Crown, and of the said right of working coals on the mainland of Borneo.' And further, 'as a remuneration for his services, and the premises already rendered, as before stated, Mr. Wise to receive (over and above the before-mentioned monies, shares, and per centage), as his salary as one of the managing directors, £800 per annum, and £2 10*s*. per cent. on the amount of all dividends, and of every bonus to be made by the company, such per centage not exceeding in any one year £1,000; so that Mr. Wise's salary in the whole, over and above the first-mentioned monies, shares, and per centage, shall not in any one year exceed £1,800.' The fate of the company was decided by this bond, entered into before its commencement; and the gentlemen who had signed it having become directors, obtained no support from the public, and possessed no means to carry out the important objects for the accomplishment of which the charter had been granted. By a cursory inspection of the registered list of shareholders in August, 1851, it will be seen that the undertaking had little reality, excepting upon paper. Out of the 2,000 shares into which the company's capital was to be distributed, Mr. Wise, the irremovable director, held 728 shares; Mr. Lindsay, the chairman (with two relatives), possessed 713 shares; and the remaining directors 274 shares: thus making a total of 1,715 shares in the hands of the direction. I thus, for the first time, became aware of the true cause which had defeated an object I had been striving to advance; and I had long before perceived and represented the danger of coal from other places superseding the coal of Labuan, and thus sealing the ruin of a settlement which deserved a better fate. I was resolved to remedy this state of affairs; I reported the circumstances officially; and with the knowledge of ministers, I took proceedings in the Queen's Bench to vacate the letters patent. One of the conditions of the charter was, that the company should not commence business until three of its directors had given a certificate to the Board of Trade, which certificate they were to endorse on the royal charter, that £100,000 had been subscribed for, and £50,000 at the least paid up of the capital of the company. Whether this condition had been complied with was the main issue in the Queen's Bench; and in June last, the verdict given by the special jury was to the effect that five of the directors had given a false certificate to the Board of Trade, knowing it to be false." The charter of the company was annulled, and Sir James Brooke incurred the bitter and personal hostility of those whose cupidity and malversations he justly exposed. Endeavours are being made to carry out the trading scheme by the company re-formed into a joint-stock association; and under honest and efficient management, there is every reason to desire and anticipate success. The formation of small factories in eligible positions, with a central station under the British flag at Labuan, would probably exercise a most beneficial influence in encouraging the collection of natural products, and leading the people to seek a livelihood by barter, instead of the dangerous and reckless trade of piracy. Free merchants, as in India, would be enabled to obtain a secure footing under the protection of the company, and finally take its place when the obstacles which it was created to encounter had been overcome.

† The failures of Hong-Kong, of Labuan, and of Port Essington in Australia, ought to prevent the British government again sanctioning the formation of distant settlements, unless satisfactory and trustworthy reports be made as to the eligibility of the site in every respect—sanitary, commercial, and political.

# SECTION VII.—BORNEO.

Borneo (excepting Australia), the largest insulated tract of our earth (700 m. long by 300 broad), was brought under the notice of Spanish geographers by Magellan, in 1521. The Portuguese, under Menezes, touched at Borneo in 1526, on their way to the Moluccas. In 1600, Van Noort, the Dutch navigator, anchored in the large bay, near which Bruné, the capital, is situated. In 1685, the first intercourse appears to have taken place with the English, who, in 1702, established themselves at Banjarmassing: and the E. I. Company subsequently formed factories at Borneo Proper and Sukadana. In 1763, the Sultan of Sooloo ceded to the E. I. Company his possessions in the north of Borneo, extending from the Kimanis river to Cape Kaniongan, embracing the districts of Pappal, Maludu, Mangidora, and Tirun. In 1773, a small settlement was formed on Balambangan Island. In 1774, a British Resident was sent to Bruné, who concluded a treaty with the Malay sovereign or sultan, by which the English engaged to defend the capital against the expeditions of the Sooloo and Mindanao pirates; and the sultan, in return, agreed to cede Balambangan and the exclusive trade in the pepper of Bruné. On 24th April, 1775, a band of Sooloo pirates captured the fort of Balambangan, and carried away booty to the value of half a million Spanish dollars; the English fled to Bruné, and maintained their factory there for some years, but ultimately abandoned the place. In 1803, the E. I. Company reoccupied Balambangan; but deriving no advantage therefrom (commerce being impeded by the pirates, who murdered the Europeans of several ships), the settlement was abandoned in 1804. Piracy at length became so general, that Horsburg emphatically warned all navigators of the danger of intercourse with these coasts. Borneo was consequently shunned by Europeans. The Malays established themselves at Bruné about 1460, and at other places, where they founded sultanries, and subdued the aboriginal Dyaks, who became hewers of wood and drawers of water to their Moslem conquerors.

Sarawak.—Before describing the Bornean settlement thus named, reference must be made to the gentleman who was until recently governor of Labuan and royal commissioner for the coast of Borneo, to whom England is indebted for the position she now occupies in this important part of the Eastern Archipelago. For many years it had seemed desirable to all who understood the value of transmarine possessions, and appreciated the situation, resources, and fertility of Borneo, to acquire a position in, or a connection with, this vast and populous island. The rights acquired by the E. I. Company, though long dormant, might it is true have been revived; but the indifference of the home authorities, together with the artifice and doggedly maintained pretensions of Holland, long frustrated any attempt to extend British operations south of Singapore,—a geographical limit which the Dutch erroneously contended the English were bound by treaty not to pass; the astute policy of the Netherlanders being the extension of their flag throughout the immense and valuable regions of which Borneo is the centre, and the complete exclusion of every European nation, but especially England, from all participation in the lucrative traffic in the rich and varied products of these tropical islands, which they anticipated carrying on with the temperate regions of the earth.

Few objects had stronger claims on national consideration; and probably none could be better calculated to rouse and sustain the energy of a great mind, than the prospect of opening up Borneo and its adjacent territories, and thereby affording a field of high promise to British skill and capital, and at the same time of enabling the Christian missionary, whether priest or layman, to introduce the blessings of a civilisation founded on the precepts of the Gospel of peace, among tribes whose whole lives were spent in trying to destroy each other,—into regions which were ravaged by incessant piracy, pillage, and murder,—where the head of a white man was a prize of great value, and the acquisition of a human skull the required proof of manhood,—where, in fine, Satan reigned in unmolested supremacy. It is surprising that so many years should have

elapsed after England became a colonising nation, without any effectual attempt being made for the establishment of a settlement in, or at least of regular communication with, the richly productive Eastern Archipelago. Had the life of Sir Stamford Raffles been longer spared, his patriotic mind would probably have been turned to the subject; or had Java not been restored to Holland by the culpable neglect of Lord Castlereagh, the position of Britain in these regions would probably have been long since potent for good. At length, by an apparently fortuitous, but doubtless divinely ordained series of events, a private gentleman of chivalrous character and innate love of enterprise, achieved the exploit of directing the attention of the British government to these fair isles, and procuring the termination of the Dutch monopoly at a time when it was exercised with peculiar tenacity. Leaving behind a record of his objects and desires, Mr. James Brooke* set forth, in the winter of 1838-'39, in his yacht the *Royalist*, to seek in the far-famed South-Asian isles, that continuous excitement derived from the pursuit of noble objects, which, to some men, is as necessary to existence as the air they breathe. Imbued with the spirit of Raleigh, but with a prudence which that gallant adventurer lacked, Mr. Brooke had patiently waited his time,—had fought with and overcome, by quiet steadfastness of purpose, many obstacles before he reached the country of his hopes and aspirations (August, 1839.) The government of Borneo was at this time almost wholly disorganised, and Mr. Brooke, after mature deliberation, resolved to accept the responsible and arduous office of ruling as rajah a tract of territory in an advantageous position on the coast of Borneo, now familiarly known as Sarawak. Into the particulars of this acquisition it is not necessary here to enter; suffice it to say, that the people who then occupied Sarawak (the independent possession of which had been offered to him by its lawful sovereign), as well as all who have since resorted thither, voluntarily tendered Mr. Brooke a homage as frank and loyal as that given to any European monarch; thus confirming the previous cession by the strongest test which a rightful ruler can desire—the free voice of his subjects. But the Englishman did not forget the interests of his country: he obtained the ratification of an advantageous treaty with Borneo, providing for the abolition of slavery, the suppression of piracy, privilege of safe residence under British laws, freedom of commerce (devoid of custom or transit duties), the cession of the island of Labuan (contiguous to Bruné, the capital of Borneo Proper), and the still more important privilege that, without the consent of England, no territory should be granted to any nation or individual.†

The British government was, despite its inert character, moved by the voice of public opinion in favour of these proceedings; Mr. Brooke was invested with the order of the knighthood of the Bath, appointed her Majesty's consul-general and commissioner in Borneo, and governor of Labuan. Power was given him to call for the assistance of her Majesty's vessels of war in the eastern seas for the suppression of piracy; and the friends of humanity, as well as of commerce, looked hopefully for great results.

The Sarawak territory was offered by Sir James, with the assent of the native authorities, to Great Britain on very advantageous terms, but refused. In its acquisition, and

* Mr. Brooke is the son of the late Thomas Brooke, a well-known civilian in the service of the Hon. E. I. Company. He was born in Bengal, on the 29th April, 1803, and soon after sent to England for education. At an early age he sailed for India as a cadet in the Bengal army, where he held advantageous positions. On the breaking out of the Burmese war, he went, with a staff appointment in the commissariat, to Assam; and, in an action with the enemy, received thé thanks of the government for the gallantry which he there displayed. But having been shot through the lungs, he was obliged to return to England for the recovery of his health. After attaining proficiency in several modern languages, he made a tour through France, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain; and, upon the expiry of his furlough, again embarked for India. The ship was wrecked on the Isle of Wight. Owing to this delay, Mr. Brooke's leave of absence had expired when he reached Calcutta or Madras; he therefore relinquished the service, and proceeded to China. In 1838, on the death of his father, he succeeded to a handsome fortune, and then published a prospectus in the *Geographical Journal* for 1838, of his intended exploring expedition to the Asiatic Archipelago. He left the Thames 27th October, in his well fitted-up yacht, with nine officers, nine seamen, and two boys. Most of the crew had been with Mr. Brooke three years. "I go," said he, "to awaken the slumbering spirit of philanthropy with regard to these islands. Fortune and life I give freely; and, if I fail in the attempt, I shall not have lived wholly in vain." Quitting England on the 16th December, he made a good passage to Rio Janeiro in two months; reached Singapore the last day of May; left Singapore, 27th July; and anchored on the coast of Borneo 1st August. On the 24th September, 1841, he was declared rajah and governor of Sarawak.

† *See* Abstract of Treaty at the commencement of "Labuan," Section VI., p. 72.

during his connexion with Borneo, he had expended a large portion (amounting to twenty thousand pounds sterling) of his private property, and he now of necessity looked to the resources of the country of which he had become the acknowledged head, for the means of raising a revenue to carry on its government, and of providing funds for public improvements. A mine of antimony yielded some profit; but he cautiously avoided impeding commerce by high duties, and held forth encouragement to traders to settle at Sarawak; while Christian missionaries, especially those who practised medicine and surgery, and had the character of being devoid of zealotry and sectarianism, were earnestly entreated to aid in the civilisation of the Bornean population. The most painful portion of the duty which devolved on Sir James, in his double character of royal commissioner and rajah, was the adoption of decisive measures for the suppression of the systematic piracy which, from time immemorial, had ravaged the coasts of the Eastern Archipelago, and by which successive generations were trained to shed human blood,* to carry away the defenceless into slavery, plunder the wealthy, and massacre all who in any way obstructed their murderous career.† So complete was the reign of terror and of crime established in the vicinity of Borneo, that its shores were, as I can bear witness from personal experience, dreaded by the passing mariner, even in large ships with cannon ready primed and loaded at all hours, and boarding-nets on the rigging to prevent a midnight surprise.

It would be superfluous here to narrate in detail the efficient measures taken by Sir James Brooke, in conjunction with Admiral Cochrane and other officers of the royal navy, for the eradication of piracy and its concomitant crimes:‡ for these reference may be made to the interesting works of Captains

* The Malays, as well as the Dyaks, have no respect for human life, but shed blood as if it were water. Omar Ali, the Sultan of Bruné, who claims jurisdiction over a large part of Borneo, and with whom we entered into a treaty (see p. 72), committed a horrible deed in the early part of the year 1846; the heir-apparent, and the hereditary chief minister (*Muda Hassim*), with all his family, thirteen in number, who were favourable to the English alliance, being murdered in one night.

† Admiral Austin said (16th March, 1852)—"I believe that the whole of that part of the coast which is nominally the territory of the Sultan of Sooloo, is inhabited by a people who are more or less addicted to piracy:" and whenever the sultan "sent people of his own to collect tribute or taxes there, they have been generally murdered."—(Parl. Papers, No. 35, p. 7: 6th Dec., 1852.) When Captain Massie, H.M. ship *Cleopatra*, attempted to enter the river at the pirate settlement of Toonkoo, to inquire respecting the murder of Mr. Burns, the supercargo of the schooner *Dolphin*, the flag of truce which the English boats carried was fired on; one man was killed, and two others were dangerously wounded.—(Parl. Papers, No. 35: p. 8.) Commissioner Devereux, referring to about forty recorded instances of piratical assaults by the Serebas and Sakarrans, says—"These attacks are various in their character. When assembled in large parties or fleets of boats, it appears that they attacked solitary prows, surprised towns or villages at the dawn of day, or rowed swiftly along a river or the coast, and attacked the cultivators on the shore, or picked up any fishermen they fell in with. In smaller parties they lay in wait in the creeks of the rivers for passers-by, or came over by land through the jungle to the coasts nearest to them in bodies of ten or twenty, and took the heads of any cultivators whom they could surprise in the fields. It is impossible to glance over the list of attacks here recorded, without perceiving that a great loss of life has taken place for many years. Besides the great success mentioned by M. Bondriot in the capture of 400 heads on one expedition, 120, 60, 40, and 30 heads rewarded their exertions on other occasions within the knowledge of the witnesses examined. In some cases villages or towns have been deserted on account of their ravages; and one witness, Nakoda Mohammed, mentioned a curious fact—that previous to the desertion of the town of Kalukka by its inhabitants, more people died there by the hands of the Serebas and Sakarrans than by any other cause. From the evidence that has been taken, there can be no doubt whatever that these attacks have been frequent and destructive to human life through a long course of years."—(Report of Commissioners of Inquiry, laid before Parliament by command of her Majesty in 1855; p. 23.)

‡ The *Singapore Free Press*, of July, 1843, contains the following notice of the marauding system carried on in the Eastern Archipelago:—"Piratical habits are so interwoven with the Malay character, that the mere capture of a few prahus will have but a small effect in curing the evil; and whilst a harassing duty is encountered, the result is only to drive the pirates frrom one cruising-ground to another. On the contrary, a system which, joining conciliation with severity, aims at the correction of the native character, as well as the suppression of piracy, and carries punishment to the doors of the offenders, is the only one which can effectually eradicate an evil almost as disgraceful to the European nations who permit, as to the native states engaged in it. In order to enable the reader to understand this subject, it will be necessary to mention the different descriptions of pirates, their various localities, and the principal scenes of their depredations. First are the Illanums of Magindaro, and numerous settlements of the same people to the north and north-east of Borneo Proper. These pirates often assemble in fleets of fifteen to twenty prahus, and cruise for two years, or even longer, shifting their ground when food or plunder become scarce. Nearly similar to the Illanums are the Malukees or Jillolo, and the Balaninis from the vicinity of Sooloo, excepting that the latter are worse provided with fire-arms, and distinguished by using long barbed spears, with which they hook their captives. The cruising-

Keppell and Mundy, R.N., officers whose acknowledged humanity, courage, and intelligence the writer had opportunities of observing in the China seas; to the records of Marryat, Forbes, and others; to the government reports made by naval commanders; and to the decisions of the Court of Admiralty at Singapore. All these authorities concur in attesting the extent and danger of the evil, and the necessity which existed for combating Bornean piracy by the destruction of those found actually engaged therein, by the annihilation of their strongholds, and by striking such terror into all directly or indirectly engaged in the prosecution of this devastating crime, that perceiving its continued perpetration impossible, they might be compelled to turn for subsistence to lawful pursuits. Yet notwithstanding this testimony, while in the energetic prosecution of his mission,*—while engaged in the formation of an ecclesiastical establishment for Borneo,—while augmenting the population beneath his equitable and paternal sway from 1,500 (the number on his arrival) to 15,000, now in the town, with 200,000 surrounding and dwelling beneath the protection of the government of Sarawak,—while creating an import and export trade valued for the year 1854 at half a million sterling, and in rapid process of further development,—and while inspiring the hearts of thousands with gratitude, respect, and even devotion to the English name and character, Sir James Brooke found himself suddenly assailed in parliament, the chief weapon employed being a petition framed at Singapore, alleging that his position as an independent territorial chief, with revenues and commerce under his control, was incompatible with the character of royal commissioner and consul-general. It was stated that the persons destroyed by the naval forces of England were really peaceful people, and not the marauders described. Minor allegations were made, and defamatory letters addressed to her Majesty's secretary of state. Some of these were written by the late Mr. Hume, who moved for their being laid before parliament, and published; thus adding another to the numerous instances in which party politicians have suffered prejudice to obscure their judgment, while general integrity of character has lent weight to unfounded assertions.

It is truly lamentable to find how easily the character of a good man may be traduced and destroyed by the ready credence of those who are too careless to investigate truth. The voluminous papers before me painfully illustrate this fact, as also that of the indisposition which exists on the part of the British government openly to uphold their servants, however privately valued, against the outbreaks of popular clamour.

Instead of supporting Sir James Brooke as a faithful steward of the Crown, whose proceedings had been warmly commended by Lord Palmerston as secretary of state for foreign affairs, and who had been actually urged to persevere in the course pursued, the government having first relieved him—to use official phraseology—of the

grounds of these pirates are chiefly the coasts of Borneo and Celebes, and towards the eastward as far as Papua, whence they obtain some of their slaves. The Dyaks of Borneo are a different class of pirates from the foregoing; and if less formidable to the direct trade, are far more destructive of human life. The most powerful of these tribes are the Dyaks of Serebas and Sakarran, inhabiting continuous rivers, situated in the deep bight to the southward and westward of Tanjong-Sirik (or Tanjong-Sisor of charts), on the north-west, east of Borneo. In each of these rivers, mixed with a numerous Dyak population, are from eight to ten hundred Malays, who encourage and accompany the more ignorant natives on predatory and head-hunting excursions. Once or twice each year, from sixty to a hundred war-prahus, containing a body of from three to four thousand men, sally forth and carry desolation along the coast, whilst at all seasons small parties steal into the river, and destroy all they meet. From their speed they defy the pursuit of European boats, and from their crafty and sudden mode of attack, they are always dangerous. Numerous examples might be given of their temerity; but it will suffice to mention generally, that 300 Chinese and Malays were cut off in one night, some years ago; and that, within the last eighteen months, a small Malay village was surprised, and about sixty of the inhabitants massacred. In short, these Dyak tribes have long been the terror of the coasts of Borneo, and for many years beyond the control of any government, having three times defeated the attempts of the Sultan of Borneo to reduce them. Besides these different classes of direct pirates, it must be borne in mind that most Malay communities will commit acts of occasional piracy when tempted by the chance of impunity, and that piracy in general is mainly fostered and encouraged by Malay chiefs, who receive the Illanums and others on friendly terms, and drive a profitable trade with them."

* The feelings which actuated Sir James Brooke in all his proceedings,—from the moment of leaving the shores of England on his expedition to the East,—are fully set forth in his *Private Letters*, edited by J. Templer, Esq., Barrister-at-law, one of the Masters in the Court of Exchequer of Pleas: Bentley, London. Probably no public man ever had his personal affairs more fearlessly unfolded; and few would willingly encounter the scrutiny from which he has come forth triumphant.

governorship of Labuan, directed the governor-general of India to send legal commissioners from India to Singapore, to inquire into the allegations above stated; thus virtually putting Sir James Brooke on his trial as a delinquent accused of misleading her Majesty's ministers by interested misrepresentations.

Lord Dalhousie was unable to spare two judges for the proposed inquiry, and the ungracious task was imposed upon Messrs. Prinsep* and Devereux, members of the

* Mr. Prinsep, the senior commissioner, in his report to the governor-general of India, dated 6th January, 1855, expresses the "surprise felt by himself and his colleague on finding that at the first and second meetings of the 11th and 14th September, no one appeared to support the charges." The editor of a Singapore newspaper, who was very hostile to Sir James Brooke for having publicly denounced him, in 1851, to the governor of Singapore as a person notoriously unfit to hold the judicial office of deputy-sheriff of Singapore, subsequently attempted to sustain the petition; "but," says the commissioner, "of sixteen several witnesses produced in support of the statements therein urged, *not one* of them deposed to any facts, within his own knowledge, which negatived the practice of piracy by the tribes of Serebas and Sakarran on the coast of Borneo; while three of the witnesses called by Woods deposed to specific piratical acts of those tribes; and another, who deposed only to the result of inquiries and research, rather established than controverted their piratical character. On the other hand, twenty-four of the witnesses subpœnaed by ourselves, together with Mr. J. Bonduat, late Resident and superintendent of the Dutch settlement of Sambas, in Borneo (who happened to pass through Singapore on his way to Europe, and volunteered his evidence), deposed expressly to acts of violence at sea, or on the coasts of Borneo, at various periods within the last twenty years; to which acts I can ascribe no other character than that of piracy, though committed by a race ill-provided with sailing vessels, or such weapons of offence as are employed by Europeans. It was urged that their attacks were nothing more than acts of intertribal hostility, of the existence of which there was indubitable evidence. But this character could scarcely be given to inroads and wholesale slaughter in the Dutch settlements of Sambas and Pontianak, of which, at different periods, there was distinct evidence; nor to the attacks by sea on the Malayan settlements of Oya, Egan, &c., on the north-west coast of Borneo, between Sarawak and Sambas, which had nothing of the character of intertribal warfare: and although the acts of piracy in evidence principally concerned the native inhabitants or traders of the coast of Borneo, yet there was distinct evidence of threats or attempts of piratical attacks on vessels of the subjects of European settlements and their property, which justified the suppression, by European powers, of these tribes as piratical hordes. I think, therefore, that the charges of wrongful and causeless attack and massacre, suggested as matter of inquiry, as the parties to the address would now have it understood, has wholly failed of proof on their part, and has been sufficiently negatived by the evidence to the contrary. We had no evidence, nor do I see any ground of inference, that any acts of savage warfare were perpetrated, either under the orders or with the previous sanction of Sir James Brooke. On the contrary, it appeared by the evidence of the witnesses, that he had not only done his utmost to put down the commission of such atrocities by the subjects of his own raj, but that, on the expedition of Captain Farquhar, he exerted his influence to check them, by the offer of a reward per head for captives brought in alive."—(Report of Commissioners of Inquiry, 1855: p. 3.)

The decision of the Hon. H. B. Devereux (the second commissioner) is fuller, and sustained by more detailed evidence than that of Mr. Prinsep. The following is an abstract of his report to the governor-general on the instruction "to inquire into the relations of Sir James Brooke with and towards the native tribes on the north-west coast of Borneo, with a view to ascertain whether it is necessary that he should be entrusted with a discretion to determine which of those tribes are piratical, or, taking into view the recent operations on the coast, of calling for the aid of her Majesty's naval forces for the punishment of such tribes:"—"In connection with this head of inquiry, it appeared necessary to investigate the character of the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks. The result of this investigation is shown in detail, in a memorandum which I submit herewith. The attention which this question has excited, has induced me to examine the evidence given before us in detail, and to place the result in a separate paper. It is there shown that those tribes were in the habit of attacking the Sambas and Pontianak coasts, and the Natunas Islands,—territories under the control or influence of the Dutch government, and with which those tribes had no relations of neighbourhood or commerce; that in like manner they used to make attacks on the coasts with whose people Sir James Brooke is more or less connected; that the attacks were made without distinction, on all classes; that they took both the heads of their victims and plunder; that no cause of offence was alleged for their attack; that no other Dyak tribe makes similar attacks; and that, since the punishment inflicted in 1849, the coast has been comparatively secure, and commerce has received a remarkable extension. The other inhabitants of the north-west coast of Borneo do not appear to share in that piratical character, and desire to live at peace. The obstacle to that coast being at peace, and to the full development of its trade, had been, till 1849, the conduct of the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks. That obstacle was in a great degree removed by the result of the expedition under Captain Farquhar, in 1849, and a considerable increase of trade has since taken place. In pursuance of the object of bridling those tribes, Sir James Brooke has established three forts in their rivers, which prevent the exit of large piratical expeditions. He has also received from the sultan a grant of the five rivers of Samarahan, Sadong, Linga, Kalukka, and Rejang, as a dependency of Borneo, on payment of 1,500 dollars a-year to the sultan. The Serebas and Sakarran rivers, which are included in this grant, had not been under the sultan's authority for a hundred years, and his claim to them might be reckoned of the weakest description. It appears, however, that there is a very general sentiment on that coast that those rivers rightfully belong to the sultan, and the grant by the sultan has given a sort of legitimacy to the supremacy now claimed over them. The practical

Bengal civil service. The commission was opened in due form at Singapore, but no witnesses appeared to substantiate the allegations of needless bloodshedding brought against Sir James; on the contrary, the fullest testimony of their falsity offered itself spontaneously at every turn of the case; and unexceptionable evidence of the recklessly piratical character of the Serebas and Sakarran tribes (the main point in dispute), was voluntarily supplied by a Dutch official of rank, who had long served on the coast

object of this supremacy is to wean the Serebas and Sakarran tribes from their piratical habits, and to induce them to adopt peaceful and commercial pursuits. This has been to some degree successful. It does not, however, appear that her Majesty's naval forces are in any way bound to support that supremacy. Whether it is necessary that Sir James Brooke should be entrusted with a discretion to determine which tribes are piratical, and to call for the aid of her Majesty's naval forces for their punishment, must depend on the position, if any, which Sir James Brooke may hold in her Majesty's service. From the whole course of the evidence which has been taken in connection with this subject, whether as regards the atrocities formerly committed by the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks, or the injury to native trade caused by Illanum and Bolanine pirates, it appears most desirable that there should be an authority empowered to call for the aid of her Majesty's naval forces for the suppression of piracy. The treaty of Borneo engages Great Britain to suppress piracy on the north-west coast of Borneo; and unless the charge of doing so is committed to some naval officer or some civil authority, whether her Majesty's commissioner or some other British officer, who is empowered to call for the aid of the requisite naval forces in the usual manner, that object, so important to the trade which is now springing up, and to the comparative tranquillity which has been recently introduced, can scarcely be attained. I have thus completed my report on the four heads of inquiry which are stated in the commission, and I should now conclude it, had it not seemed advisable that I should make some remarks concerning the expedition of Captain Farquhar, in 1849, against the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks. I am led to do this from perceiving that my colleague, Mr. Prinsep, has reported his opinion on the subject, and from thinking it, therefore, desirable to place on record the degree in which my opinion coincides with his. I have already declared my opinion that the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks were piratical tribes; it was therefore both just and expedient, and in conformity with the obligations of treaty, that punishment should be inflicted on them, with a view to the repression of their atrocious outrages. The exact measure of punishment which should have been inflicted, is a question which it does not belong to me to decide; but I may say that it was essential that the thing should be done, and done effectually. So far as regards the loss of life inflicted on them, there does not appear any reasonable ground for sympathy with a race of indiscriminate murderers. The actual loss of life on their part, caused by the night action off the Kalukka, in July, 1849, is thus described by Mr. St. John, who has had considerable facilities for forming a correct opinion on a subject which confessedly admits of no exact calculation :—'By native report there were 300 killed, and the rest, to the number of about 500 more, died in the woods, or after reaching home. The reason why so many died was, that some of the Dyaks came from Sakarran, and they had to walk a very great distance back with only what food they could pick up in the jungle. I know of two villages, of one long house each, to which only three or four returned out of a very great many (Banga) that went.' Subsequently to this night action the expedition proceeded up the river to the Serebas country, for the purpose, principally, as I understand, of making more permanent the effects of the night action, by showing that even their hitherto inaccessible country could be penetrated by British forces. I do not trace that any very great loss of life was inflicted on this expedition. The Serebas 'made no stand' (Captain Farquhar's Report to Sir F. Collejer, dated 25th August, 1849), and there was no opportunity for inflicting it. A large body of Malays and Dyaks accompanied the expedition up the river. Sir James Brooke stated (Answer 33), that 'without the Dyak allies the English could not have got through the country.' Whether it was expedient to enter the country, is a question which, like that of the amount of punishment to be inflicted, it does not belong to me to judge; but having decided to go, I presume, from Sir James Brooke's statement, that it was necessary to take the Dyak allies in company. It has been asserted that those Dyak allies committed atrocities on that expedition. As, unfortunately, even in a large European force, there is usually a proportion of men who will commit atrocities when out of sight of their officers, it is by no means improbable that, when out of sight of their English leaders, the allied Dyaks acted in the manner which may be expected of barbarians. This opinion is, however, purely conjectural. The inquiry was not directed towards this subject, and no evidence was laid before the commissioners concerning it, except that contained in the latter part of the statements of the Datoo Patingi, and of Messrs. St. John and C. Grant, regarding a conflict between a Sarawak spy-boat and a small Serebas boat, and the slaughter of the crew of the latter—a proceeding which appears to be the obvious result of making war, and rendered, as it were, indispensable by the Serebas habit of not surrendering as prisoners. It was stated by Mr. St. John, that 'no Serebas Dyak fighting man can be taken alive. They never give quarter, and never expect it.' In confirmation of Mr. St. John's statement I may mention that, in the whole course of the inquiry, I heard of but four instances of Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks being taken alive. One was the case of a war-boat full of them which stranded on one of the Natuna islands, as mentioned by the witness Orang Kayan Dana Makota The three others were—one man stunned by blows of oars; a second surprised in a house belonging to another tribe; and a third picked up from a wreck or deserted boat at sea. In conflicts with such men, atrocities, in the ordinary sense of the term, are not easily committed, except in the possible case of women and children being slaughtered. I have, &c.,

(Signed) "H. B. DEVEREUX."

"*Note.*—Captain Farquhar says, in his report, that a considerable number of the enemy were killed; but it appears to have been stated as considerable only in comparison with the very trifling loss of the invaders. No numbers are mentioned, as in the case of the night action."

of Borneo, and, as may be supposed, had no favourable leaning towards the British consul-general, by whose efforts the monopoly long enjoyed by the Hague had been subverted.

The commissioners, after a protracted inquiry, made separate reports, both concurring in the complete and honourable acquittal of Sir James from all the charges by which his character had been impugned; but there they stopped, apparently deeming it no part of their duty to take a comprehensive view of British relations with the Eastern Archipelago, and show the manner in which these had been established by the calumniated object of the investigation. Viewing the commission in its fairest light, it is satisfactory as evidence of what the students of colonial history will too often find reason to doubt—namely, that the British government is disposed to consider the destruction of human life for any cause as always to be deplored, and where it occurs, regards the fullest investigation as to its necessity, an imperative duty. But this reasoning affords no excuse for the conduct of those who, being well acquainted with the whole circumstances of the case, strove to procure the downfall of a man whose fearless truth made foes, and who disdained to use the shield of worldly prudence against their unworthy weapons. To compass the destruction of the founder of Christian civilisation in Borneo,* was an end to be sought by any and every means;—to sap the foundations of his government, which rested so much on opinion, was an object to be attained at the cost of reviving piracy, and the risk of causing the massacre of every Englishman and Englishwoman in or near the island. What else could be expected than that the robber hordes, believing in the disgrace and loss of power of their great foe, should reissue from their haunts again to try their hands at the old pursuit? When the appointment of the commission of inquiry became known, the pirates declared that the dreaded "fire-ships" were no longer to be suffered to prevent or punish their atrocities; the Lanoons and Balinini tribes came out of their strongholds, destroyed the incipient but increasing native trade, murdered the traders, and at length slew six of the peaceable inhabitants of Sarawak, while quietly pursuing their avocations near the mouth of the river. Happily the government of Sir James Brooke at Sarawak had struck deep root in the hearts of the people, who clung to the rajah all the more fervently because of the indignities to which he was to be subjected for their sake. So

* The following extract of a letter from the venerated Bishop of Calcutta (Wilson), dated 10th July, 1851, testifies to the extraordinary efforts made by Rajah Brooke for the extension of Christian civilisation in Borneo:—"I have spent some days at Sarawak; I have consecrated the church according to the request of the diocesan, the Lord Bishop of London. I have inspected the state of the infant mission, and conferred fully with the indefatigable and zealous chaplain and missionary [now Bishop M'Dougal]; I have conversed also with the gentry (natives), and have read the several works published on the events which have occurred in the last few years. It is my full persuasion that there is no mission on the face of the earth to be compared with that of Borneo; it has been thrown open to Christian enterprise almost by miracle. One of the darkest recesses of heathen ignorance, and desolation, and cruelty,—where piracy and murder, and conflagration and head-hunting stalked abroad in open day, and the aboriginal inhabitants were in the sure way of being exterminated utterly;—that recess is now, so to speak, like the paradise of God. Deliverance has been proclaimed, security of person and property, equal rights, an enlightened and paternal distribution of justice, the arts of life, an extending commerce, are already established at Sarawak, and spreading along the whole western coast of Borneo. The Chinese sea is free from marauders, and all Europe and America will pursue their maritime occupations from Singapore to Labuan (700 miles): the Christian mission has began to sanctify and adorn all these secular blessings. Two things quite unexampled favour the design—1st. Englishmen have become first known to the oppressed Dyaks by a single English gentleman of benevolence, talent, and singular wisdom and tact of government, who has received as a token of gratitude from the native princes a tract of land (about 70 miles by 50) as his own territory. To the benefit of the inhabitants of it, this gentleman, who is now recognised as the Rajah of Sarawak, is devoting his time, his fortune, his zeal, his health, his body and soul. * * * In truth, when I stood on the hill on which the church is erected, and viewed the subjacent town stretched on the river's bank, and the mission-house and school on the college hill which commands the opposite shore, I could not but break out into thanksgiving to the God of all grace for His wonderful works. * * * Will England, then, fail to support the work thus prosperously begun? Impossible! It is not in the manners of our Christian Britain to forget that she was herself, 1,400 years ago, in as low a state of barbarism as the Dyaks—infested with European pirates, as they with Asiatic now. No,—she is well aware that what the gospel has done for England, it *can do* for Borneo!" This is the highest testimony Sir J. Brooke could receive. Another well-known authority (Colonel Jacob, of the Bombay artillery) recently visited Sarawak, to form a judgment on the spot; and, in a lecture delivered before a public society in India, declared in the most emphatic manner his admiration of the conduct of Rajah Brooke, and surprise at the amount of good already achieved in the teeth of obstacles and discouragements.

far from his moral power having abated, it daily increased; and when he summoned them to rally round the flag under which they had found, for the first time, security for life and property, between seven and eight thousand men instantly responded to the call. Never did highland clan more eagerly devote themselves to the will of their chief than these poor Dyaks, who, left to their own resources, would have crouched like beaten hounds while miscreant bands seized their young women for the gratification of brutal lust, massacred the aged in cold blood, and carried the young and able-bodied into hopeless slavery. It was resolved to strike terror into the pirates by assaulting them in their strongholds, 150 miles from the coast, whither they were wont to retire with their booty and captives; and, if possible, effect inland, an expulsion similar to that which Captain Farquhar, R.N., had so well done on the coast in 1849. By masterly strategy, and the simultaneous action of several assailing bodies, and by inducing the Malays at Serebas and other places to remain neutral, the object was accomplished, after twenty-five days of great hardship and danger. The particulars of this gallant proceeding, which immediately preceded the opening of the commission of inquiry, are thus narrated by an eye-witness:—

"The mountain of Sadok stands in the midst of the track between Sakarran, Serebas Limanok, and Kajoulo, and on a spur of this mountain, called Bukit Lang, or Kites-hill, the great malcontent Rentab had taken his stand. Sir James Brooke assembled his force on the Sakarran river, and dispatched the Datu Tumangong of Sarawak, with six large prahus, to Boling (the Malay town), to keep steadfast the Malays of Serebas and the Dyaks of Paddy and Baku in that river, who had promised neutrality; at the same time he dispatched Mr. Steel up the Kajoulo with a force of 1,500 men to make such a diversion as would prevent the Kajoulos reinforcing Rentab; and then, with the main body of 6,000 men, he moved up the Sakarran river to a place called Entabban. This movement was not effected without difficulty, owing to the size of the prahus and the rapids and shoals of the river. Here he threw up a stockade, 400 yards in length, to protect the large boats, of which, with 1,000 men as a reserve, he took the charge in person, and directed his nephew, Mr. Brooke, to assume the conduct of the further advance and the assault of Bukit Lang. Mr. Brooke started on the morning of the 13th of August with 5,000 men under his command, embarked in smaller boats, the different detachments headed by four other Englishmen,—Mr. Charles Grant, Mr. Brereton, Mr. Charles Johnson, and Mr. Cruickshank. For seven days they struggled against the difficulties of the ascent. They had to move up the river for fifty miles with the hostile Serebas Dyaks on their flank, the water shoal, with occasional rapids, obstructed by trees felled across—the banks often high, the country hilly and abrupt, and in many places densely wooded; they had to drag the boats over the shingly bed of the river, making only about eight miles a-day; the crews in the water from seven A.M. to three P.M., under a broiling tropical sun, and at night kept on the alert by small detachments of the enemy. On the eighth morning, having first formed an intrenchment to defend the boats, Mr. Brooke advanced to the attack of Bukit Lang, which, strong by nature, had been rendered still stronger by art. At the top of a steep hill 500 feet high were three strong enclosures of fourteen feet in height, proof against grape or musketry, surrounding the village on the summit; the houses were likewise stockaded; and, so well were the details arranged, that every preparation had been made, by ladders placed over the roofs, to extinguish fire. The 'Kite's-nest' was only to be approached by two narrow pathways, four feet broad, falling away steep on either side. These paths were stuck full of ranjows and spikes, each defended by a fort, and with a gun and muskets pointed along it, and at fifteen yards from the gun's muzzle a ditch had been cut ten feet broad and five feet in depth, filled with all sorts of obstructive and destructive devices. Mr. Brooke moved up his party from their intrenched camp at daylight, and, after surmounting numerous difficulties, he succeeded in getting a single gun in position at eleven o'clock A.M., and opened fire at 400 yards; a smaller party likewise, with another gun, acted as a diversion on the right-hand path. The garrison, which consisted of 800 men, received the besiegers with shouts; the surrounding hills were covered with numerous parties of the enemy, awaiting any failure, and one of the taunts they used was that they would get at the boats and cut off the retreat. The enemy was in the highest spirits; the attacking party not less so, though placed in a

critical position; and thus the action commenced.

"From hill to hill the 4-pounder brass gun was hauled or lifted, and the last position was only fifty yards from the fort. For four hours a brisk fire was kept up from the fort; at four P.M. it gradually began to slacken. The musketry of the besiegers had told upon every corner and crevice, and, the breach being made, Mr. Brooke ordered the final charge as the sun sunk beneath the horizon, at six o'clock. The first man over the ditch was the Panghina (chief warrior); others followed, and in five minutes the fort was taken. About twenty of the pirates fell dead in the assault, and the remainder of the garrison escaped by a ladder-like path to the river below, carrying off their chief, Rentab, severely wounded. Mr. Brooke's force occupied the fort that night. For two days they scoured the surrounding country, and completed their victory. The pirates lost in killed and wounded at least a hundred men. The loss on Mr. Brooke's side consisted of three men killed; ten seriously, and from twenty to thirty slightly wounded.

"On the 24th of August, after destroying the fortress and razing the works, they returned to Sir James Brooke, at Entabban, in triumph. At the other points, also, the expedition had been entirely successful. The Serebas Malays were held firm to their neutrality by the Datu, and, on hearing of the fall of Bukit Lang, joined at once with the successful party; and Mr. Steel's detachment, finding, as had been anticipated, the Kajoulo people had moved up to support Rentab, ravaged their country, and taught them the sharp lesson of feeling what they had so often inflicted on others. On the 25th of August Sir James Brooke returned to Sarawak. Its effect is scarcely to be calculated, as it has demonstrated that the refractory and evil-disposed are not safe in the interior of their own fastnesses, and that their strongest position, fortified with great care and toil, availed them nothing. It will be sure to create an immense sensation along the coast. The Lanoons and Baliuini will soon hear of it, and will know that, unless they leave off their piratical habits, their turn will come next. It is another sledge-hammer blow at the system of piracy, and will be repeated without fail until the peaceful and well-disposed inhabitants may pursue their avocations without danger.

"It remains only to notice what has occurred subsequently. Sir James Brooke had scarcely returned to Sarawak when her Majesty's ship *Lily* came in with the intelligence that the commissioners had arrived at Singapore, and her commander, Captain Saunderson, was directed to offer him a passage across. Before, however, Sir James Brooke left Sarawak, he called all the chief people together, and stated publicly that the commission had arrived, that he was accused of great crimes, and of oppression and misgovernment, that he would endeavour to induce the commission to visit Sarawak, when any person who had aught to urge against him might speak for themselves. He told them publicly that then was the time, if he had wronged any man, to seek redress, and that, whatever might become of him, they should maintain their independence and support the government of their choice."

It is to be hoped that reparation may speedily be made, and that Sir James may be reinstated in the position for which, above all other men, he has shown himself adapted. But if, unhappily, this should not be the case, and Sarawak and its rajah remain not only unrecognised, but treated with contumelious neglect,—if not even a gun-boat bearing the flag of England be left on the coast for the protection of Labuan, and for carrying out the treaty contracted by the Queen with the Sultan of Borneo (by the neglect of which we are forfeiting the rights thereby guaranteed),—then, indeed, not only "a great discouragement," but positive injury is offered to British commerce,* and to the extension of Christian civilisation.

Such treatment would contrast strangely

* In the commissioners' report, pp. 26, 27, the growing commerce with Borneo is thus stated by the Hon. H. B. Devereux:—"The Sarawak trade is now about eight times as great as it was in 1849, the year of Captain Farquhar's attack. In 1847, the exports from Sarawak were, in round numbers, worth 50,000 dollars. He calculated them himself last year, from the trade returns, at 400,000 dollars, exclusive of the gold exported. The imports were about equal with the exports, and increase in the same period in a like proportion. The trade of the whole coast, he adds, has increased, and the difference is strongly marked; and a very great increase in all the rivers. In the Serebas river there was no trade in 1849, and there is now a large trade. Sir James Brooke said that in 1839, 1840, and 1841, trade had totally ceased in Sarawak (a consequence, no doubt, of the rebellion then going on); not a single prow or trading vessel of any sort left the place for Singapore. Sarawak, when he took charge of the government, had a Malay population of about 2,000 souls; it has now 15,000. Samarahan had about 200 Malay inhabitants; it has now 10,000—an increase stated to arise from the security derived

with the sympathising appreciation which has been spontaneously tendered both from France and the United States. I have a document before me from the former state, which, with characteristic vivacity and courtesy, testifies the admiration of the French people for Sir James Brooke, and assures him that he may reckon on their support to carry out his glorious enterprise; while the latter nation has officially expressed its readiness not only to recognise the flag of Sarawak, but to admit that raj to all the advantages of the most favoured government, on the basis of reciprocal advantage—a concession which has been heretofore withheld on behalf of England.

An earnest spirit, influenced not by generous impulse only, but acting habitually from a deep-rooted sense of duty, is little likely to be turned aside from its self-chosen path by internal obstacles or external opposition. Therefore there is reason to trust that Sir James Brooke will persevere in the great work so well begun; that he will bide his time (being still in the prime of life), and await that justice which sooner or later will be awarded by his sovereign, who (whatever be the feelings and opinions of the royal mind) acts solely through the advice of responsible ministers, who, practically, are named by only one house of parliament. Under any circumstances the rajah is sure of the favourable opinion, cordial support, and anxious sympathy of a large body of the good and the wise, scattered throughout the length and breadth of his native land. Should he want funds, they will aid him, as they are actually doing, by founding a bishopric, sending out missionaries, and building churches wherever he may advise; and those who are thus co-operating, will doubtless be ready, when the time or emergency arises, to urge effectually (should he, on public grounds, be willing to accept it) his official reinstatement as a servant of the Crown—an act of justice highly desirable as such, and equally advisable as regards the national interests, which Sir James, if supported, can, under Providence, materially forward.*

from the neighbourhood of Sarawak. The advance of trade which has been thus indicated, is also shown in the returns of the Borneo trade with Singapore. In this, it is true, the traffic with the Dutch possessions also is included, and it is probable that they have shared in the advantages, whatever they may be, which have given rise to this improved state of things. I annex a statement, which was made out at my request in the government office at Singapore, by which it will be seen that the import trade of Singapore with Borneo has increased from 5,86,445 rupees in 1842-'43, to 12,70,346 rupees in 1852-'53; while the export trade has risen from 6,66,049 to 12,04,231 rupees. I subsequently ascertained, that in 1841 the imports were 2,51,909 rupees, and the exports 3,18,948 rupees. The conclusions I have arrived at are, that the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks, by their frequent piratical and murderous expeditions, kept the coast within their range in alarm, and prevented the development of a prosperous commerce; that the punishment inflicted by the *Nemesis* expedition in July, 1849, was followed by a nearly total cessation of their attacks by sea—a result materially aided by the establishment, by Sir James Brooke, of three forts in commanding positions in their rivers, which guard the principal passages by which it was formerly usual for the great fleets of their boats to leave their country. The result of these measures has been the discontinuance of large expeditions, and in fact of all expeditions by sea, except those of a few of the bolder and more venturous spirits, who get to sea with a few war-boats through channels formerly not much in use. The earlier period after July, 1849, was marked by the resort of the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks themselves to Sarawak, with their war-boats converted to the use of trading vessels. This appears to have now been discontinued, and their trade with Sarawak is carried on by other and probably more convenient means, but there is a large trade. Their once united society is now divided. The Malays, who live nearer the sea, and formerly accompanied them on their expeditions, have taken fully to peaceful and commercial pursuits, for which their situation gives them advantages. The Dyaks nearest to the sea have done the same. Those farthest from the sea, and most inaccessible to a hostile force, and to the emotions its presence would cause, still desire to keep up the old practice of head-hunting and piracy. It is still uncertain to which side the victory will ultimately belong. The authority of the Sultan of Borneo and Sir James Brooke is now acknowledged within their rivers, and it seems probable that eventually the more peaceful party will prevail." The commerce in the seas around Borneo is at the present moment largely increasing, and may be almost indefinitely augmented. The value of the traffic may be appreciated from the fact, that Holland has been enabled to maintain her position among European nations chiefly by her Eastern Archipelago trade.

* Since the text was written, a letter from the Earl of Clarendon (her Majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs) to the Right Hon. A. Vernon Smith, president of the India Board, has been made public (see *Times*, London, 14th December, 1855.) This despatch contains a complete confirmation of the opinions above expressed. The following passages refer to the main points at issue:—"Her Majesty's government learn with much satisfaction from these reports (of the Commissioners of Inquiry) that, as there can be no doubt of the piratical habits of the Serebas and Sakarran tribes, the charge which has been made against Sir James Brooke, of having wantonly and without cause attacked these tribes, has fallen completely to the ground. They also learn with satisfaction that the commissioners were of opinion that Sir James Brooke had not traded in the produce of the territory under his control in any manner incompatible with his duties as consul-general and commissioner. * * * The inquiry, which

The following statement regarding the present condition of Sarawak, the chief facts of which are furnished by an eye-witness, forms a satisfactory conclusion to the preceding notice:—Tranquillity reigns throughout. Crime is infrequent; and a population (including Samarahan) of not less than 60,000 individuals, is ruled by a dozen European and twenty-five native policemen. The laws are mild, but promptly and impartially administered; and the hitherto lawless Malay,—the wild untutored Dyak, and the crafty Chinese trader, now meet in the court of justice, and appeal with confidence to its tribunal.

Kuchin, the capital, or rather that portion of it inhabited by the Chinese, who number about 1,500, has been within the last two years entirely rebuilt; handsome tiled houses have taken the place of the leaf huts, and long streets of well-furnished shops attest the prosperity of the place. In the evening may be seen crowding the thoroughfares the most motley and picturesque population in the world;—the stately Arab merchant, with his long robes of scarlet or white; the wild Dyak from Serebas or Sakarran, bringing his pigs and rice to market; the Chinaman, and the noisy cunning "Kling" pedlars of India. It is remarkable that this same Kuchin, which but fifteen years ago was a small village, now takes rank as by far the finest town in the island of Borneo. It possesses a church, two mosques, a court-house, an excellent market, and several manufactories. The principal exports of Sarawak are antimony ore, sago, gutta-percha, rattans, edible birds'-nests, wax, &c., &c. The exports and imports may be roughly stated at about one million of Spanish dollars in amount. Valuable seams of coal have been recently discovered at Si Munjan, on the Sadong river, and cannot fail to become useful for the promotion of trade. Specimens of iron ore are also on their way home. In fact, everything tends to show that the resources of Sarawak, rightly developed, must render the place of considerable importance.

Bishop M'Dougal resides at Kuchin, as also an assistant chaplain and schoolmaster: attached to the mission is a training school of Chinese and Malay boys, whose progress in education has been most satisfactory. The system pursued is to separate them as much as possible from the evil influence of their own countrymen,—to give them a good practical Christian education, in which it is hoped they will be so guarded as to withstand the temptation to return to the habits of their fathers when emancipated from school. The convents at Kuchin are chiefly Chinese; and little doubt is entertained of large numbers joining the congregations. These Chinese emigrants, having nothing worthy the name of a religion of their own, attend the lectures of the missionaries in great numbers: they listen with attention, curiosity, and respect; and these are hopeful signs. Two branch missions have been established,—one at Linga, among the Balow tribe of Dyaks, under Mr. Chambers, whose judicious kindness has endeared him to the Dyaks, who are being baptized in considerable numbers, and promise soon to fill the little mission church recently erected; the other under Mr. Gomes, in the Lundee river. This gentleman, a native of Ceylon, and educated in Calcutta, has succeeded in inducing the Dyak children to attend his school, and he pronounces them the quickest learners of all the races he has met with. Altogether, the existing state of things proves that the Bishop of Calcutta, in the letter already largely quoted from,* was justified in pronouncing the Borneo mission the most promising on the face of the earth; and, with the Divine blessing, the present generation may yet hope to prove practically the truth of the venerable prelate's emphatic declaration—"That what the gospel has done for England, it can do for Borneo."

has ended in the complete exculpation of Sir James Brooke from the charges made against him, has, at the same time, brought to light abundant evidence of the beneficial results of his administration of the affairs of Sarawak, which are exhibited by the establishment of confidence and the increase of trade, and are such as to deserve the approbation of her Majesty's government. As it may be presumed that the fact of the long-pending inquiry which has taken place can hardly have failed to produce among native communities an impression unfavourable to Sir James Brooke, it is desirable that in order to remove such impression all fit means should be taken to cause the result of the inquiry to be fully and extensively known."—(Foreign Office, 6th Aug., 1855.)

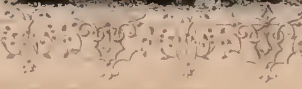
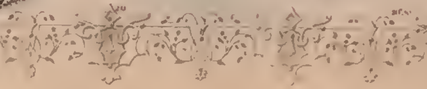
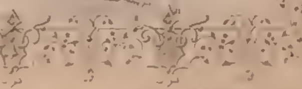
* *See* Note to page 82.

# BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.







# MEDITERRANEAN POSSESSIONS.

## SECTION VIII.—GIBRALTAR.

The promontory or peninsula of Gibraltar, three miles long and seven in circumference, forms the south-west angle of the continent of Europe,* and is situated in the Spanish province of Andalusia. The southern extremity lies in 36° 2′ N. lat., and 5° 15′ W. long.

The earliest accounts of this singular rock are lost in obscurity, or veiled in the fictions of mythology. The Greeks gave, it is thought, the term Calpe, Καλπη (Urna) to the mountain, by reason of its projecting into the sea from the mainland, like a bucket; and Calpe, together with the neighbouring Mons Abyla, on the opposite African coast, received the appellation of the "Pillars" of Hercules,—either in memory of certain pillars supposed to have been erected somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Straits, or because, according to popular tradition, Calpe and Abyla owed their formation to an exertion of the supernatural strength of the Sampson of fable.

Whether Phœnician navigators, Carthaginian merchants, or Roman conquerors ever settled on "the Rock," is not on record; but it seems probable that the natural strength of the position was first noticed in the beginning of the eighth century, when the Saracens or Moors invaded and made themselves masters of Spain. The particulars of this extraordinary subjugation would be out of place in a work of this nature; suffice it to say, that Tarif ebn Zarca, a general under the Moorish sovereign or Caliph Al Walid, landed A.D. 712, on the sandy isthmus between Mons Calpe and the continent, with an army of 12,000 men, for the conquest of Spain, and gave orders for the erection of a strong castle on the face of the mountain, for the purpose of keeping up his communication with Africa: the remains of this work yet exist, though its completion bears the date A.D. 725. From this period Mons Calpe took the name of *Gibel Tarif* (hence Gibraltar), or Mountain of Tarif, in compliment to the victorious Saracen general, who, leaving a garrison there, marched into the country, surprised Heraclea and other towns, and by a decisive victory over the raw levies of the profligate Roderic, king of the Goths (gained near Xeres, in Andalusia), subverted a monarchy which had then existed 300 years.

During the Moorish occupation of the Spanish territory, Gibraltar increased in importance, but probably did not attain any considerable strength, as it was captured from the Moors by a small detachment of troops under Ferdinand, King of Castile, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. The fortress remained in the possession of the Spaniards until A.D. 1333, when Abomelique, son to the Emperor of Fez, who had been dispatched to the assistance of the Moorish king of Granada, laid siege to Gibraltar, which after five months' attack surrendered to the Africans.

Alonzo XI., an ambitious and warlike prince, then on the throne of Castile, attempted the recapture of this important station five days after its reoccupation by the Moors; but Mahomet, King of Granada, joining Abomelique's forces, hemmed in the assailants and compelled them to raise the siege. In the beginning of 1349, Alonzo again attempted the conquest of Gibraltar, but his army was forced to retire on the death of the Castilian monarch, 24th March 1350. Until A.D. 1410, the descendants of Abomelique continued in quiet possession of Gibraltar, when Jusaf III., King of Granada, availing himself of intestine feuds in the garrison, took possession thereof; but the Granadian Alcaide (or governor) was driven out by a revolt of the people in the ensuing year, and the Emperor of Morocco being solicited by the inhabitants to take the fortress under his protection, sent his brother Sayd to their relief, with 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot. The King of Granada resolved, however, to repossess himself of Gibraltar, and appeared before it in 1411, with a large fleet and army, and the Morocco troops, after suffering great hardships, were obliged to submit to the overwhelming strength of their enemy.

In 1435, Henry de Guzman, Count de Niebla, lost his life in an attack on Gibraltar. The son of this unfortunate nobleman (John de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia) was,

* Europa Point, the extremity of Gibraltar, is sometimes erroneously termed the southernmost part of Europe; but Cabrita is two, and Tarifa five miles further to the southward.

however, more successful in 1462, being instrumental in the final capture of Gibraltar from the Moors, who had held it, with few interruptions, for 748 years. Henry IV. of Castile and Leon was so rejoiced at the conquest, that he added Gibraltar to his royal titles,* and gave it for arms *Gules*—a castle with a key pendent to the gate, *or*, (alluding to its being the key to the Mediterranean); which heraldic distinction has been continued down to the present day.

In 1502, during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, Gibraltar was annexed to the Crown of Spain, instead of remaining under the control of the Duke of Medina Sidonia; but its strength could not have been very great, as we find that, in 1540, it was surprised and pillaged by Piali Hamet, one of Barbarossa's captains. During the reign, however, of Charles V., the fortifications were modernised; and the additions made by Daniel Speekel, the imperial engineer, were thought to render it impregnable.

While under the government of Spain, Gibraltar was a place upon which several kings had bestowed special privileges, on account of its presenting the first point of attack to the Moors of Barbary. Among other concessions granted by Ferdinand IV. and Alonzo XI., it was declared a place of refuge for all malefactors, its protective influence extending over them not only while there, but a residence of a year conferring the same immunity elsewhere. The sanctuary was not, however, available to traitors, to breakers of a treaty made by the king, nor to ravishers of a man's wife; nor to persons committing the above-mentioned crimes within the territory.

Little further is known of Gibraltar until the year 1704, when Sir George Rooke, who had been sent into the Mediterranean with a large fleet to assist Charles, Archduke of Austria, in recovering the Crown of Spain, finding nothing of importance to be done, called a council of war on the 17th of July, 1704, near Tetuan. After several schemes had been proposed (such as a second attack on Cadiz) and rejected, it was resolved to attempt the conquest of Gibraltar. On the 21st of July, the fleet arrived in the bay; 1,800 English and Dutch were landed on the isthmus, under the command of the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt; the governor was summoned to surrender, and on his refusal, a cannonade was opened on the town by the ships, under the orders of Admirals Byng and Vanderdussen. In five or six hours the enemy were driven from their guns, especially from the New Molehead, which the admiral wishing to possess himself of, ordered Captain Whitaker, with the armed boats, ashore; Captains Hicks and Jumper, however, first pushed to land in their pinnaces, upon which the Spaniards blew up the fortifications, killing two lieutenants and forty men, and wounding sixty others. Notwithstanding this slaughter, the British resolutely held their ground, and on being joined by Captain Whitaker, advanced and took possession of a small bastion, half-way between the Mole and the town. The governor (the Marquis de Salines) being again summoned, thought it prudent to capitulate; for although the works were strong, mounting a hundred pieces of cannon, well appointed with ammunition and stores, the garrison consisted of only 150 men, exclusive of the inhabitants: hostages were therefore exchanged; and on the 24th of July, 1704, the Prince of Hesse took possession of the gates of Gibraltar, after a loss on the side of the British,—*killed*, two lieutenants, one master, and fifty-seven sailors; *wounded*, one captain, seven lieutenants, one boatswain, and 207 sailors.

Gibraltar has ever since continued in the hands of the English; not, however, without frequent attempts to wrest from them the envied prize. The courts of Madrid and Paris resolved on immediately attempting its recapture, and the Marquis de Villadarias, a Spanish grandee, assisted by six battalions of French troops, opened his trenches against the fortress on the 11th of October, 1704, and soon effected several breaches in the outworks. Sir John Leake, who had been left at Lisbon with a fleet for the succour of the garrison in case of need, threw into Gibraltar six months' provisions and ammunition, detaching on shore at the same time a body of 500 sailors, to assist in repairing the breaches caused by the enemy's fire. The energy of the besiegers amounted to desperation. Though the British squadron lay before the town, a scheme was formed for surprising the garrison; and, on the 31st of October, 500 volunteers took the sacrament, and departed with a determination never to return until they had retaken Gibraltar. A goatherd conducted this forlorn hope to the side of the rock near Cave Guard, and on the first night they lodged themselves unperceived in St. Michael's Cave; on the succeeding evening they scaled Charles V.'s wall, surprised and

* Gibraltar had previously been the chief city in the kingdom of Abomelique.

massacred the guard at Middle Hill, and several hundred of the party who had been ordered to sustain them, mounted from below. A strong detachment of British grenadiers marched immediately from the town, and attacked the invaders with such overwhelming vehemence, that 150 of the gallant Spaniards were killed on the rocks or driven over the precipices, and a colonel, with thirty officers, together with the remainder of the party, were taken prisoners; the French auxiliaries, who were to have supported them from below, having left them to their fate.

The combined forces continued the siege with great vigour, and Sir John Leake threw 2,000 additional men, with a proportionate quantity of ammunition and provisions, into the garrison; the Spanish general was also strengthened with a considerable body of infantry; and on the 11th and 12th of January, 1705, two attacks were made in the endeavour to carry the fortress, by storming a breach which had been effected in a round tower: they were, however, after some difficulty, both repulsed, with heavy loss in killed and wounded on either side.

With the new year the French and Spaniards renewed their preparations for attack; and the English ministry, aware of the importance of Gibraltar, ordered out reinforcements under Sir Thomas Dilkes and Sir John Hardy, to join Admiral Sir John Leake at Lisbon. The fleet, consisting of twenty-eight English, four Dutch, and eight Portuguese men-of-war, having on board two battalions, sailed on the 6th of March,—captured three French ships of the line, drove ashore and burnt the admiral's and another ship, and so strengthened the garrison, that Marshal Tesse, a Frenchman, who had succeeded the Spanish marquis, withdrew his troops from the trenches, and contented himself with forming a blockade to prevent the English from ravaging the country.

The siege was now considered at an end. During its continuance, the combined forces of France and Spain were diminished, by casualties and sickness, by at least 10,000; while the British loss did not exceed 400 men. By a separate treaty concluded with Spain on the 13th of July, 1713, the following terms were agreed on:—

"The Catholic King does hereby, for himself, his heirs and successors, yield to the Crown of Great Britain the full and entire property of the town and castles of Gibraltar, together with the port, fortification, and forts thereunto belonging; and he gives up the said property to be held and enjoyed absolutely with all manner of right for ever, without any exception or impediment whatsoever; but that abuses and frauds may be avoided by importing any kind of goods, the Catholic King wills, and means it to be understood, that the above-named property be yielded to Great Britain without any territorial jurisdiction, and without any open communications by land with the country round about: yet whereas the communication by sea with the coast of Spain may not at all times be safe or open, and thereby it may happen that the garrison and other inhabitants of Gibraltar may be brought to great straits; and as it is the intention of the Catholic King only that fraudulent importations of goods should, as is above said, be hindered by any inland communication, it is therefore provided, that in such cases it may be lawful to purchase for ready money in the neighbouring territories of Spain, provisions and other things necessary for the use of the garrison and inhabitants, and the ships lying in the harbour; and her Britannic Majesty, at the request of the Catholic King, does consent and agree that no leave shall be given, under any pretence, either for Jews or Moors to reside or have any dwellings in the said town of Gibraltar; and that no refuge shall be allowed to any Moorish ships of war in the harbour of the town, whereby the communications between Spain and Ceuta may be obstructed, or the coasts of Spain be infested by the incursions of the Moors: her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, does further promise, that the free exercise of their religion shall be indulged to the Roman catholic inhabitants of the town; and in case it shall seem meet to the Crown of Great Britain to alienate therefrom the property of the said town of Gibraltar, that the preference of having the same shall always be given to the Crown of Spain."

Notwithstanding this formal cession, the Spaniards did not abandon their hopes of repossessing themselves of the "Rock." In 1720, the Marquis of Leda collected a formidable force, under pretence of relieving Ceuta, a Spanish fortress in Barbary, but in reality with the intention of surprising Gibraltar, then in a weak and almost defenceless state. The British ministry had timely notice of the enemy's intention. Colonel Kane, governor of Minorca, was immediately ordered to embark with part of his garrison (500 men) for Gibraltar; and such auxiliaries, together with the spirited conduct of the British commodore, induced the Spanish marquis to sail for Ceuta. Gibraltar remained unmolested until 1727, when the Count de las Torres, commander of the Spanish forces, collected 20,000 men, and advanced against the citadel. From February to June, the Spaniards prosecuted the siege with great vigour and bravery; but the garrison being reinforced from England, and the sea-way kept open, supplies were abundantly poured in, until, on the 12th of June, the news of preliminaries being signed for a general peace reached the belligerents, who thereupon concluded an armistice. During the siege

the garrison lost about 300 killed and wounded, and 70 cannon and 30 mortars burst: the Spanish casualties were estimated at 3,000 men. On the close of the contest the Spaniards erected lines and forts across the isthmus, about a mile from the garrison, thus effectually preventing any communication with the country, and by means of the western fort, called St. Philip's, took command of the best anchorage on the side of the bay next the garrison.

What the Spaniards could not obtain by force of arms, they endeavoured to gain by negotiation. The accession of Philip V. of Spain to the quadruple alliance of 1718, being an object which the courts of Great Britain and France had much at heart, the regent of France undertook, with the view of propitiating Philip, to prevail upon George I. to listen to a proposition for restoring Gibraltar to Spain,—which proposition the king did not reject, but only declined to entertain without the concurrence of the British parliament. Upon this point, private assurances of a more explicit nature were, it is said, made; it is even asserted that the regent of France pledged his word to Philip that that important fortress should be surrendered. After the Spanish monarch had publicly acceded to the quadruple alliance, he insisted that he had done so upon condition that Gibraltar should be restored to him, and that he had formally declared to the regent that such was the consideration (the *sine qua non*) upon which he had entered into the views of the allies. His remonstrances, just or unjust, being unheeded, he refused to fulfil various obligations which he had contracted towards Great Britain, and especially declined to issue a license authorising the trade of the South Sea Company with South America.

For the purpose of overcoming these difficulties, King George addressed a letter to Philip on the 21st of June, 1721, in which it was stated—"Puisque parl a confiance que votre Majesté me temoigne je puis regarder les traités qui ont été en question entre nous comme rétablis et qu'en conformité les pièces necessaires au commerce de mes sujets auront été extradées, je ne balance plus à assurer votre Majesté de ma promptitude à la satisfaire par rapport à sa demande touchant la restitution de Gibraltar, lui promettant de me servir des premières occasions pour regler cet article, du consentement de mon parlement."

That letter of King George led to a series of earnest representations from Philip, which lasted until the year 1725, when the British minister at Madrid was cautioned "not to go on any further in proposals, or discourse of equivalents or expedients for the delivery of Gibraltar. No minister would have the boldness to advise such a kind of equivalent. The king had always told his Catholic Majesty that he could do nothing as to Gibraltar, without the concurrence of parliament. It would not be alienated without the consent of parliament. The behaviour of the Spanish court has been such that it is impossible they themselves can think his Majesty any longer under the least obligation of laying this demand before parliament." The fact probably is, that George I. would have given up Gibraltar to the Spaniards, but for the strong expression of public feeling in opposition to the measure.

Nothing deserving of note occurred for several years, until, in 1760, a mutiny was projected by two British regiments, who being a long time stationed on the "Rock," and seeing little prospect of being relieved, formed a plot to surprise and massacre their officers; the conspirators, however, in number 730, had their schemes discovered by means of a quarrel in a wine-house: one man was executed, ten condemned, and tranquillity restored. When hostilities commenced in 1762, the Spaniards made no effort for the conquest of Gibraltar; but the contest between Great Britain and her North American colonies, in 1777, and the subsequent hostilities between England and France, seemed to afford a favourable opportunity to Spain, who, on the 16th June, 1779, presented a hostile manifesto to the court of London, espousing the part of France. The main object of the court of Madrid was evidently the seizure of Gibraltar; and Spain, in common with the other continental powers, thought the loss of the North American colonies must strike such a blow at the maritime strength of England, as would completely overwhelm her—forgetting that she still possessed the Canadas and the West Indies, and that her eastern possessions were rapidly augmenting. On the 21st June, 1779, the communication between Spain and Gibraltar was closed by orders from Madrid; and even before any reply was given by the British ministry to proposals for a pacification (which, however, it was well known would be rejected), overtures had been privately made to the Emperor of Morocco to farm

his ports of Tetuan, Tangier, and Laroche, in order to cut off Gibraltar from its domestic market and principal source of supply.

The strength of the garrison, when this memorable siege commenced, was as follows:*—General G. A. Elliott, governor; Lieutenant-general R. Boyd, lieutenant-governor; Major-general de la Motte, commanding the Hanoverian brigade.

| Regiments. | Officers. | Staff. | Sergeants | Drummers. | Rank & File. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Artillery . . . . | 25 | — | 17 | 15 | 428 |
| 12th regiment . . | 26 | 3 | 29 | 22 | 506 |
| 39th ditto . . . | 25 | 4 | 29 | 22 | 506 |
| 56th ditto . . . | 23 | 4 | 30 | 22 | 508 |
| 58th ditto . . . | 25 | 3 | 29 | 22 | 526 |
| 72d ditto, or R.M.V. | 29 | 4 | 47 | 22 | 944 |
| Hanoverians:— | | | | | |
| Hardenbergs . . | 16 | 13 | 42 | 14 | 367 |
| Reden's . . . . | 15 | 12 | 42 | 14 | 361 |
| De la Motte's . . | 17 | 16 | 42 | 14 | 367 |
| Engineers, &c. . . | 8 | — | 6 | 2 | 106 |
| Total . . . | 209 | 59 | 313 | 169 | 4,632 |

Making an army of 5,382 men.

The details of this protracted but most interesting warfare are given in small type to economise space.

The Spaniards, after cutting off the communication between the fortress and the mainland, blockaded the port with a superior naval force; not, however, with such strictness as to prevent several foreign flags, laden with provisions, from evading the vigilance of the enemy's cruisers. During the remainder of the year, viz., from June to December, 1779, nothing further was done by the Spaniards than strengthening their lines, and pushing forward with unceasing vigilance the extensive works with which they were preparing to bombard the fortress; indeed, famine began to erect its gaunt and horrid form: one woman died of want, many were so enfeebled that it was not without great care they recovered; and thistles, dandelions, wild leeks, &c., were for some time the daily nourishment of numbers.†

On the 12th January, 1780, the Spaniards fired ten shots at the fortress from Fort St. Philip, several of which came into the town: the first person struck during the siege happened to be a woman. On the 17th January, Admiral Sir George Bridges Rodney arrived from England, with a fleet of twenty-one sail of the line, and a large convoy of merchantmen, for the relief of the garrison—a circumstance which, of course, diffused general joy, which was not a little increased from the fact of a complete victory having been gained by the British over the Spanish admiral, whose vessel, together with three others of his squadron, were taken, one driven ashore, another blown up during the engagement, and the rest dispersed.

It was in this fleet that Prince William Henry visited Gibraltar, and in contributing towards its relief, made his first appearance as a defender of that throne which it pleased Providence to permit him to adorn. His royal highness served as a midshipman under Admiral Digby, in the *Prince George;* and on one occasion in particular a circumstance occurred which Englishmen may be proud of. The Spanish admiral, Don Juan Langara (then a prisoner aboard the British fleet), visiting Admiral Digby one morning, was, of course, introduced to his royal highness. During the conference between the admirals, Prince William Henry quitted the cabin; and when it was intimated that Don Juan wished to retire, his royal highness appeared as the midshipman on duty, and respectfully informed the admiral that the boat was manned. The Spaniard could not contemplate the son of England's monarch acting as a petty officer unmoved, and, turning to Admiral Digby and his suite, he exclaimed—"*Well does Great Britain merit the empire of the sea, when the humblest stations in her navy are occupied by princes of the blood!*" Sir George Rodney having recruited the garrison with supplies, added to its strength the second battalion of the 73rd regiment (1,000 strong), removed all useless mouths, and left Gibraltar to make its own defence. Nothing of moment occurred from January to June, excepting that the scurvy broke out in the garrison, disabling many hands; and the enemy attempted to destroy the few ships we had in the New Mole, by means of fireships, which was frustrated by the coolness and intrepidity of our seamen, who grappled with the floating masses of fire, and towed them clear of the anchorage under the walls, where, when broken up, they proved valuable to the besieged. The enemy continued, to the close of the year 1780, extending the different branches of their approaches, maintaining a rigorous blockade rather than using any active annoyances; and through the neglect, in England, of the ministry, in refusing a trifling aid to the Emperor of Morocco, the Spaniards succeeded in getting temporary possession of the Barbary ports, and by the removal of our consul, entirely cut off the garrison from those supplies which had heretofore proved of the utmost value.

In April, 1781, the distress of the garrison became very great, and starvation again appeared, a point which it was the grand object of the Spaniards to attain: but on the 12th, one hundred merchant vessels entered the bay, under convoy of Admiral Darby and several line-of-battle ships. The enemy, on perceiving this relief to the besieged, made instant preparations for bombarding the fortress, and as the van of the convoy came to anchor off the New Mole and Rosia Bay, the Spaniards opened a tremendous cannonade upon Gibraltar from 114 pieces of artillery, including fifty 13-inch mortars. The bombardment was continued on the 13th; several soldiers were killed and wounded in their quarters, and Ensign

* I am indebted to the late Colonel Drinkwater for the particulars given in the text. The gallant officer's *History of the late Siege* has helped to render it an imperishable monument of British endurance and valour.

† During the extreme scarcity, an ingenious mode of hatching chickens was practised by the Hanoverians. The eggs were placed with some cotton, wool, or other warm substance, in a tin case of such construction as to be heated either by a lamp or hot water; and, by proper attention to the needful temperature, chickens were commonly hatched in the usual time of a hen's sitting. A *capon* was then taught to rear them: the feathers were plucked from the breast, which was then scoured with a bunch of nettles, and the bird placed upon the young hatch, whose downy warmth afforded such comfort to the bare and smarting parts, that this strange nurse, from that period, is said to have reared them up with a degree of care equalling that bestowed by a hen.

Martin wounded with splinters of stones. On the 14th, the effects of the continued bombardment were felt in the destruction of some wine-houses, which was the signal for a license to the soldiery, who were betrayed into most lamentable irregularities; some died of immediate intoxication, and several were with difficulty recovered by oils and tobacco-water; great quantities of liquor and goods were wantonly destroyed in revenge for the high prices which the Jews and other hucksters had been charging for provisions, which they had privately concealed in abundance; and among other instances of caprice and extravagance, there was one of roasting a pig at a fire made entirely of *cinnamon:* the timely adoption, however, of rigorous measures put an end to such scenes.

On the 15th April, the bombardment was continued with great vivacity. Not content with discharging their ordnance regularly, the Spaniards saluted the fortress almost every instant with a volley of eight or ten cannon, besides mortars; and their gun-boats kept up a smart attack on the shipping. The British batteries remained silent, and the guns against which the attacks of the enemy were principally directed were drawn behind the merlons to secure them against the effects of the enemy's shot. In a few days Gibraltar began to exhibit the results of this desperate bombardment, but every possible effort was made for the immediate reparation of the damage caused thereby.

So brisk was the Spanish fire on the 21st April, that forty-two rounds were numbered in two minutes; the only cessation was at mid-day, when the troops retired to enjoy the siesta, so common and so useful in a warm climate. In the beginning of May, the enemy's fire seldom exceeded a thousand rounds in the twenty-four hours, and their batteries were much shaken by the firing; but the mortar and gun-boats gathering fresh courage, advanced so near as to throw several shells into the garrison with disastrous effect. Towards the close of the month the cannonade considerably abated, and in the beginning of June decreased to about 500 rounds in the twenty-four hours. The bombardment during June scarcely exceeded 450 rounds in the twenty-four hours; yet the shot, though fired at so great a distance, frequently pierced seven solid feet of sand-bag work; and the British batteries were again greatly damaged. Throughout July the Spanish fire slackened, but much injury was done by their gun-boats. In August the bombardment diminished to three shells in the twenty-four hours; but the blockade was rigorously enforced, and advances pushed forward, with casks covered by fascines and sand, in front. In September, the firing from the garrison was increased, exceeding sometimes 700 rounds in the twenty-four hours, to which the enemy frequently returned 800 or upwards; and the British became so inured to danger as to incautiously expose themselves, scarcely deigning even to notice an unexploded shell at their feet: the result of this foolhardiness being the loss of several soldiers. The fire slackened during October, excepting on the 20th, when a brisk attack was kept up on a new battery erected about 1,200 yards from the grand battery. Our artillery fired 1,596 shot, 530 shells, ten carcasses, and two light balls; and the enemy returned 1,012 shot, and 302 shells. The British loss was somewhat considerable; that of the foe was supposed to have been very great. In November the Spaniards added to their parallels on the west, exhibiting a perfect and formidable appearance, which General Elliott saw, if allowed to go on, would prove most destructive to the garrison: he therefore formed the daring project of making a sortie for the destruction of these works; and his design, happily, was unsuspected by the enemy. At midnight, on the 26th November, 1781, nearly 2,000 men assembled on the Red Sands in three columns, and when the moon had nearly finished her nightly course, began their desperate march on the Spanish lines: these were speedily reached, the enemy's fire received, the parapets gallantly mounted, and the ardour of the assailants being irresistible, the enemy gave way on every side, abandoning in an instant, and with the utmost precipitation, those works which had cost them so much expense, and so many months labour to perfect. A party of sailors aided the artillery in the work of destruction; the flames spread with astonishing rapidity; a column of fire and smoke rolled from the works, illuminating the surrounding country; and the Spaniards, whether from astonishment or fear, made no effort to save the lines, although only within a few hundred yards of their batteries, mounting 135 pieces of heavy artillery, which, however, kept up a useless fire on the fortress. In one hour the object of the sally was completed, trains were laid to the magazines, and, as the rear of the British re-entered the garrison, the principal Spanish store blew up with a tremendous explosion, throwing up vast masses of timber, which added to the general conflagration. The loss incurred in performing this feat was only four privates killed, a lieutenant and twenty-four men wounded, and one missing. The history of the British army, pregnant as it is with gallant deeds, presents none more daring or better planned than the one just detailed, in which not even a musket, working tool, or any needful implement was left behind. For several days the Spaniards seemed unable to rally from their late disgrace: their batteries continued in flames, which they made no attempt to extinguish. In the beginning of December they roused from their apathy, and upwards of a thousand men set to work, endeavouring to reconstruct the parallels.

The bombardment had now continued from April 12th to the close of the year 1781. The British loss, during this period, was as follows:—

| | Officers. | Sergts. | Drumrs. | Rank & File. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Killed and died of wounds . . . | 3 | 10 | 1 | 108 | 122 |
| Disabled . . . | 2 | 7 | 1 | 36 | 46 |
| Wounded . . . | 13 | 22 | 6 | 359 | 400 |

So well were the enemy's guns directed, that *one* shot coming through the capped embrasures on the Princess Amelia's battery (Willis's), took *seven* legs off *four* men of the 72nd and 73rd regiments, and wounded a fifth. When brisk firing was going on, two boys, gifted with remarkably sharp eyes, were usually stationed with any large party, to inform the men when the Spaniards' fire was directed towards them: their sight was so keen as to see the enemy's shot almost the instant it quitted the gun; and in the instance above-mentioned, one of these boys had been reproving the men for not attending to his warnings, and had just turned his head when he observed the fatal shot coming, and instantly called out to his companions to take care; but unhappily without avail. From January to May, 1782, little occurred to diversify the monotonous course of the siege; and in the early part of May, twenty-four hours elapsed, in which, for the first time during thirteen months, there had been

a cessation of firing. During this period the enemy were making preparations for a grand *floating* battery of fire-proof ships, with which they resolved to aid a powerful bombardment from the land side: meanwhile the firing continued at intervals, and often produced destructive effects. In July, the Duke de Crillon assumed the command of the siege, and the combined army was understood to amount to forty-five battalions of infantry: the floating battery, which was intended to annihilate Gibraltar, was said to consist of ten ships constructed for the occasion, fortified six or seven feet thick on the larboard side with green timber, bolted with iron, cork, junk, and raw hides—gun-proof on the top, with a descent for the shells to glide off: they were to be moored within half a gun-shot of the walls with iron chains; and large boats with mantlets, to let down with hinges, were to be ready for the disembarkation of 40,000 disciplined troops, headed by the Count d'Artois, brother to the King of France, and covered by a squadron of men-of-war, bombs, ketches, and gun-boats. In August, 10,000 men were at work on the Spanish lines, within 800 yards of Gibraltar: the parallel included each shore of the isthmus, with a stupendous communication or outwork in front, the epaulment entirely raised with sand-bags, from ten to twelve feet high, with a proportionate thickness. The *Spanish Gazette* described the parallel as of 230 toises (a toise = 1 fathom = 6 feet) in length, and composed of 1,600,000 sand-bags.

The British troops witnessed unappalled these determined efforts for their destruction: the strength of the garrison, with the marine brigade (including officers), was but 7,500 men, of whom 400 were in the hospital; yet with this comparative handful, the assaults of the enemy were quietly provided against. As an indication of the chivalrous spirit in which the desperate contest was carried on, both by the Spaniards and the British, the following correspondence between the Duke de Crillon and General Elliott, two months after the former took the command of the Spanish and French forces, may be cited:—

"*Camp of Buena-Vista*, 19*th August*, 1782.

"Sir,—His royal highness Count d'Artois, who has received permission from the king, his brother, to assist at the siege as a volunteer in the combined army, of which their most Christian and Catholic Majesties have honoured me with the command, arrived in this camp the 15th inst. This young prince has been pleased, in passing through Madrid, to take charge of some letters which had been sent to that capital from this place, and which are addressed to persons belonging to your garrison: his royal highness has desired me to transmit them to you, and that to this mark of his goodness and attention I should add the strongest expressions of esteem for your person and character. I feel the greatest pleasure in conveying this mark of condescension from this august prince, as it furnishes me with a pretext, which I have been anxiously looking for these two months that I have been in camp, to assure you of the high esteem I have conceived for your excellency, of the sincere desire I feel of deserving yours, and of the pleasure with which I look forward to becoming your friend, after I shall have learned to render myself worthy of the honour, by facing you as an enemy. His highness the Duke de Bourbon, who arrived here twenty-four hours after the Count d'Artois, desires also that I should assure you of his particular esteem. Permit me, sir, to offer a few trifles for your table, of which I am sure you must stand in need, as I know you live entirely on vegetables: I should be glad to know what kind you like best. I shall add some game for the gentlemen of your household, and also ice, which I presume will not be disagreeable in the excessive heat of this climate at this season of the year. I hope you will be obliging enough to accept the small portion which I send with this letter.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"B. B. Duc de Crillon.

"To his Excellency General Elliott."

"*Gibraltar, August* 20*th*, 1782.

"Sir,—I find myself highly honoured by your obliging letter of yesterday, in which your excellency was so kind as to inform me of the arrival in your camp of his royal highness the Count d'Artois, and the Duke de Bourbon, to serve as volunteers at the siege. These princes have shown their judgment in making choice of a master in the art of war, whose abilities cannot fail to form great warriors. I am overpowered with the condescension of his royal highness in suffering some letters for persons in this town to be conveyed from Madrid in his carriages. I flatter myself that your excellency will give my most profound respect to his royal highness and to the Duke de Bourbon, for the expressions of esteem with which they have been pleased to honour so insignificant a person as I am. I return a thousand thanks to your excellency for your handsome present of fruits, vegetables, and game. You will excuse me, however, I trust, when I assure you, that in accepting your present I have broken through a resolution to which I had faithfully adhered since the beginning of the war; and that was, never to receive or procure, by any means whatever, any provisions or other commodity for my own private use: so that, without any preference, everything is sold publicly here; and the private soldier, if he has money, can become a purchaser as well as the governor. I confess, I make it a point of honour to partake both of plenty and scarcity in common with the lowest of my brave fellow-soldiers. This furnishes me with an excuse for the liberty I now take of entreating your excellency not to heap any more favours on me of this kind, as in future I cannot convert your presents to my own private use. Indeed, to be plain with your excellency, though vegetables at this season are scarce with us, every man has got a quantity proportioned to the labour which he has bestowed in raising them. The English are naturally fond of gardening and cultivation; and here we find our amusement in it during the intervals of rest from public duty. The promise which the Duke de Crillon makes, of honouring me in proper time and place with his friendship, lays me under infinite obligations. The interest of our sovereigns being once solidly settled, I shall with eagerness embrace the first opportunity to avail myself of so precious a treasure.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"G. A. Elliott.

"To his Excellency the Duc de Crillon, &c., &c."

The firing was very brisk in the beginning of September: that of the British batteries set fire repeatedly to the hostile lines; while so well were their guns served, that Major Martin, of the artillery, had the cock of his hat shot off close to the crown by a 26-pounder; the major, however, experienced no other injury than being stunned by the wind of the shot. On the morning of the 8th September, an almost simultaneous attack was made on all sides; *nine* line-of-battle ships passed along the garrison, discharging several broadsides at the works; fifteen gun and mortar-boats approached the town, and 170 pieces of ordnance, all of large calibre, opened in one tremendous fire from the Spanish lines. The enemy kept up the cannonade throughout the following day, resumed it at gun-fire on the 10th, and by seven A.M. had discharged (including the expenditure on the 8th) 5,527 shots, and 2,302 shells, exclusive of the number fired by the men-of-war and mortar-boats.

The bombardment continued at the rate of 4,000 shots in the twenty-four hours, when, on the morning of the 12th September, the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to seven three-deckers, thirty-one ships of two decks, three frigates, and a number of xebecks, bomb-ketches, and hospital ships, entered the bay, and in the afternoon were all at anchor between the Orange Grove and Algesiras. It needed stout hearts to remain undaunted before this formidable armament; forty-seven sail of the line, ten battering ships (perfect in design, and deemed invincible, carrying 212 guns), many frigates, xebecks, bomb-ketches, cutters, gun and mortar-boats, and disembarking craft, were then assembled in Gibraltar Bay; on the land side there were stupendous batteries and works, mounting 200 pieces of heavy ordnance, protected by an army of 40,000 men, commanded by a victorious and active general, in the immediate presence of two princes of the blood-royal of France, and many of the highest nobility of both countries; the *coup d'œil* affording a military spectacle such as the annals of war had perhaps never before, and (excepting the siege of Sebastopol) never since, presented. The Spaniards and French deemed success certain; the little band of British hoped for the best; and as danger and death became more imminent, their courage and presence of mind grew firmer also.

The batteries from the Spanish lines, which had continued the formidable fire, opened on the morning of the 13th September, 1782, and were soon supported by the battering ships, which moved to the attack in admirable order, and moored within 900 yards of the King's bastion; in a few minutes *four hundred pieces* of the heaviest artillery were playing simultaneously from the garrison and from their assailants. After some hours, the battering ships were found to be as formidable as report had represented; the heaviest shells often rebounded off their sloped summits, whilst 32-pound shot seemed incapable of making an impression on their dense sides. Frequently the besieged viewed with delight these floating masses of destruction on fire, but by the application of fire-engines from within, the incipient conflagrations were speedily extinguished. About noon the enemy's cannon, which had been previously too much elevated, became very destructive, and the British then resorted to what had been long looked forward to with a prospect of success—the firing of *red-hot balls*. The spirit of the British troops was now roused to an almost unnatural pitch; the whole of their combined energies were directed towards the battering ships; they disregarded in a great measure the land batteries, and the guns sent forth an almost continuous stream in the shape of red-hot balls, carcasses, and shells of every description. For some hours the fierce conflict continued with doubtful success; but towards evening the scarcely credible efforts of the besieged began to overwhelm the foe; the admiral's ship was perceived in flames, the second in command was soon in the same awful condition, and by eight P.M. the assault had almost entirely ceased from the disabled squadron. The English continued firing throughout the livelong night, and the shrieks and moans of the dying told a piteous tale, which the dawning day painfully verified. About two o'clock on the morning of the 14th, one of the battering ships was a mass of fire from stem to stern; another to the southward was in a similar state; and the flames threw a vivid glare over the scene of desolation around, which was heightened by six other of the battering ships becoming enveloped in the same awful blaze. Yet, amidst all this misery and suffering, it is well to record the triumph of humanity, even over the brutalising passions of war;—Brigadier Curtis, with the sailors of the navy, repeatedly risked their own lives in saving their enemies from the devouring element, when they had been abandoned by their terrified fellow-combatants and countrymen. Of the six battering ships which were in flames, three blew up before eleven o'clock; the other three burnt to the water's edge, the magazines having been wetted by the officers previous to their departure; the remaining two large vessels the victors were in the hope of preserving as trophies, but were disappointed, for one of these took fire, and blew up with a terrible explosion, and the other was burnt by our sailors, when it was found impossible to prevent its gradual destruction. The Spanish loss was never satisfactorily ascertained; but from the numbers seen dead on board, it could not have been less than 2,000 men,* including the prisoners; the casualties of the garrison, on the contrary, were trifling, consisting in killed, of one officer, two sergeants, and thirteen rank and file; and in wounded, of five officers, and sixty-three rank and file; and it must be remembered that the enemy had in this action more than 300 pieces of heavy ordnance in play, whilst the garrison had only eighty cannon, seven mortars, and nine howitzers in opposition; with which, however, they expended upwards of 8,300 rounds (more than *half* of which were *hot shot*), and 716 barrels of gunpowder. The Spaniards were so much mortified by this defeat, that preparations were made for a desperate assault, with a view to carry, if possible, the garrison by storm; but the project was overruled by the Duke de Crillon, who thought an unsuccessful attack would expose the army and fleet to immediate destruction. The energies of the enemy were now directed towards the land batteries, and every effort made to extend their works and destroy the British, by firing from 600 to 1,000 shots every twenty-four hours, which system they continued with more or less vivacity throughout the months of September, October, and November. During this period, and in the face of powerful artillery, English engineers rebuilt the whole flank of the Prince Orange bastion (120 feet in length) with solid masonry—a fact scarcely paralleled in any siege. The besieging force now turned their attention chiefly towards blowing up the north part of the rock by means of a mine, a project which had been formed during the previous siege of 1727; but being contravened in this attempt, they began to relinquish the idea of recovering Gibraltar by arms, and towards the conclusion of December, and throughout the month of January, 1783, confined themselves to annoying the garrison by attacks of gun and mortar-boats in regular reliefs, which caused considerable mischief. February, 1783, was ushered in by an animated fire from the British, the effects of which were felt throughout the Spanish lines; but, to the relief of the besiegers rather than of the besieged, on the second day of the month, the Duke de Crillon announced by a flag of truce to General Elliott, that the preliminaries of a general peace had been signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain. When the boats of the here-

* The battering ships had, it was said, 142 guns in use, and seventy in reserve; the whole manned by 5,260 men.

tofore belligerents met, the Spaniards rose up with transports of joy, shouting, "*We are all friends!*" and delivered the letters of peace with the greatest satisfaction: in the evening all firing finally ceased; on the 5th the port of Gibraltar was declared *open*, and amicable intercourse straightway commenced between the Spanish and British lines, while the latter were waiting the official communication of the intelligence from London, which at length arrived on the 10th March, 1784.

Thus ended a siege which, as regards duration (three years, seven months, and twelve days), the power of the attacking force, the quantity of ammunition expended, and the magnanimous and triumphant defence, is unparalleled in the annals of ancient or modern warfare.* The nation justly gloried in the stand which a handful of Britons had made against the united efforts of Spain and France; the cordial thanks of both Houses of Parliament were given to the brave garrison of Gibraltar, and General Elliott (subsequently Lord Heathfield) was invested with the highest rank of the order of the Bath, as a mark of his Majesty's appreciation of the heroism and skill which the gallant veteran had manifested in maintaining one of England's most valuable maritime outposts.

Since this memorable siege, Gibraltar has remained unmolested in the possession of England: few events have occurred there requiring notice in the present work. It would be, however, unjust to pass on to the next section without adverting to one of its governors, whose character and efforts as a military commander are perhaps not adequately appreciated by his countrymen. This royal person (the late Duke of Kent), having chosen the profession of arms for his occupation, was sent to Germany by his Majesty's command, in May, 1785, being then in his eighteenth year. In the Hanoverian service his royal highness commenced his military duties, serving first as a sergeant, and successively rising in rank,—in order that, as the best qualification for command, he might learn to obey. In January, 1790, the duke returned to England, and after passing ten days at home, embarked at the short notice of forty-eight hours for Gibraltar. In May, 1791, the duke was ordered to Canada;† and in December, 1793, to the West Indies, to join the army under the late Lord Grey; and there his gallant behaviour, in leading attacks against the enemy, was such as to call forth the repeated warnings of the commander-in-chief regarding his too daring courage. At the close of the campaign in 1794, his royal highness, pursuant to his royal father's desire, returned to North America, where he was placed on the staff; and after having served at Halifax as major-general until 1796, and as lieutenant-general to 1798, was then compelled to return to England in consequence of an injury received by his horse falling, when riding home after a garrison field day. In May, 1799, the duke was promoted to the rank of general, and appointed commander-in-chief in North America; but, unfortunately, the transport in which his equipment was embarked, was totally lost on the coast of North America. In the autumn of 1800, the precarious state of the duke's health necessitated the obtainment of leave of absence: he returned to England, and in March, 1802, was appointed to the government of Gibraltar. Frequent changes of place, foreign service, losses incurred by shipwreck, &c.,‡

* The trifling loss of the besieged was not a little remarkable when the strength of the besiegers is considered: it was as follows:—

| Casualties. | Officers. | Sergeants. | Drummers. | Rank & File. | Total. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Killed . . . | 5 | 19 | 2 | 197 | 223 | 869 died. |
| Died of wounds | 1 | 6 | 2 | 101 | 110 | |
| Died of sickness | 7 | 22 | 2 | 505 | 536 | |
| Disabled by wounds . . | 3 | 13 | 2 | 120 | 138 | 1,008 wounded |
| Wounded, but recovd. | 31 | 46 | 20 | 773 | 870 | |
| Deserted . . | — | — | — | 43 | 43[a] | |

[a] Strange to say, the desertions from the Spanish side to the English were far more numerous.

The ammunition expended, consisted, on our side—of shots, 57,163; shells, 129,151; grape, 12,681; carcasses, 926; light balls, 679: making a total of 200,000 rounds; and with the gun-boat addition of 4,728 shots, 205,328: the gunpowder expended was very near 8,000 barrels, and the number of ordnance damaged and destroyed during the siege, fifty-three. As regards similar details on the Spanish side, we have but scanty data. According to a laboratory account, the number of shots and shells from the lines was—shots, 175,741; shells, 68,363; and from the Spanish gun-boats, in shots and shells, 14,283; showing 258,387 rounds, all of a heavy character. Neither the number of barrels of powder expended in this immense discharge, nor the number of ordnance destroyed, have ever been ascertained; it must, however, have been very great.

† While in Hanover, the allowance to his royal highness was but a guinea and a-half a-week; and when proceeding to Gibraltar and to Canada, no outfit was granted.

‡ In proceeding from Canada to join the British army in the West Indies, the Duke of Kent, finding the St. Lawrence closed for the winter, crossed into the United States in the midst of most severe weather, and, in doing so, lost his whole equipage, valued at £2,000, in Lake Champlain, by the breaking in of the ice. In 1794, when again in North America, his royal highness ordered out from Eng-

tended to straiten the pecuniary means of the Duke of Kent; and on application being made at the Treasury for the customary outfit consequent on his appointment as commander-in-chief for North America, he was informed that such was not usual, as the government of Gibraltar was considered *so very good a thing*, that its emoluments would soon abundantly cover the expenses of equipment: indeed, the income from the wine-house licences alone was, under General O'Hara (the duke's predecessor), £7,000 per annum; but by reason of his royal highness's measures for the suppression of drunkenness, it was reduced to £2,000 per annum. Nothing, therefore, could more strongly illustrate the new governor's strictly moral and honourable character, than the fact that one of the earliest steps which he took on assuming the administration of Gibraltar, was the annihilation of the principal source of his income, which was derived from the import of wines and spirituous liquors, and the licences for the sale thereof. Educated as a strict disciplinarian, the Duke of Kent viewed with alarm and disgust the disorganised state of the troops forming the garrison of Gibraltar, a portion of whom had recently returned from the East, flushed with victory, disorganised by excess, and scattering their prize-money with a wastefulness of which the highest officers did not scruple to take advantage for the replenishment of their own coffers. No commander accustomed to regard discipline as essential to the efficiency of an army, could hesitate as to the need of speedy and decisive measures. His royal highness endeavoured to recall the officers and men to a sense of the duty they owed to themselves and their country: he himself never exacted from the meanest soldier that which he would have hesitated to perform himself, but set an example to the troops of method, punctuality, and sobriety of conduct. I have now before me a copy of the duke's garrison orders, printed at Gibraltar in 1803, every line of which affords proof of a zealous desire to restore the discipline of the troops, and a consistent endeavour, by rigid attention to what might otherwise be considered minutiæ, to remove that laziness of habit and carelessness of manner so detrimental to the happiness and efficiency of the men. In these laudable efforts his royal highness was far from being seconded by those whose imperative duty it was to have afforded prompt and cordial co-operation. An occasion was not long wanting for designing men to work on the minds of the garrison, who had before them the example of two former mutinies, in which the malcontents escaped with complete impunity; and the issuing of orders* decreeing the stricter regulation of the canteens and wine-shops (which of course

land an equipage to be sent to his station. It was embarked in his Majesty's packet *Antelope*, which sailed from Falmouth on 19th August, 1794, and was captured by a squadron of French privateers on the 19th September following; thus occasioning a second loss of £2,000. His royal highness was, of course, obliged to renew the order for another equipage, which being executed, was duly shipped. The packet *Tankerville*, with its ill-omened freight, sailed from Falmouth on the 14th December, 1794, and was captured on the passage to Halifax on the 10th of February following: thus raising this disastrous item to £6,000. Another attempt was made by his royal highness to procure an equipage when nominated as lieutenant-general at Halifax, in 1796, and £4,000 worth of stores, &c., were shipped on board the *Recovery* transport, at Deptford, under the direction of Captain Raines; but this transport also fell into the hands of the enemy, as certified by Sir Rupert George. Thus *four* times the ducal equipage was totally lost; but the *fifth* was the heaviest misfortune, which occurred in 1799, when the duke was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America. The transport ship *Francis*, wholly laden with his personal baggage and equipage, was foundered off Sable Island, by which catastrophe £11,000 were added to the previous obligations of the illustrious commander; amounting altogether to £21,000, for which the Treasury refused any compensation, excepting the loss on Lake Champlain; and even this was not reimbursed until thirteen years after the event.

* *Standing Regulations for Regimental Canteens at Gibraltar.*—(Order Book, 1803, printed at the garrison library.) "1. The canteen is invariably to be held by a sergeant of respectability, and one who will keep up and enforce his authority as such: he is to be allowed the assistance of one careful man. It is not to be open on any day until one hour after guard mounting; it is not to remain open later than the drummer's call beats for tattoo—viz., half-an-hour before second evening gun-fire; it is to be shut whenever the regiment is on parade, or out in the field, and not to open on Sundays until after divine service in the Convent chapel is over. 2. No spirituous liquor, whether mixed or unmixed, of any sort or kind, is to be sold upon any pretence whatsoever; the sale, therefore, of liquor is limited to wine, malt liquor, cider, and beer. 3. No cards, dice, or gambling of any description, are to be allowed in it. 4. No liquor whatsoever is to be sold for any other purpose than that of being drank in the canteen, as none is on any pretence to be carried out of it, except for the use of the families of outlyers, and then the quantity sold to any one person is not to exceed one pint, nor is any to be delivered to children under the age of fifteen years. 5. No liquor whatsoever is to be sold on trust; and therefore, if any non-commissioned officer or soldier be suffered to depart without paying for what he

immediately diminished the income of the commander-in-chief, who profited in proportion to the quantity consumed, and the number of canteens established), became the exciting cause of a real or pretended mutiny, on the suppression of which the duke returned to England, and there vainly sought redress from the existing authorities, who ought to have punished the *second in command* in Gibraltar.*

PHYSICAL ASPECT.—Gibraltar mountain or promontory (forming with that of Ceuta upon the opposite coast of Barbary, the narrow channel which connects the Atlantic Ocean with the Mediterranean) is of an oblong form, with a length, north and south, of two miles and three-quarters, a breadth nowhere exceeding three-quarters of a mile, and a circumference of about seven miles. The greatest extent of the peninsula, from Forbes' barrier to the flagstaff of Europa, is 4,700 yards; the breadth, from the New Mole to the sea, at the back of the "Rock," 1,600 yards; from Europa Point, in the south of Gibraltar, to Cabrita Point on the Spanish side (which two points form the mouth of the bay), 10,945 yards. The area of Gibraltar and the adjacent territory is thus stated:—Neutral ground (including gardens, meadow and arable land), 106 acres; North Glacis, three-and-a-half acres; Convent grounds, two-and-a-quarter; South Glacis, seven; Alamida and grounds to South Barracks, thirty-three and three-quarters; back of South Barracks to upper boundary of commissioners' garden, eight; gardens behind the naval officers' quarters, as high as cultivation extends, twelve and three-quarters; North Ditch, about one-quarter; South ditto, one-quarter; farms up the hill, ten; government grounds below Europa Flats, three-and-a-quarter; parterres and gardens attached to houses within the town of Gibraltar, ten—total, 197 acres. The summit is a sharp craggy ridge, running from north to south, the greatest elevation being to the southward, where Sugar-Loaf Point rises to 1,439 feet above the sea-level; Rock Mortar, the highest point to the northward, is 1,350 feet, and Signal House, the central point between the two, has an elevation of 1,276 feet.

has been supplied with before he leaves the canteen, he is cleared of all obligation to pay afterwards. 6. No non-commissioned officer or soldier is to be permitted to leave in pledge any part of his dress, necessaries, or appointments, for liquor, nor is anything to be received but money; therefore, if any one calls for more than he can pay for on the spot, he is immediately to be sent prisoner to the regimental guard-house, charged with the crime of disobedience of orders, for the purpose of being brought to a court-martial and punished for the same. 7. No non-commissioned officers or soldiers of any other corps but that to which the canteen belongs, nor any stranger of any description, except being passed in by a commissioned officer, the sergeant-major, or quartermaster-sergeant, is to be admitted into the canteen without producing permission in writing from the commanding officer of the corps; nor are any persons to be supplied with liquor from it, but the non-commissioned officers, &c., belonging to the regiment. 8. No non-commissioned officer or soldier who has the least appearance of intoxication, is to be permitted to enter the canteen; such as show a disposition to drunkenness or rioting are immediately to be sent to their barracks, and if disobedient to the orders of the non-commissioned officer holding the canteen, when directed to go there, are to be sent prisoners to the guard-house, with a crime against them, for refusing to obey his orders. 9. The non-commissioned officer having charge of the canteen is to be obeyed by the other non-commissioned officers and soldiers, as next in rank to the quartermaster-sergeant, in everything relating to the carrying on the business of the canteen. He and his assistant have authority to call upon the barrack guard for assistance, whenever good order and regularity are in danger of being disturbed; but on no other occasion, except when called upon for this purpose, are non-commissioned officers or soldiers, on duty, to enter the canteen. 10. The captain of the day and orderly officer are each of them frequently to visit the canteen, and if they discover any irregularity or breach of these regulations during the time they are on duty, they are to report the same to the commanding officer in writing. 11. The established price of wine and malt liquor is to be at the following rate, and never to be altered without an order from the commanding officer—viz., Malaga, two reals per quart; black wine, one real and a-half per quart; porter, one real and a-half per bottle; and beer, one real per quart. The wine to be sold in the same state as it is purchased from the merchant, and any attempt to adulterate it is, on detection, to be punished in the most exemplary manner."

* Captain Conran, referring subsequently to this affair, says, in a letter to the Duke of Kent—"It is a subject I never can reflect on but with the most heartfelt concern, as even at this distant period it appears to make such impressions on your royal highness's mind. Every loyal and well-affected man of that garrison must think and feel as I do, and must regret that the state of the garrison prior to your royal highness's coming to the command of it, and indeed the weak, I may add, worse than no support that your royal highness received from the *second in command*, never was laid before the public." In the 10th volume of the *Colonial Library*, published in 1839, I have given entire, the correspondence of his royal highness with the Duke of York, Lord Castlereagh, &c. The duke, after persevering for several years in demanding investigation, retired into private life, and devoted himself to relieving the distressed, and promoting zealously and efficiently the interests of the metropolitan charities.

The promontory is unequally divided by the above-mentioned ridge, the side facing the Mediterranean being narrower and much steeper than that next the bay, on which stands the town and fortifications. The west side of the mountain is a series of rugged slopes, interspersed with abrupt declivities; the east consists mostly of a range of precipices; but a bank of sand, rising from the Mediterranean with a rapid ascent, covers one-third of its perpendicular height. The southern extremity of the promontory has a steep descent from the Sugar-Loaf summit to a rocky flat called Windmill-hill, thus forming half an oval, bounded by a chain of precipices, at the southern base of which a second rocky flat occurs similar in form and extent to Windmill-hill, and also, like it, surrounded by a rocky wall, the extreme southern termination of which, called Europa Point, is washed by the sea. The northern point of Gibraltar is connected with the mainland and is perfectly perpendicular, except towards the north-west, where the "Lines" are formed; thence a narrow passage of flat land leads to the low sandy isthmus, or neutral ground, the greatest height of which does not exceed ten feet above the level of the sea; its breadth near Gibraltar is 950 yards; midway to the garrison, 1,200 yards; and towards the Spanish lines (which are 1,650 yards from the outworks of Gibraltar), 1,750 yards. The isthmus has Gibraltar Bay on the west, and the Mediterranean Sea on the east: it is of an irregular shape, the sand extending considerably beyond the Spanish lines, both on the Mediterranean and Bay sides; so that its circumference may be estimated at eight to ten miles.*

Gibraltar Bay, situate on the west side of the mountain, is nearly eight miles and a-half long, and in breadth upwards of five; the circumference being between thirty and forty miles. At some points the beach is rocky, especially in front of the town; at others it is sandy, as at Rosia in the south, and Catalan Bay at the back of the Rock, towards its northern extremity; in spring-tides the water rises in the bay about four feet, washing the base of the fortifications.

The bay is bordered on the Spanish side by ranges of high land, which sweep around it, in a semicircular form, at the distance of three or four miles: hills of moderate height are clearly perceptible above the sandy isthmus, and extend into the interior in groups of various elevations, till, at the distance of twelve leagues to the eastward, the ancient city of Ronda presents itself, and forms the centre of an extensive sierra or chain of mountains, which bears its name: a part of this sierra extends towards Malaga, and another towards Seville. The Straits of Gibraltar stretch for about twelve leagues from Cape Spartel to Ceuta Point on the African coast, and from Cape Trafalgar to Europa Point on the coast of Spain. At the western or Atlantic entrance they are some eight leagues broad; they diminish considerably towards the middle, and again expand between Gibraltar and Ceuta, where they are about five leagues wide. In the narrowest part of the "Gut," between Tarifa and Alcanzar Point, which is about nine miles broad, the depth varies from 160 to 500 fathoms: but between Gibraltar and Ceuta, Captain Smith sounded to the depth of 950 fathoms (5,700 feet), and there found a gravelly bottom, with fragments of broken shells. Through these Straits the current on the surface of the ocean sets constantly from the Atlantic into the Mediterranean; beneath the surface there is doubtless an under-current from the Mediterranean into the Atlantic.†

* Colonel James gives the following measurements and bearings of several points:—Length of the peninsula from Forbes' battery to the flagstaff at Europa, 4,700 yards; breadth from the New Mole to the sea at the back of the Rock, 1,600; distance from Forbes' battery to the Spanish lines, 1,650; the fort west of the lines, 1,800; the head of the causeway to the demolished tower, 570; round tower, 870; the Spanish battery, intended to demolish the Old Mole, to the said work, 900; the mortar battery near the Levant shore to Queen's battery at Willis's, 535; the nearest battery of the Spaniards to the grand battery, 700; the head of the Spanish approaches to the head of the foundation, 150; the Sergeant's Guard, bay side, to the first garden, 140; breadth of the isthmus near the Spanish lines, 1,750; at the Spanish advanced huts, 1,200; near Gibraltar-hill, 950; the Old Mole-head to Europa flagstaff, south 05° 57′ west, 4,649; the New Mole-head to Europa flagstaff, south 09° 31′ east, 2,231; the Old Mole-head to New Mole-head, south 09° 23′ west, 2,561 yds. *Distances of places across the Bay.*—Cabrita batteries and flagstaff—Old Mole-head, west, 10,949 yards; Europa flagstaff, 8,802: tower on Cabrita Point—Old Mole-head, west, and Europa flagstaff, 3,785: tower south of Old Gibraltar, and north of Sandy Bay—Old Mole-head, 9,246; Europa flagstaff, west, 8,725: middle of the island of Algesiraz—Old Mole-head, west, 8,275; Europa flagstaff, west, 8,854: the tower in the country—Old Mole-head, west, 10,531; Europa flagstaff, west, 12,284 yards.

† This idea is confirmed by the circumstance of a Dutch merchant ship being sunk by the broadside of a French privateer in the middle of the Gut (as the Straits are termed) between Tarifa and Tangier; a few days after which, the sunken ship, with her

Gibraltar Town is built on the north-west face of the promontory, extending from the Landport to the Southport gate; the main street, which leads directly between the two gates, is about three-fourths of a mile in length. An idea of the leading thoroughfares may be formed from the following diagram:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Eastern parallel Street, or Town Range. |
| *North.* | Main Street. | *South.* |
| Western parallel Street, or Irish Town. | | |

These streets, and those which communicate with them, are as level as the generality of those in English towns, though the town would appear to be built on the precipitous slope of a hill. The better class of houses are generally three to four stories high, built after the English model; in some parts the Spanish, or probably Moorish, construction prevails, there being a central courtyard, into which the rooms of the dwelling open; the roofs, however, are not flat or terraced as in Malta. The communication between the town and the isthmus is by a long narrow causeway, defended by a curtain with two bastions, a dry ditch, covered-way, and glacis well mined. These, together with the causeway, are completely flanked by the King's, Queen's, and Prince's lines,—works cut in the Rock with immense labour, and scarped so as to be almost inaccessible. Above these lines are the Willis batteries; still higher than which, other works stand at different heights: even the very summit is crowned with mortars and cannon, entirely commanding the isthmus below. The Old Mole, to the west of the grand battery, forms also a formidable flank, and, with the lines, pour a cross-fire on the causeway and neutral ground. Indeed, the grand battery and the Old Mole exhibit such a formidable appearance from the causeway, as to be termed by the Spaniards *"the mouth of fire."*

Along the sea line Gibraltar town is equally well protected, and nature has lent her aid by means of a shoal of sharp rocks, extending along the front of the fortifications far into the bay, which prevents vessels of very large burthen from approaching close to the walls. At the New Mole there is depth of water sufficient for a ship of the line to lie alongside of the wharf and heave down: the anchorage is strongly protected. From New Mole Fort to Rosia Bay the works are strong, and act as flanks to each other; they rise close along the low beach, and are protected by a battery in the rear. To particularise the other defences down to Europa Point and around it, is neither necessary nor politic.

With regard to the town of Gibraltar, though much improved of late years, it is still confined, ill-ventilated, and overcrowded with inhabitants; the number of whom have, however, been diminished by the erection of villages at Catalan Bay and on the neutral ground.* As may be expected in a

cargo of brandy and oil, was cast ashore near Tangier, twelve miles to the westward of the place where she went down. Those who deny the existence of a counter-current, and yet find a difficulty in understanding what can become of the vast body of water flowing constantly through the Straits at a rate of from three to six miles an hour, which no solar evaporation can suffice to carry off, suppose subterranean communication may exist between the Mediterranean and Black Sea, though the latter has a current through the Dardanelles into the former.

* Previous to the year 1814, Gibraltar was notorious for filth; deficient even in common sewers, without effective scavenging arrangements, without pavements on proper principles; in short, it had obtained the bad pre-eminence of being the dirtiest garrison belonging to the Crown. On landing at the New Mole, the first objects, says Dr. Hennen, that struck the eye, were certain enclosures marked "Depôt," in which all the filth of the neighbourhood was stored up to be removed at leisure. The fœtor from these collections was offensive in the extreme; the effluvia which arose from them were diffused all around; and they were placed so close to each other, as to keep up a chain of putrescent exhalations, which tainted the whole atmosphere. When the work of reformation commenced, the depôts were emptied into the sea, and the necessary measures were taken for constructing common sewers through the principal streets. From the rocky nature of the ground, in most situations, this was a work of considerable labour and expense; but by judicious plans and patient perseverance, it has been accomplished in an effectual manner; many thousand running feet of new drains having been constructed, and minor ones in communication with the main trunks. The town-major is director of police, with a suitable proportion of town-sergeants, &c., &c., and there are two sub-directors outside the garrison—officers in military charge of Catalan Bay, and the villages and buildings on the neutral ground and north front, whose duty it is, as much as possible, to regulate the sanitary arrangements of the mixed class which forms the mass of the inhabitants of these places. There is a scavenging department, which not only regulates the town, but every part of the garrison and neutral ground, whence the animal matter is conveyed, divided from the other rubbish, and buried on the eastern extremity of the beach. This branch is under the superintendence of the garrison quartermaster. By the police regulations, the householders, principal inhabitants, and occupants of separate buildings, stores, or warehouses, are to be provided at all times at their several premises, with a strong tub or cask, for receiving the dirt and filth which may accumulate in the course of the twenty-four hours, to be in readiness for the carts of the scavenging department to remove the contents

town subject to bombardment, the public edifices are neither numerous nor beautiful. The governor resides in a building which was formerly a Franciscan convent, and has also a delightful cottage at Europa Point. There is an English and Spanish church, and an exchange, session-house, library, &c. The barracks are on an extensive and substantial scale, consisting of casements and detached buildings, the latter principally occupied by married people. The casements have mostly two stories, built of stone, and are generally bomb-proof. The hospitals are on a superior scale, particularly the naval one, which is unsurpassed in any part of the globe: it is situate in an open level space below Buena-Vista, 130 feet above the level of the sea, and is capable of accommodating 500 patients within the walls, and 500 more might tenant marquees on the area or terrace in front. The remains of an old Moorish castle still exist, situate on the north-west side of the hill; forming an extensive enclosure of about eleven acres, within which are several houses occupied by officers and soldiers. The walls and relics still extant evidence the energy and magnificence of the Saracenic invaders of Spain. The whole surface of Gibraltar abounds in caves, fissures, and pot-like holes. The most celebrated cave is that called St. George's by the Spaniards, and St. Michael's by the English: it lies to the

daily. Dirty water, dust, dead animal and vegetable matter, or filth of any description, is forbidden to be thrown out of the windows or doors, or to be placed in the streets, passages, or gutters, under a penalty. The butcheries and markets are equally well regulated. Cattle are not permitted to be slaughtered in any other place than the *zoca* or butchery on the neutral ground (with the exception of calves, under particular restrictions.) The hours of slaughtering are limited to between three o'clock P.M. and sunset; and the meat is not allowed to be brought into the garrison before the next morning; so that abundant time is given it for cooling and thorough cleansing; the time for conveying it into the garrison is limited to two hours after sunrise. The cleansed offal—as head, heart, suet, and tallow—is permitted to be brought in during the same evening that the animal has been killed, for the purpose of immediate sale, but no garbage of any description is admitted at any time. In the neighbourhood of the *zoca*, sheds for several hundred head of cattle are erected. Their food consists of about ten pounds of chopped straw, four of beans bruised, and a proportion of barley per diem, with water once a day *ad libitum*. The cattle for the troops are chiefly procured from Barbary, under a treaty by which 2,000 head are annually permitted to be exported from that country for the use of the garrison; whatever surplus remains after supply of the troops, is sold by the contractor for his own benefit. The breed is very small, but they fatten rapidly. The meat is conveyed in covered carts, crates, or baskets; and the filthy practice of blowing by the mouth is forbidden. With regard to the place of sale, the regulations are equally judicious;—no unwholesome or tainted meat is permitted to be sold; no live cattle of any description are permitted to enter the market; nor are hides, wool, or lumber allowed to remain in the stalls. No beds are permitted within the market-place. All the stalls are washed every evening throughout the year, and no individuals are allowed to remain in them at night. They are whitewashed twice a month. The cleanliness and regularity of the slaughter-houses, cattle-stalls, &c., is a branch of the police under the town-adjutant. The stalls are let out, and the product forms part of an orphan fund. The practice of erecting stalls and benches in the public streets, for the sale of goods, is entirely prohibited. Temporary benches are permitted to be placed in certain situations during the early part of the day, for general convenience. Taverns, wine-houses, and eating-houses are placed under strict regulations. The admission and lodging of strangers is attended to in the most rigid manner, and the whole arrangements are placed under the immediate surveillance of the police. The burial-places were suspected of being very efficient agents in the production of the epidemic of 1813. The smell issuing from the principal one is described by Dr. Robertson as having been extremely offensive; and he expresses his astonishment that with such a source of fever existing within it, the garrison had ever been free from disease. The burial-ground in South Port Ditch was accused of exercising similar influence Whether these suspicions were well-founded or not, the main causes of complaint have been removed, and the principal burying-place is now on the neutral ground. Charnel-house effluvia occasionally arise from it, and in some instances water has flowed into the graves, which might have afforded similar exhalations on evaporation; but a perpetual current of air—that grand neutraliser of all insalubrious miasmata—renders them innocuous to the inhabitants of the town. The Red Sands, between the Grand Parade and the South Pavilion, were formerly the principal receptacle for the dead. The greater part of these sands are now converted into gardens, and only a very small spot is occasionally used for the graves of officers. The Jews have a burial-ground on Windmill-hill, in a very airy and elevated situation. An old graveyard, now no longer used, is situated on the side of the hill, above the Red Sands; and another of a similar description lies within South Port. Upon the whole, the places of sepulture for Gibraltar afford little cause for anxiety at present. The depositing of bodies within the Spanish church,—which was so common a practice fifty years ago, that Colonel James says, "all the Roman catholics were buried there,"—is now discontinued. Nothing but the quantity of lime thrown over the bodies could have prevented the most dangerous consequences resulting from this practice. It has become so rare to deposit a body in the church, that a thousand dollars were lately paid by the family of a Spanish gentleman for permission to do so. The streets, which were formerly in a most deplorable state, are now well paved, lighted, and cleansed, and extensive improvements are daily going on. Many of the narrow streets have been widened, several alleys entirely removed, and free ventilation promoted by all possible means.

south of Charles V.'s wall, at a point nearly overhanging the old burial-ground in the Red Sands, and about 1,100 feet above the level of the sea. According to tradition, it formerly extended 400 to 500 yards in a southerly direction; and at present it can be explored, without difficulty, 100 to 150 yards. The roof is covered with various kinds of stalactites. In the interior is a large collection of water, which, although continually receiving supplies by distillation from the roof, never overflows.

The promontory is well supplied with water. The aqueduct originally planned by the Moors is a very important work. The present structure was commenced in 1571, after the plan of a Spanish Jesuit, and finished in 1694; the channel begins in the south, and terminates in the centre of the town; the water with which it is supplied filters through the red sand, running through "weep-holes," made of brick, into a reservoir, from whence, after rising to a height of eighteen inches, it is conveyed in earthen pipes to various parts of the town. The aqueduct is chiefly fed by the autumn and winter rains, and also supplied by infiltration from the body of the mountain.

There are numerous tanks and wells for the supply of the garrison; those for the use of the navy, four in number, in the immediate neighbourhood of Rosia Bay (the most extensive), will hold 1,317,120 gallons of water; there are seven other public tanks, capable of containing 235,580 gallons; thus, *one million and a-half* gallons may be always kept in supply. The water flows into the tanks from the roofs of houses, &c., without any purifying process being attempted, except throwing in a few live eels: these devour the animalculæ, and are themselves eaten in turn when they get fat. Among the public tanks, one at Europa Flats, called the Nun's Well, is adapted for 100,000 gallons. There are upwards of a hundred private tanks in the garrison, and from twenty to thirty wells, with a depth of from three to twenty-six feet. In fact, the internal parts of the promontory abound with water; and on the neutral ground are numerous wells, which furnish some thousand additional gallons daily to the gardens; 24,000 gallons being drawn in twenty-four hours from a sand apparently as arid as the deserts of Arabia. The wells are formed by sinking a cask in the sand, and letting in one or two more, as may be thought necessary. The supply continues throughout the driest summer, and the close vicinity of the sea does not seem to exercise any unfavourable influence on the quality of the water.

There are several caverns: one explored by Colonel Drinkwater, in 1789, is thus described by him in the valuable work before referred to:—

"The opening of this cave lies in the face of the perpendicular rock, about 150 or 160 feet above its footing on the eastern side, almost under the Signal House. In enlarging the works of the garrison, chasms and caves of considerable size were constantly thrown open in various parts of the Rock, proving, with our knowledge of St. George's Cave, another at Poca Roca, above the town, and others in many parts of the mountain, that the promontory of Gibraltar must abound with hollows of this description. One had been discovered a short time before on the lines above Landport, in which some very curious petrified bones were found; but none of the late discoveries appeared to be of the same extent as the cavern above-mentioned. A party of officers having provided themselves with the necessary ropes, and being attended by guides, each bearing a candle, and having tinder-boxes distributed among them, proceeded by the Devil's Tower, Catalan Bay, and up the sloping bank of sand behind the Rock to the foot of the precipice, which they were required to ascend before they could enter the mouth of the cavern. This was soon found to be an enterprise of no small danger to persons unaccustomed to such undertakings. With great difficulty, the party, assisted by their attendants, clambered up the face of the Rock to the height of from 150 to 160 feet. The cavern consisted of several chambers or divisions, connected by narrow crevices or funnels, some of which were so small and tortuous as to make the passage rather difficult, obliging the party frequently to creep on all-fours for a considerable distance. In the different chambers, which appeared to be of various dimensions, were numerous stalactite columns, in all degrees of formation; the lower parts of many of them, particularly in the interior, consisted of masses of petrifaction in pinnacles of various heights, the outsides of which were covered with a most beautiful frothy substance (the first stage of petrifaction), which, on being rudely touched, dissolved instantly into water. The extreme cavern consisted of two divisions of an oblong form, on the floor of which lay a deep layer of dark vegetable mould, upon which, in various places, were seen the incipient formation of stalactite columns, a small one of which was easily removed by the writer, and with the assistance of one of the attendants, conveyed out of the cavern, but its beauty soon faded on approaching the atmosphere; and before it was lodged in his quarters it had lost much of its original snowy appearance, and was reduced to the size of the petrifaction of each nuclei of the different pinnacles that rose up from the base of the incipient columns. Without the rope the party would neither have reached the extremity of the cavern, nor found their way back. The advance of the party into the bowels of the mountain (chiefly on a descent) was found to be about forty-four fathoms, measured on the rope; but as this was the direct distance by the nearest angles, their line of march must have extended more than 300 feet. A great number of bats were flying about, and one or two were caught in a torpid state."

Geology and Soil.*—Gibraltar is composed chiefly of a rock of gray, dense, primary marble, the beds or strata of which are of various thickness, from twenty to upwards of forty feet, dipping from east to west at an angle of nearly thirty-five degrees. Although now so far above the level of the sea, the promontory has evidently been at one time submerged beneath the ocean. Pot-like holes are frequent in the solid rock, apparently caused by the attrition of pebbles in a strong current; one of these, 940 feet above the sea, was found to be five feet deep and three in diameter, the brim rounded off as if by art, and the sides and mouth displaying a considerable degree of polish. For three-and-a-half feet downwards, the cavity was filled with an argillaceous earth, thinly mixed with minute particles of transparent quartz crystals; the remaining foot and a-half contained an aggregate of water-worn stones, from the size of a goose-egg to a walnut, comprising the red jasper, yellowish-white flint, white quartz, and blueish-white agates firmly combined with a yellowish-brown stalactitical calcareous spar: in this breccia there was no fragment of mountain rock discoverable, or any other calcareous matter, except the cement which formed the connection. The earth obtained from these cavities is sought by gardeners with great avidity. Testaceous bodies have occasionally been found imbedded in the body of the rock, but they do not form regular strata. Stalactites and stalagmites are to be found in great abundance in the numerous caves, especially in St. Michael's. The further removed from the external air, the brighter they become in colour: near the surface they are of a brownish yellow, and by degrees shade off to a whitish yellow. Upon the western face of the hill strata occur, composed of a number of thin beds of a blackish brown, or ferruginous-coloured earth. The lowermost stratum is about a foot and a-half thick, and rests upon a rock of an argillaceous nature. This stratum consists of quartz of a blackish-blue colour, in the septa or cracks of which are found fine quartz crystals, colourless and perfectly transparent, which are dignified with the name of "Gibraltar diamonds." Not far from the "diamond-bed," but nearer the level of the sea, is a stratum of argillaceous matter, the clefts of which are covered with dendritical figures of a yellowish-brown colour, resembling landscape painting. In some parts of the western face, towards the south, are found flints of a dirty, sap-green colour, embedded in a dark-red, shining clay.

Around Rosia Bay and the New Mole is found a beautiful breccia, composed of almost every fossil already enumerated, with the addition of two species of marble, the native beds of which have not been discovered in the mountain—the one black, the other olive-green. The breccia is combined by a calcareous cement of a yellowish colour, nearly approaching to orange: it takes a high polish, and the principal houses in the garrison are adorned with beautiful chimney ornaments composed of it.

But the most curious of all the fossil productions of Gibraltar are the bones, which are found in the perpendicular fissures and cavities of the rock, embedded in a calcareous concretion of a reddish-brown ferruginous colour, with an earthy fracture, and considerably indurated. They consist of the remains of various animals, quadrupeds, and birds of different sizes, thrown together without order, and intermixed with the shells of snails, fragments of rock, and bits of spar, which may yet be observed in an uncombined state on the surface. Major Imrie's opinion is, that these substances have been swept off the surface by heavy rains, and carried into the fissures and cavities, which formerly opened to the surface, and have there undergone the permeating action of water, from which, in the course of a long series of years, calcareous matters have been deposited. In some fissures below the King's lines, the concretions have been found to consist of the pebbles of the prevailing calcareous rock, and, in one instance, the bottom of a glass bottle, of singular shape and great thickness, was embedded in it. From a consideration of all the facts, it is denied that petrifaction has had any share in the production of the osseous breccia. It was supposed that many of the bones were human, as skulls or parts of bones like those of man have been found; and the miners, in forming the excavations to the northward, conceived that they had fallen in with a petrified human skeleton; but the probability is, that the relic in question was that of a monkey. Cuvier, who denies the existence of human bones among these fossil remains, enumerates those of the ox, deer, sheep, rabbit, water-rat, mouse, horse, ass, snakes,

* Dr. Hennen and Major Imrie have paid considerable attention to this subject; and to their observations I am chiefly indebted for the facts enumerated in this section.

and various birds. He found the bones of a ruminating animal of the order Glires, which he conjectures may belong to the genus Lagomys.* The chemical analysis of them, instituted by Mr. Hatchett, shows that they consist principally of the phosphate of lime, and that their cavities have been partly filled by the carbonate of lime, the agglutinising properties of which keep them together.

No mineral waters have been discovered in Gibraltar. Near the base of the mountain, on which stands the tower called the "Queen of Spain's Chair," about two miles from the garrison, there are two springs of a chalybeate nature.†

Earthquake shocks have been felt at Gibraltar, and many places bear the indications of volcanic agency. The great earthquake of Lisbon was first observed at the "Rock" on the forenoon of the 1st of November, 1755; it began with a trembling of half a minute, then a violent shock, and went off in trembling: the sea rose every fifteen minutes six feet eight inches, and fell so low that boats and fish were left dry. Similar indications have been since observed at different periods.

The *soil* is of several kinds; that on which the town is built is red sand, forming the largest bank of arenaceous matter on the west side of the mountain: it consists of small particles of crystallised quartz, colourless, and perfectly transparent *paste*, but of an ochreous colour in the mass, on account of the red argillaceous earth adhering thereto. On the east side, the sandbank is composed of particles of calcareous rock, the whole being of a whitish-grey colour. To the south of the Red Sands the soil is variegated; in some places a light, loose, fine, and extremely fertile mould exists, becoming, in the rainy season, of a saponaceous sliminess; in others, a stiff marl soil and species of fullers'-earth predominate.

Climate and Diseases.—The Andalusian atmosphere is celebrated for its salubrity; and, with some exceptions, the climate of Gibraltar, of late years, has been decidedly healthy, except for hard drinkers and phlegmatic constitutions. The temperature is warm, the hottest months being June, July, August, and September; and the coldest, December, January, and February. Snow rarely falls, and ice is seen no thicker than a dollar; the mercury ranges from 85° in July, to 50° in January: but the winds and the rain affect the animal frame more acutely than the solar heat. From 1816 to 1827 the greatest height of the barometer was $30\frac{90}{100}$°; the lowest, $28\frac{62}{100}$°. Hail occasionally falls with much violence, and is generally accompanied by a thunder-storm, not unfrequently preceded by brilliant lightning, coruscations, and falling stars; and other meteoric phenomena are observable. In 1753, a fire-ball shot over the Rock. In a period of ten years, from 1816 to 1825, the number of rainy days in each month was—January, 91; February, 71; March, 62; April, 101; May, 61; June, 18; July, 4; August, 9; September, 29; October, 57; November, 95; December, 88: total, 686.

The greatest number of rainy days is in April, but the *quantity* which falls is greatest in January. The heaviest rains are accompanied with south-west winds; those from the south-east are raw, black, and bleak; they are termed "genuine Levanters," and dislodge numerous masses of rock, which roll down the hill with prodigious violence, realising the Portuguese proverb—

"Quando com Levante chove
As Pedras move."

Or, in English doggrel,—

"A rainy Levanter
Makes e'en the stones canter."

The Levanters are generally accompanied with fogs of extreme density, which roll over the Rock and down its sides, depositing considerable quantities of moisture wherever they touch.

The easterly winds are most prevalent in July, August, and September; and the westerly in December, January, and May.‡ It is pro-

* *See* Cuvier's *Essay on the Theory of the Earth*, translated by Jameson, 8vo; Hatchett, in *Philosophical Transactions*, 1799; and Buckland's *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, 4to; London, 1824: p. 148.

† About seven hours' journey eastward from Gibraltar are the baths of Hedionda, situated in the district of Casares, which are much resorted to by the natives for cutaneous complaints, chronic rheumatism, obstinate ulcers, affections of the kidneys and bladder, and the diseases of females. These waters abound in sulphuretted hydrogen gas: their temperature is $18\frac{1}{2}$° Reaumur. From an analysis made by Dr. Colorado of Casares, these waters are found to contain, in fifty pounds weight, six grains of muriate of lime, fifty-six sulphate of magnesia, thirty-five sulphate of lime, ten of magnesia, and four of siliceous earth, independent of a large quantity of sulphur, with which they so much abound, that the peasants make matches by simply dipping slips of linen in the stream. Baths and habitations have been erected at this place.

‡ In 6 years,—222 days more easterly than westerly.

bable, from the observations of Ayala, Mr. Carter, and others, that the easterly winds prevailed formerly more extensively than at present, and that Gibraltar, like other places, has experienced a great change of climate;* how far the temperature and the rains affect the health of the troops in this important garrison, is a point of the utmost importance.

Vegetable Kingdom.—Gibraltar is not the barren rock that has been supposed; Colonel James mentions the names of 310 different trees and plants growing on the promontory. Several fruits are cultivated there, and the vine and fig flourish in exuberance; after rains vegetation is luxuriant. The olive, almond, orange, and lemon thrive; in the naval garden in the south are some noble date trees; the prickly pear runs wild, the aloe abounds, and the palmetto was formerly plentiful. Geraniums of almost every species grow in the utmost profusion, and a great variety of wild and cultivated plants and herbs are found in every part of the mountain. Among the *native* fruits brought to market are seven or eight kinds of grapes, figs, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, almonds, apples, peaches, plums, apricots (called "*Kill Johns*"), cherries, and strawberries; potatoes, cabbages, onions, cucumbers, artichokes, tomatas, peas, kidney beans, spinage, lettuces, radishes, &c., are produced in abundance.

Ichthyology.—Different kinds of fish may be observed at the market at Gibraltar: in former times the bay was so celebrated for its fisheries of tunny and salmonettas, that coin were struck, in which representations of them were given.

Considerable quantities of the tunny are caught at the present day, both for immediate food, and for exportation, dried, salted, or preserved in oil. The bonito, mackerel, and anchovy are taken in great numbers; the latter, in particular, forming a valuable export to the Genoa market. The *Murœna Helena*, so prized by the ancient Romans, that we are told Crassus went into mourning for the death of a favourite one, is here within reach of the poorest individual, and being considered a coarse fish, is not much esteemed. The sepia, or cuttle fish, which is very abundant, forms a delicious article of diet when well washed, deprived of the bone, and properly cooked. The sword-fish is frequently brought to market, and the Gibraltar eels are much prized.

Entomology.—As in other warm climates, the insect tribes are numerous, and the mosquitoes in summer are particularly annoying to new comers. The *lepidoptera*, or caterpillar tribe, are prolific; and grasshoppers overrun the neutral ground. A southerly wind, in 1753, brought from Africa an immense swarm of huge locusts, with brown-spotted wings, red legs, and bright yellow bodies, which, fortunately for the garrison, a sudden change of wind to the east beat into the sea, where they were washed ashore in heaps. On another occasion a swarm of butterflies made their appearance in a similar manner. The moths are large and very beautiful. The domestic annoyances are plentiful.

*Animals* do not differ from those of the Andalusian provinces, with the exception of monkeys, several families of which have located themselves on the "Rock;" they are probably an importation from Barbary; but they are so extremely wary that it is quite impossible to get near them; even their skeletons are very rarely found.

* For many interesting points relative to the yellow fever of Gibraltar, see an article under that head by Dr. Gilkrest (to whom I am indebted for the preceding facts), in the *Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine*. Among other facts, he cites the opinions of two members of a commission appointed to inquire into the origin of the epidemic of 1828, demonstrating that it was not an *imported* disease. *Mr. Judge Howell.*—"Upon a careful review of all the proceedings before this Board, I am of opinion that the evidence brought forward has totally failed to prove that the late epidemic disease was introduced from any foreign source, either by the Swedish ship *Dygden*, or by any other means; and I am further of opinion that the late epidemic had its origin at Gibraltar." *Colonel Chapman* (now Major-general Sir Stephen Chapman, governor of Bermuda.)—"Judging from the evidence produced before the Board, the manner in which it has been given, together with the description of persons who have been brought forward as witnesses, I am decidedly of opinion that the attempts to prove the introduction of the disease, after months of previous inquiry by those who wished to prove it, have totally failed." The epidemics of Gibraltar have not prevailed in the very hottest years, and a cool wind from the north or north-east is so unfavourable to the yellow fever as to shorten its continuance; Humboldt also makes a similar remark respecting cases of the same description at Vera Cruz. Severe visitations have overwhelmed Gibraltar in years remarkable for the fall of much rain, as well as in others in which comparatively little has fallen. The quantity of rain which fell in different years at Gibraltar, was in inches as follows:—In 1791, 25; 1792, 44; 1793, 19; 1794, 22; 1795, 21; 1796, 25; 1797, 64; 1798, 30; 1799, 31; 1800, 42; 1801, 15; 1802, 29; 1803, 42; 1804, 50; 1805, 30; 1806, 39; 1807, 29; 1808, 33; 1809, 31; 1810, 37; 1811, 27; 1812, 40; 1813, 33; 1814, 37; 1815, 28; 1816, 28; 1817, 26; 1818, 24; 1819, 31; 1820, 36; 1821, 35; 1822, 17; 1823, 26; 1824, 20; 1825, 20; 1826, 31; 1827, 23; 1828, 25 inches.

*Birds* are similar to those on the peninsula; eagles, hawks, and kites build their airy nests in the rocky summits, and are at all times seen hovering about in quest of prey; bats (*vespertilio marinus*) and owls swarm in the caves; and pigeons, poultry, geese, ducks, and red-legged partridges, larks, starlings, thrushes, blackbirds, finches, &c., abound.

Population.—Being considered solely as a garrison, little encouragement has been given to immigrants, or fixed residents. In March, 1753, the inhabitants under permit numbered 1,793; in September, 1854, 1,810, of whom 414 were British, 604 native and Barbary Jews; the remainder Spaniards, Portuguese, Genoese, and various other nations. The succeeding enumerations were —1791, 2,885; 1801, 5,339; 1807, 7,501; 1811, 11,173; 1813, 12,423; 1814, 10,137; 1816, 11,401; 1817, 10,737; 1825, 15,480; 1830, 17,024; 1835, 15,008; 1844 (latest census), *whites* —males, 5,857; females, 6,312: *coloured*—males, 10; females, 3. Total males, 5,867; females, 6,315 = 12,182. The aliens number 3,641. In 1854, the recorded births were 469; deaths, 491.

Ecclesiastical.—A civil chaplain of the church of England, and a vicar apostolic of the church of Rome: each receive £300 per annum.

Education.—Military schools, 5: scholars —males, 117; females, 134 = 255; civilians attending ditto—males, 14; females, 5 = 19. Church of England schools, 2: scholars—males, 149; females, 51 = 200. Roman catholic schools, 5: scholars—males, 431; females, 356 = 787. Wesleyan schools, 3: scholars—males, 179; females, 55 = 234.

Government.—A general, commanding the garrison, with military control over the inhabitants; his salary of £5,000 per annum is paid from the civil revenue.

Revenue.—Nearly £30,000 a year, of which £10,000 is derived from a duty on wines and spirits imported; £3,500 from wine and spirit licences; £5,000 from ground and house-rents; remainder from fines, fees, port dues, &c. A local revenue of £3,500 is employed in paving, lighting, and cleansing. Expenditure by Great Britain, in 1854, for military purposes, £155,000.

The shipping, inwards, in 1854, was—number, 3,673; tonnage, 589,560,—manned by 42,121: of these, under the British flag, English—number, 571; tons, 161,465; Colonial—number, 117; tons, 26,063: total—number, 688; tons, 187,528. There are no custom duties but those levied on wine, spirits, and tobacco. The port dues are—on a ship, £2 3*s.* 4*d.*; on a barque, £1 14*s.* 8*d.*; on a brig, £1 1*s.* 8*d.*

*Moneys.*—Spanish currency is still much used. The effective hard dollar = 4*s.* 4*d.*; the current dollar being estimated at 2*s.* 3*d.*; hard dollars = 2*s.* 10⅔*d.*; reals and quartos of both hard and current dollars are the same, the former being = 4⅓*d.*, and the latter = 1½*d.* Accounts are kept in current dollars (pesos), divided into eight reals of sixteen quartos each; 12 reals currency = 1 cob, or hard dollar, by which goods are bought and sold; and three reals are considered equal to five Spanish reals vellon.

*Gold Coins.*—A doubloon is sixteen dollars = £3 9*s.* 4*d.*; half ditto = £1 14*s.* 8*d.*; sixteenth ditto = 4*s.* 4*d.* *Silver Coins.*—Dollar piece, 4*s.* 4*d.*; half ditto, 2*s.* 2*d.*; quarter ditto, 1*s.* 1*d.*; peseta, 9¾*d.*; eighth of a dollar = 6½*d.*; half peseta = 5*d.*; sixteenth of a dollar = 3¼*d.*; quarter peseta = 2½*d.* There is also a small quantity of British silver coin. *Copper Coin.*—Two-quarter piece = ½*d.*; one ditto, ¼*d.*; chovy = ⅛*d.* (Also a quantity of British copper coin.) No paper currency. Rate of exchange on London, at ninety days' sight, varies from 48*d.* to 49*d.*

*Weights and Measures.*—Arrobe, 26 lbs. English = 3⅓ gallons. Five fanegas (strake measure of wheat) or eight Winchester bushels, or two heaped fanegas of Indian corn = 4½ bushels. Pipe, 117 gallons = 126 gallons English wine measure. The Spanish quintal of 100 lbs. = 101¾ lbs. English.

Position.—By the possession of Gibraltar, England holds a commanding attitude at the Atlantic entrance of the Mediterranean, and is enabled to dispense with the continued presence of a large maritime force, which she would otherwise be compelled to maintain in the Mediterranean, not only with reference to European relations and antagonisms, but also as regards her Asiatic territories. The "Rock" is also an excellent warehouse and shop for the sale of cottons, woollens, and other commodities: by the establishment of a British depôt here, neighbouring traders are enabled to supply themselves at all times with the manufactures or other articles of which they may stand in need, devoid of custom duties, or prohibitory tariffs in contiguous states: a double purpose (military protection and mercantile intercourse) is thus served, at a comparatively trifling expense to the British exchequer.

# SECTION IX.—MALTA AND GOZO.

Locality, Area, History, &c.—Malta, and the adjacent island of Gozo, are situated between Sicily and the African coast, near the entrance of the great bay formed by Cape Bon and Cape Razat; Valetta, the capital, is in 35° 54′ N. lat., and 14° 34′ E. long. Malta was known for more than eighteen hundred years by the name of Melite or Melita: Pliny and Strabo both mention it under this denomination; and there are reasonable grounds for thinking that Melita, and not an islet on the Illyrian shore of the Adriatic, was the site of St. Paul's shipwreck. Whether it was the island mentioned under the appellation of Hyperia (by Homer in the *Odyssey*) and Ogygia, is doubtful. The Phœnicians landed,* it is said, on Malta, about 1519 years B.C., and the navigation of the Mediterranean belonging at this period to that commercial people, they formed a colony there which soon increased in trade and wealth. After being in possession of the island for upwards of seven centuries, the Greeks, B.C. 736, drove out the Phœnicians settled on the island, and called it *Melitas*. Both Phœnicians and Greeks erected extensive buildings, and struck various coins, some of which are still extant. About B.C. 528, the Carthaginians disputed the dominion of Melita with the Greeks, and it was for some time divided between them. The latter were, however, finally compelled to abandon the island to the Carthaginians, under whose sway it attained such opulence as to excite the cupidity and enterprise of the Romans in the first Punic war, when it was plundered by Attilus Regulus, and subsequently seized by Cornelius. The Romans, however, were soon expelled from the island, and only recovered it after the naval victory gained by C. Lutatius, B.C. 242, when a peace was granted to the Carthaginians on the hard condition of surrendering to the conqueror all the islands in their possession between Africa and Italy. The Romans, proud of their acquisition of Melita, took every precaution to gain the attachment of the resident Greek and mixed population, permitted the continuation of their ancient customs, made the colony a *municipium*, and allowed the inhabitants to be governed by their own laws, under a proprætor dependant on the prætorship of Sicily.

The commerce and manufactures of the island were sedulously encouraged: its cotton and linen cloths were then so famed for their fineness and the skill with which they were prepared, as to be regarded at Rome as an article of luxury. Great attention was paid to improving and beautifying the settlement. The merchants and sailors were at this period accustomed to repair to the temples to offer incense to the protecting gods of the island and its trade. On the division of the Roman empire, Malta was ceded to Constantine; but religious dissensions weakened the Romans, in their colonies as well as at home, and left them a prey to the desolating inroads of barbarians. The Vandals seized upon Sicily, A.D. 454, and next took possession of Malta, from whence they were driven, ten years after, by the Goths. Under the Goths and Vandals the commerce of Malta was nearly extinguished, but partially revived under the reign of Justinian, who sent Belisarius to wrest Africa from the Vandals. This celebrated general landed in Malta A.D. 553, and reunited it to the remnant of the empire; but the immunities granted by its former masters were denied: the island became a prey to feuds and dissensions; and for three centuries from the reign of Justinian we are ignorant of the events which mark its history. About A.D. 870, the inhabitants called in the Arabs, but these were driven out in the same year by the Greeks, who remained undisturbed masters for thirty-four years; at the expiration of which period the Arabs again descended in great force, exterminated the Greeks, sold their wives and children for slaves, and established a government dependant upon the Emir of Sicily. To supply the deficiency of taxes, which could not be obtained from the Maltese, the Arabs fitted out piratical cruisers, fortified the city of Notabile, built a fortress on the site of the present castle of St. Angelo, and enriched Malta with plunder acquired on the sea. The Arabs were driven out of Malta, A.D. 1090, by Count Roger the Norman, who

* Whether Malta was inhabited previous to the landing of the Phœnicians, is doubtful: according to tradition, it was originally tenanted by the Phæacians, a race of giants.



established the popular council, which was composed of clergy, nobles, and people freely elected. The island was afterwards given up to the Germans, on account of the marriage between Constance, heiress of Sicily, and Henry VI., son of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Malta was erected into a county and marquisate; but its trade had been totally ruined, and for a considerable period it remained merely a fortified garrison. For seventy-two years the people were subject to the emperors of Germany; until Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., King of France, on becoming King of Sicily, made himself master of the island. After the horrible massacre, known as the Sicilian Vespers, and its consequent political changes, Malta continued faithful to the French, but was soon conquered by the King of Arragon, who, like the kings of Castile, by whom he was succeeded in 1414, ceded the settlement in fief to some personal favourite or distinguished servant of the Crown. The Maltese at this time beheld themselves twice mortgaged for sums lent to their princes; but, always jealous of their liberty, they made a noble effort to retrieve themselves from this thraldom, by twice paying 30,000 florins of gold (a large sum in those days), for which the island was pawned. King Alphonzo, A.D. 1428, declared that Malta and Gozo should never again be separated from the kingdom of Sicily. Alphonzo further declared the inhabitants warranted in opposing a breach of promise by force of arms.

Charles V., with a view to commanding influence in the Mediterranean, and to the security of the coast of Sicily, took possession of Malta. Willing to save the expense of a garrison, and yet at the same time prevent his European enemies from making a descent on the island, the emperor located there the knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, who, newly driven from their principal place of residence, Rhodes, were glad to accept the aid of the powerful prince; and Charles, A.D. 1530, granted them, in perpetual sovereignty, the islands of Malta, Gozo, and the city of Tripoli, under favourable conditions for the Maltese.

The order of the Knights of St. John originated with the hospital of St. John, which existed in Jerusalem from the reign of the Emperor Justinian, and was intended for the accommodation of the crowds of strangers and pilgrims who arrived from all parts to visit the Holy Sepulchre. Its founder, Peter Gerard, a native of Provence, in 1099 A.D., formed an association of a few charitable persons to relieve the sick: these took up their abode in a house distinguished by the name of the Hospital of St. John; they were termed the "*Hospital Brothers*,"—were invested with the regular habit of the St. Augustine order, and took the three vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty, before the patriarch of Jerusalem, under whose immediate authority they remained for some time, until Pope Paschal II., by a bull dated February 15th, 1113, appointed Gerard their "provost and guardian," and enfranchised from tithes all lands and donations bequeathed to the Order. By the same bull it was provided that the successor of Gerard was to be freely elected by the Brothers. The second provost, Raymond du Puis, extended the original design from that of nursing and feeding the sick and poor, to that of affording pilgrims and strangers a safe escort from the Holy City to their own homes; the country between Jerusalem and the nearest port of embarkation for Europe, being inhabited by the opponents of Christianity, who used every means to destroy all who bore the name of Christian. The petition of the Hospitallers that they might become a military order, without relinquishing their religious habits, was granted; the patriarch of Jerusalem armed them himself, and received their vows to defend the Holy Sepulchre with the last drop of their blood, and to combat the "infidels" wherever they should meet them. On the conclusion of the ceremony, the Knights of St. John offered their services to the King of Jerusalem, and afterwards, with the Knights Templars, became the principal support of that ruler, always, however, considering themselves as auxiliaries and not as subjects. The Order was now reorganised, the master's assistants formed into a chapter or council, and rules and statutes instituted and sanctioned by the pope. The crusading spirit of the age lent strength, wealth, and lustre to the new Order; donations were bestowed on it from all quarters; and in consequence of the numerous individuals from different countries who joined the association, the knights agreed to divide themselves into seven *languages*. The French having founded the Order, were the most numerous; the three first *languages* being those of Provence, Auvergne, and France; the next four those of Italy, Arragon, England, and Germany. Castile was subsequently added to the original seven languages, and the Anglo-Bavarian was substituted for that of England.

The principal nobility in Christendom joined the association, which was divided into three sections, according to birth, rank, and functions. The first class, the Knights of Justice, was only open to men of ancient and noble descent; the second comprised Religious Chaplains and Priests of Obedience; and the third was composed of Serving Brothers: and so popular did the Order become, that from the highest ranks of society in Europe children were sent to Jerusalem, to be brought up under the tuition of the knights, previous to enlisting under their banners.

The Hospitallers of St. John remained in the Holy Land until 1289 A.D., when they were compelled to follow the fortunes of the Latin Christians, and retreat from Palestine. The knights remained some time at Cyprus; but having captured Rhodes, in 1307, from some Greek rebels and Mohammedan corsairs, the Hospitallers removed thither, and soon began to recover from the depressed state into which they had fallen, and which was as much owing to their fierce contests with the Knights Templars as with the infidels. At Rhodes the

Hospitallers had still to contend with powerful enemies. Bashaw Mischa Palæologus, a renegade Christian, besieged Rhodes in 1480, with a fleet of 160 ships, and an army of 100,000 men; and after a siege of eighty-nine days, retired with a loss of 9,000 slain and 15,000 wounded. The Turks determined on the expulsion of the knights from Rhodes, and landed on the island, 26th June, 1522, with an army of 150,000 men, which was presently followed by the Emperor Solyman with additional forces. L'Isle Adam, the grand-master, placing himself at the head of 600 knights, supported by 4,500 regular troops, together with some citizen soldiers, resolved to die in defence of his order. Aid from the European sovereigns was sought in vain; the pope and other potentates contented themselves with assurances of good-will and formal prayers on their behalf; nevertheless, the knights stanchly withstood a six months' siege from the overwhelming Turkish army, until, owing to the treachery of one of their own body, their gunpowder was exhausted; and after 80,000 Turks (according to the confession of the Ottomans) had fallen before the besieged, and an equal number had died from sickness, the Janissaries entered the city, and the few knights who had survived this terrible assault, together with 4,000 inhabitants, quitted Rhodes to seek another asylum. A home, after some wandering, was given to these gallant men by Charles V. (October 26th, 1530); and that refuge, as previously remarked, was Malta, then in a state of wretched dilapidation. The new-comers soon changed the face of things; churches, hospitals, and infirmaries were speedily erected; a regular, and indeed handsome city, was built upon a rude and barren rock, and formidable batteries constructed, so as to render their adopted island the strongest place in Christendom.

The income of the Hospitallers at this period, classified according to the national distinction of languages, is shown in the annexed table, which was transmitted to me, with other valuable documents, by Sir Frederick Ponsonby, the late esteemed governor of Malta. The sums stated can, however, only be regarded as approximative.*

| Languages. | Number of Commanderies. | Estimated Value. | Paid into the Public Treasury. |
|---|---|---|---|
| France had three:— | | £ | £ |
| Provence . . . / Auvergne . . . / France . . . . | 249 | 160,340 | 58,040 |
| Spain two:— | | | |
| Arragon . . . . / Castile . . . . | 75 | 61,517 | 27,145 |
| Portugal . . . . . | 78 | 55,598 | 9,187 |
| Italy . . . . . | 192 | 60,208 | 23,533 |
| Anglo-Bavaria, including Germany . | 54 | 31,319 | 6,651 |
| Total . . . | 648 | 368,982 | 124,556 |

The grand-master was elected by the resident members of the Order, who had the right of voting on the third day after the death of the chief. The eight divisions (according to language) assembled in their respective chapels in the church of St. John, in Valetta, and each named three knights who were to vote for the whole. These twenty-four electors retired into the chamber of the conclave, and named a triumvirate consisting of a knight, a chaplain, and a serving brother of arms, whom they invested with the power of election.† The grand-master had not only a military and regular authority over all the members of the Order, but exercised sovereign power in all its force over his subjects. The legislative authority rested in the council and chapter of the Order, in which the grand-master had only two votes; but he alone could convoke the

* Sir Richard Broun makes the following statement regarding the Order in England:—"On the division of the Order in 1118, the Knights Hospitallers of England, Scotland, and Ireland constituted the sixth language, or nation. This branch of the fraternity, which attained to great power and wealth in these islands, was under the administration of a chapter, composed of the following principal officers:—viz., the turcopolier, or general of the horse and marine guards; the lord grand-prior, the acting chief of the British branch, and capitular bailiff, or lieutenant of England; the lord prior of Torphichen, or bailiff of Scotland; the lord prior of Kilmainham, or bailiff of Ireland; the conservator; the procurator; the grand-crosses; the commanders; the grand-chaplains; the grand-secretary, &c., &c. The grand priory of the sixth language—a magnificent edifice founded by Lord Jordan Briset a little subsequently to 1101—contained a church, an hospital, and inns for the knights, &c. It was situated in the parish of Clerkenwell, London, which is still rich in monuments of the grandeur of the Hospitallers. When the Knights Templars were suppressed in 1307, the whole of their extensive possessions in the British isles were bestowed on the knights of the sixth language. The Order in England possessed fifty-three commanderies, and in Scotland and Ireland there was scarcely a county in which they did not hold estates. The grand-prior sat in the parliament of England as the premier baron of the realm; and the prior of Torphichen, commonly called Lord Saint John, took his seat as a peer in the meeting of the Scottish estates. The house of Saint John, Clerkenwell, or the grand priory of the sixth language, was dedicated by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in the year of our Lord 1185. It was set on fire in 1381, by the rebels under Wat Tyler, and burnt for seven days; and it was not finally repaired till 123 years afterwards, when the Lord Prior Docwra, in 1504, put the finishing hand to all the various re-erections which the calamitous event had made necessary. This building, in its widely-varied decorations, both internally and externally, is said to have contained specimens of the arts, both of Europe and Asia, together with collections of books and rarities, the loss of which, in a less turbulent age, would have been a subject of national regret."—(*Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.* London, 1837; pp. 40—43.) Previous to the Reformation in England, the Order enjoyed a considerable income in Great Britain and in Ireland; and there still exists in the British Museum a court-roll of their possessions: Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* also gives information on the subject. Besides the receipts arising from the commanderies, trifling taxes were levied in Malta, chiefly of customs and excise, which, together with the rent of landed property, amounted to about £30,000 a-year. The revenue of the grand-master was about £35,000 a-year, arising from one commandery in each of the priories, and certain monopolies in Malta. The average annual income and expenditure of the treasury of Malta, between the years 1779 and 1788, is stated to have been as follows:—Total income, about £136,141; total expenditure, £126,186.

† The Maltese, a few of whom were members of the Order, were excluded from voting at the election of the grand-master. Besides the three classes, there were persons who were called Brothers de Stage or Donats, and wore the demi-cross, a special distinction given to those who had merited reward by having served faithfully in subaltern situations.

former, and no subject could be discussed in the latter unless first proposed by himself.

The title given him by the King of France was "*Tres cher et tres aimé cousin;*" by other princes, "*Eminentissime Princeps.*" The following was the style of all public acts:—"*Dei Gratia Sacræ Domus Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani et Militaris Ordinis Sancti Sepulcri Dominici, et Ordinis Sancti Antonii Viennensis Magister Humilis Pauperumque Jesu Christi Custos.*"*

The Knights of St. John were not long settled in Malta before they rendered good service to Charles V., and indeed to all Europe, by the frequent chastisement and repulsion of the African corsairs. The Turks, in revenge, attacked Malta, but were compelled to retire, not however before they had carried off 6,000 natives from Gozo. Subsequent to this attack, great efforts were made to strengthen the fortifications; Fort St. Elmo was named in commemoration of one of the towers that guarded the entrance to Rhodes, and Fort St. Michael was built upon Mount St. Julien; knights, burgesses, and peasants, relieved each other, by turns, in completing the stupendous works which still exist for the defence of Malta; the prizes taken by the far-famed galleys of the Order contributed to enrich the island, and the grand-master, La Sangle, expended his wealth in adding to its strength and beauty, in gratitude for which, the appellation of Fort St. Michael was then changed for that of Isle La Sangle.

During the administration of grand-master La Valette, who was elected in 1557, Solyman attacked Malta with a Turkish fleet of 159 vessels with oars, containing 30,000 land troops, Janissaries, and Spahis, while a considerable number of store-ships conveyed artillery, horses, &c. The Turks landed at St. Thomas's Creek (Ladderport); La Valette had but 700 knights, and 8,500 regular and militia Maltese soldiers; nevertheless the Turks lost 1,500 men on their first landing. Solyman commenced a vigorous land attack on St. Elmo castle (24th May, 1565), with ten 80-pounders, two culverins (60-pounders), and an enormous basilise carrying stone balls of 160 lbs. weight, to which was added a furious cannonade poured forth from the Turkish ships with long culverins. The castle had but 300 men for its defence. The Turks attempted to storm the ravelins, which cost them a loss of 3,000 men, and the Order lost twenty knights and 100 soldiers: the siege still continued; La Valette cheered the spirits and stimulated the drooping courage of the small band in St. Elmo; at night he sent boats to convey away the wounded, and throw in reinforcements: the Turks persisted in their desperate efforts, and suffered much in their attacks from hoops covered with wool and cotton steeped in brandy and oil, saltpetre, &c., and then thrown lighted on them from the battlements. The bashaws who had charge of the siege, ashamed at the resistance offered by a single castle, determined on a general assault on the 16th June; the night previous to which was spent in one continued and tremendous cannonade, which razed the wall even to the rock on which the castle was built. The Turkish army entered the ditch (now nearly filled up) to the sound of martial music, and the attack commenced with terrific fury on either side, the Turks being determined to revenge their past defeats, and the knights intent only on the defence of their honour, which was dearer to them than life: the batteries at Fort St. Angelo, La Sangle, and the Burgh (Borgo), poured forth an incessant fire upon the besiegers, and the fiery hoops and combustibles thrown from the walls spread death and terror around. After a contest of six hours' duration, the Turks gave way, with a loss of 2,000 men, while seventeen knights were killed in the breach, and 300 Maltese perished or were disabled. La Valette instantly threw a reinforcement of 150 volunteers into the castle, to prevent which, in future, the Turks cut off all communication between the Burgh and the castle, by means of extensive intrenchments, working for that purpose night and day. On the 21st June another desperate attempt was made against St. Elmo by the whole Turkish army, who were three times repulsed, and as often with sanguinary imprecations returned to the charge; numbers of the knights perished, and the fall of night alone suspended the unequal contest. The heroic defenders, as soon as night closed, sent an expert swimmer across the port, to inform the grand-master of their deplorable situation; five large boats were instantly filled with auxiliaries, anxious to join their wounded and exhausted companions; but all their efforts to reach the castle were fruitless. The beleaguered knights, seeing all relief hopeless, determined to perish in defending St. Elmo: they took the sacrament during the night, and having tenderly embraced one another, returned to their posts to meet the fate which was now inevitable; those whose wounds prevented their walking were carried in chairs to the breaches, and with swords grasped in their feeble hands, felt a death-like and spasmodic energy revive their expiring strength. At day-break the Turks returned to the assault, shouting with the assurance of victory: they were met as before with invincible courage; the Maltese vied with the knights in heroism, and those who were scarcely able to stand continued still to fight. After four hours' assault, there remained but sixty men to defend the breach; L'Amrande, the commanding knight, finding the Turks on the point of forcing it, called to his aid some soldiers, who, till that moment, had been placed on the cavalier before the fort; the bashaw, finding the breach thus reinforced, pretended to retreat, but it was only to gain possession of the cavalier; the besieged took advantage of this respite to bind up their wounds, in order to continue the combat yet a little longer, which the Turks recommenced at eleven o'clock with redoubled fury. The Janissaries having gained the top of the cavalier, made choice of those they wished to destroy; most of the knights were thus slain, and the few remaining soldiers and survivors perished in the breach; the terrible contest ceasing only when not a single knight or Maltese remained alive. The bashaw entered the castle, but found none on whom to wreak his fury; all its noble defenders, namely, 300 knights and 1,300 Maltese, were slain; while he himself had lost 8,000 of the flower of his Janissaries. "What resistance," exclaimed the Turkish commander, looking towards the Burgh and St. Angelo, "may we expect from the parent, when the child, small as it is, has cost us our bravest soldiers!" The barbarous conqueror then caused the breasts of the knights to be cut open, and their hearts torn out, while as a further insult to the Christians, their bodies were placed in the shape of a cross, fastened

* In a military calendar of the Order for the year 1742, it is stated that there were 2,132 knights of justice attached to the Order, and 283 chaplains and brothers of arms. The knights ignored the cardinal principle of Christianity, for they possessed at this time 2,500 *slaves*.

to planks, and thrown into the sea, that the tide might carry them to the Burgh. La Valette imitated the ferocity of the bashaw, by directing the Turkish prisoners to be put to death; then loading the cannon with the still bleeding heads, he fired them into the enemy's camp.

Throughout the siege of Fort St. Elmo the grand-master never ceased importuning the viceroy of Sicily for his promised supplies, but in vain; yet, though thus apparently abandoned, the knights determined on resistance to the death, and neither gave nor received quarter. The bashaw sent to the Burgh overtures for surrender, but La Valette threatened to hang the envoy should he dare to renew the proposal; and, when the returning Turkish emissary was conducted through the Maltese forces, the different fortifications were pointed out, with the comment—"On these ramparts we mean to surrender to the bashaw, and we reserve the deep trenches to bury therein him and his Janissaries."

The Turks immediately raised nine batteries against La Sangle, St. Michael, and the Burgh; seventy large cannon began to batter in breach, and where the rock was too hard to open trenches, walls of stone and sand were raised; the main effort being directed to block up the castle, so that there should be no external communication either by sea or land. Before, however, the passage by land was entirely closed, forty knights, and some other gentlemen of different nations, favoured by a thick fog, landed in the Black Stone Creek, and safely reached the Burgh. The Turks had from the commencement endeavoured to reduce La Sangle and its castle, which were constantly fired upon from a battery erected on Coradin heights, that commanded both. The besieged in La Sangle being cut off from all communication, except by the sea, the Turks proposed to transport boats by land from Port Marsa-Musceit to the Grand Port, it being impossible for them to pass any other way except under the batteries of Fort St. Angelo, which would have immediately sunk them. A deserter from the Turks revealed this daring plot, and the besieged took new precautions to defend the coast-line of their works. Above all things it was necessary to guard the walls of Fort St. Michael; a stockade was therefore constructed from the Coradin rock to the end of the island, by fixing stakes in the sea, fastened together by iron rings, and a long chain.

Where the water was too deep, or the bottom of the rock too hard to drive in the stakes, the object was attained by nailing together long sail-yards and masts of ships. Other stockades were made to prevent the enemy coming near the coast: the whole of the works being carried on by night, when the Turkish artillery had ceased to play upon the batteries. At the end of nine nights the bashaw was astonished to see such efficient defences raised to the passage of his boats and the landing of the troops: he sent, therefore, during the darkness, some good swimmers, with hatchets in their girdles, to cut down the palisades. The noise thus made warned the garrison, but finding the shot from above did not reach the Turks, some Maltese seamen threw themselves into the water, with swords between their teeth,—swam to the stockades, and repulsed their assailants with considerable loss. The Turks next day returned to the charge, and fastened cables and ropes to the palisades, which were almost instantly cut across by the Maltese swimmers. These singular contests were then laid aside, and the whole power of the Turkish batteries directed towards effecting a breach in the advanced works of the Burgh and Fort St. Michael: however, when this had been accomplished, the bashaw was unwilling to attempt to storm until reinforced by the arrival of Haseen, the viceroy of Algiers, who landed with a strong body of well-trained soldiers.

The Algerines were commanded by the young son of Barbarossa, who, despising the castles, entreated to be suffered to carry them at once sword in hand: the permission was given,—a destructive fire was opened from the Turkish batteries; their slaves, &c., conveyed a number of galleys across Mount Sceberras and Marsa-Musceit post, and these when afloat, were manned by the Algerines, and commanded by an able Greek renegade named Candelissa. Two thousand picked Turkish soldiers joined the Algerine storming party, which advanced, preceded by Mohammedan priests with the Koran in their hands, imprecating the curses of heaven on the Christians, and promising eternal rewards to all who should fall in the praiseworthy occupation of accomplishing their destruction. The object of the Algerines was to make a bridge of the stockades: for this purpose they brought planks, which, however, proved too short to reach the shore. The Maltese batteries poured destruction on the boats of their antagonists, one volley alone killing 400 Turks. Again and again the Moslems, urged by religious fanaticism, returned to the attack; the Algerines at length reached the shore, where they met death in various forms, until Candelissa, their general, seeing them stagger and inclined to retreat, ordered the boats to a distance, that flight might be impossible. Despair came to the aid of fanaticism; the intrenchments were approached with escalading ladders, and after a sanguinary contest of five hours, the Algerines reached the top of the intrenchment, and planted thereon seven standards. The knights, though reduced to a very small number, no sooner perceived the banners of Islam floating on their batteries, than they returned to the contest with renewed energy, and being aided by a body of resolute pikemen, which the grand-master had sent to their assistance, charged the Algerines and Turks with a fury which nothing could withstand: the standards were soon gained and uprooted; their defenders driven sword in hand from the tops of the rampart over the parapets, those who escaped from the pike and sabre perishing in the fall. Candelissa, who had hitherto fought bravely, gave up all for lost, and left his gallant followers to maintain a running fight, which they did until a party of the garrison, incensed at their resistance, rushed out of a casement, and put to death all who were unable to reach the boats, where, indeed, death awaited them from the batteries above.

In vain the discomfited besiegers threw themselves at the feet of their conquerors; they received no other answer than "*St. Elmo!*" and out of 4,000 chosen troops, scarcely 500 remained, the greater part of whom were desperately wounded. During this attack the Order lost 100 knights and secular gentlemen; among the former was the son of the viceroy of Sicily. Carnage no less dreadful than that above narrated took place at another assault made on the breaches caused by the Turkish artillery on the side next Burmola and the castle of St. Michael; and there also the assailants were repulsed. The bashaw, regardless of what amount of life he sacrificed, so that Malta were reduced, resolved to

harass the knights by constantly renewed attacks. When the contest had lasted five hours, the Algerines were replaced by some Janissaries, recently sent by the Grand Seignior for the express purpose of destroying the "Hospitallers of St. John." With these fresh troops the jaded and almost exhausted knights were compelled to renew the fearful struggle; but the chosen Janissaries were repelled, though at the cost of forty knights and 200 soldiers. Such repeated losses must, it was considered, eventually extirpate the knights. A sort of raised bridge was constructed for the besiegers to renew the assault; twice during the night the besieged vainly attempted to burn it, and a similar effort by day cost the lives of La Valette's nephew, and several other brave men; however, a well-directed cannonade at last accomplished the destruction of this singular piece of mechanism. The bashaw, fearing the Grand Seignior might attribute these continued failures to some fault in his proceedings, called an extraordinary council of war, in which it was resolved that he (Mustapha), in conjunction with the viceroy of Algiers, should continue to storm La Sangle—that Admiral Pilai should besiege the Grand Burgh and the castle of St. Angelo, and that Candelissa should remain at sea with eighty galleys to prevent any relief from without. In pursuance of this resolution, the Turkish artillery kept up a constant fire according to the posts allotted them; and on the 2nd August the bashaw attempted to storm Fort St. Michael: the contest lasted six hours, but after five different attacks, the Turks were repulsed. After an interval of five days, another assault took place, which lasted four hours. On this memorable occasion, by way of deceiving the besiegers, a feint was made to attack the Castile bastion: the Janissaries then advanced to the real assault, mounting the intrenchments over the dead and dying bodies of their comrades; the Christian women, and even their children joined in the defence: some were employed in conveying refreshments to their husbands, fathers, and relatives; others carried stones and earth to repair the breaches; and many boldly mixed among the combatants, throwing fireworks, melted pitch, and boiling water and oil into the middle of the Turks, who destroyed many of these heroic females.

The bashaw, sabre in hand, headed his troops: he even slew, with his own hand, two Janissaries, who, pressed by the knights, had thrown themselves from the top to the bottom of the breach; but at the very moment when the grand-master trembled for the safety of the fort, Mustapha sounded a retreat, in consequence of the governor of the old city having made a sally, and obtained possession of the Turkish hospital, which he pillaged and burnt. Those who were fortunate enough to escape fled to Mustapha, declaring that their enemies were the advanced guard of a body of Sicilian troops, who they alleged had just landed; the bashaw, therefore, fearing the effect of a panic among his men, drew off from the attack to meet the imaginary enemy.

Throughout the month of August the Turks continued almost daily these terrific attacks; and nothing but the testimony of contemporary historians could persuade posterity that such a handful as the Christians were now reduced to, could have withstood the furious assaults of thousands. Simultaneous attacks were made by the bashaw and admiral; and on one of these occasions (20th August), Mustapha advanced at the head of 80,000 men, the greater number armed with ball-proof morions, which reached as low as the shoulders; these, however, were thrown aside by the wearers, and the usual repulse followed. Extensive mining operations were undertaken with the intention of blowing up the whole of the fortress; but while making preparations for a final storm, the viceroy of Sicily arrived on the island with reinforcements, and the Turks after one battle, precipitately raised the siege and fled to their ships, leaving 25,000 of their bravest troops among the dead. Thus ended the siege of Malta, in which 260 knights, with more than 7,000 soldiers, sealed with their blood the independence of the Knights of St. John.

The intelligence of the raising of the siege spread joy throughout every Christian community. Festivities took place in Sicily, Italy, Spain, &c., and numerous presents and congratulations were showered on La Valette and his brave band. It became, however, a serious question whether the knights should abandon Malta: they and their followers were now reduced to scarce 600 men, the greater part of whom were wounded; yet La Valette declared, sooner than seek safety in flight, he would bury himself in the ruin which Solyman, with a new and formidable fleet, was threatening to accomplish. By a daring plan, however, which has never been fully explained, the arsenal at Constantinople was burned, together with a great number of vessels, destined for Malta; and thus the knights received a respite which enabled them to commence the reconstruction of their fortifications.*

It was at this period that the city of La Valetta was built, with the aid of the princes of Europe: the Pope promised 15,000 crowns; the King of France, 140,000 French livres; Philip II. granted 90,000 French livres; the King of Portugal, 30,000 crusadoes; and most of the distant knight commanders contributed property, and stripped themselves of their valuables, which they generously forwarded to La Valette, who founded a well-planned capital, 28th March, 1566.

At the battle of Lepanto, in 1571, the Turks lost 30,000 men; 5,000 officers and soldiers were taken prisoners, with 140 galleys, independent of those sunk or burnt: the Maltese, as usual, behaved with distinguished gallantry.

Under the sway of Vignacourt, in 1601, the Order took part with the defendants, during the attacks upon Patras, Lepanto, Mahometa (on the coast of Africa), the island of Largo, Fort de Laiazzo, Corinth, &c. Repeated successes in these quarters induced the Turks again to menace Malta, but after landing 5,000 men, they were compelled to make a precipitate retreat.

In 1603 the Hospitallers resolutely withstood an infringement of their rules. Charles de Brie, an illegitimate son of Henry Duke

* For details of this celebrated siege, and other circumstances connected with its gallant defenders, *see* Boisegelin's *History of the Knights of St. John.*

of Lorraine, desired to become a knight of the German order; but though the emperor himself endeavoured to compel his admittance, it was successfully resisted. In 1616, Vignacourt, among other useful works—such as the fortifying of St. Paul's Cove, the ports of Marsa-Sirocco, Marsa-Scala, and the island of Comino,—caused the aqueduct to be erected which supplies La Valetta with water.*

In 1630, a grand chapter was held, and new ordinances framed: not the least remarkable or praiseworthy of these, was that which decreed the severest punishment against any of the knights who should engage in duelling. In 1669 the Maltese, apprehending that peace being now concluded between the Venetians and Turks, the latter would essay to revenge on Malta the injury inflicted during the late war, caused the Cotoner fortifications to be erected, new works added to La Floriana, Fort Ricasoli to be erected, St. Elmo almost entirely rebuilt, and St. Angelo improved. A more terrible and irresistible foe, the plague, visited Malta, and committed great ravages. A lazaretto was built at Port Marsa-Muscett.

Charles II. of England, being at this period at war with Tripoli, the knights, despite the sequestration of their property in England and Ireland by Henry VII., opened their ports and arsenals to the English navy, and furnished supplies of provisions and ammunition for the crew and ordnance. Charles courteously acknowledged this generous conduct by the following letter to the grand-master:—

"Carolus II. Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Iberniæ, Rex, Fidei Defensor, Eminentissimo Principi Domino Nicolao Cotoner, Magno Ordinis Melitensis Magistro, Consanguineo et Amico nostro Charissimo, salutem.

"Eminentissime Princeps, Consanguinee et Amice noster Charissime,

"Non solum per litteras Joannis Narbrourgh Equitis aurati, quem classibus nostris in mari Mediterraneo admirabili jure ac potestate præfecimus, sed aliunde quoque intelleximus, quam benigne Eminentia Vestra, vestroque jussu et exemplo totus Sacer Ordo Melitensis illum, aliosque navium nostrarum bellicarum rectores tractaverit, ita ut domi et in armamentariis nostris melius quam in portu vestro Melitensi haberi non possent. Magnæ quidem hoc est amicitiæ indicium, eoque majoris, quod regna et maria nostra ab usitata Sacri Ordinis Melitensis navigatione tam longe distent, ut Eminentiæ Vestræ humanitati in hac parte respondendi, rarissimæ nobis occasiones expectandæ sint. Alius igitur modus exquirendus est, quo gratitudinem nostram et affectum erga Eminentiam vestram suæque sacræ Militiæ socios pro merito notificemus. Quod ut faciamus, omnes opportunitates quandocumque obvenerint, libentissime amplectemur, studiosissime prosequemur. Eminentiam interim vestram totumque Ordinem Melitensem Dei optimi maximi tutelæ ex animo commendamus. Dabantur in Palatio nostro Whitehalli, die 26 Januarii, 1676."

In May, 1698, Peter I. of Russia, in pursuance of his sagacious policy, sent a grand embassy to Malta, under Keremetz, ostensibly to pay his respects to the famous heroes of the church militant, but in reality to obtain their aid against the Turks.

During the early part of the 18th century, Malta made great efforts against the Barbary and Algerine corsairs, &c., and the safety of the commerce of the Mediterranean was mainly owing to the bravery and skill of the seamen of the knights' galleys. The inherent evils of slavery were manifested in the island during the grand-mastership of Emanuel Pinto de Fonseca, when 4,000 African slaves conspired to murder and poison the knights; but the plot was happily arrested on the eve of execution, being discovered by means of a drunken brawl between a negro, a Persian, and a Jew.

An insurrection occurred in 1775, with the motive, as some say, to obtain sovereign power for the pope: according to others, Catherine II. of Russia was intriguing for the possession of the island. Fort St. Elmo was surprised by three or four hundred persons; but in consequence of a convention between the Maltese and the Order, it was soon recaptured, and tranquillity restored. To guard against the recurrence of such an event, a regiment, consisting of natives and foreigners, officered by the knights, was raised for duty in the city of Valetta and the different ports, while a corps of 1,200 men, entirely Maltese, was organised for the defence of the country and coasts. On the occasion of the earthquake in Calabria and Sicily, in 1783, the "Hospitallers" displayed the energetic charity of their valiant ancestors,—fitted out their galleys at midnight, and afforded effectual succour to the perishing inhabitants around Messina and Reggio.

The French revolution inflicted a fatal blow on Malta. The republicans looked with wistful eyes on the neat and well-kept farms and estates of the Order, situated in various parts of France, which several centuries of good management had greatly improved; and measures were taken for the sequestration

* According to Maltese measurement, the aqueduct was 7,478 cannes in length: a canne = 8 palmes; a palme = 9 inches.

of their property. In the first National Assembly the order of St. John of Jerusalem was treated as a foreign power, possessing property in France, and as such, liable to the taxes imposed throughout the country: the appearance of justice was thus preserved. The next blow was a decree of the Legislative Assembly in reference to equality, declaring that every Frenchman who was a member of the order of knighthood, which required proofs of nobility, could no longer be regarded as a French citizen. The third act was the mandate of the 19th September, 1792, which determined that the Order of Malta should be entirely annulled, and all its property annexed to the demesnes of France!* This decree had no sooner passed than the estates were seized, the houses of the commanders ransacked and plundered, the knights hunted down like wild beasts, and many of them thrown into loathsome dungeons, in cruel mockery termed places of "*public safety*," where the axe of the executioner remained suspended over their heads. Nevertheless, the knights remained neutral during the revolutionary wars in which the French nation was engaged. A temporary aid was afforded by the restoration of their property in Poland by the Emperor of Russia, who became protector of the Order; but the sequestration of their property in Spain and Italy, was a final blow to their strength and independence.

At the congress of Rastadt, the French professed the most pacific intentions towards Malta, but secretly essayed its forcible occupation: intriguing emissaries proceeded to the island; and efforts were made to sow dissension among the different classes of the inhabitants. Buonaparte, knowing the strength of the place, sent Admiral Brueys with a fleet of eighteen sail of men-of-war thither, preceded by a 60-gun ship and a xebeck, which approached Fort St. Elmo, pretending a leak, and requested permission to enter and repair in a neutral port at amity with the republic. The request was unsuspectingly granted, and the ship remained eight days, apparently refitting, but really reconnoitring and sounding in boats the harbour and coasts around. The admiral having ascertained that the forts were well manned and provided with artillery, thought it prudent to depart; previously, however, thanking the grand-master for his friendly conduct, and assuring him of the pacific intentions of the French government: the minister of marine at Paris also returned official thanks on the occasion; but within a very few months the Directory shamelessly declared that Malta had been regarded as the enemy of France ever since the year 1792. On the evening of the 6th of June, the first division of the French fleet appeared off Malta: the knights prepared for defence; the French expressed their surprise that any alarm should be felt; while at the same time secret emissaries† were spreading the elements of disaffection and distrust throughout the island. On the 9th the remainder of the grand army and fleet destined for Egypt, appeared under Buonaparte, who immediately sent to the grand-master (Hompesch) to demand the free entry of all the ports for the whole of the fleet and convoy! This of course would have been a virtual surrender of the island, and was at once refused. The designs of Buonaparte were now evident, and preparations were made for defence, but the treachery of several of the knights, the consequent tumults and dissension among the people, together with the indecision and incapacity of the grand-master, rendered resistance hopeless; and while the defenders of an impregnable fortress were fighting amongst themselves and slaying each other, Buonaparte, by a mere display of force, became master of the island. The following were the terms of the capitulation, every condition of which was almost immediately violated by the French.

Article 1. The knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem shall give up the city and forts of Malta to the French army: at the same time renouncing in favour of the French republic, all right of property and sovereignty over that island, together with those of Gozo and Comino.

2. The French republic shall employ all its credit at the congress of Rastadt, to procure a principality for the grand-master for life, equivalent to the one he gives up; and the said republic engages to pay him in the meantime an annual pension of 300,000 French livres, besides two annats of the pension, by way of indemnification for his personals. He shall also be treated with the usual military honours during the whole of his stay in Malta.

3. The French knights of the order of St. John

* Probably this confiscation was accelerated from the Order having listened to the application of Louis XVI. for pecuniary aid, and having sent that monarch, previous to his flight to Varennes, bills for 500,000 French livres.

† Pretended Greek galleys, with experienced French soldiers on board, disguised as sailors, were sent into the harbour as if laden with grain, but having beneath arms and ammunition for the supply of the disaffected, who it was hoped would join the French. The Maltese, however, though dissatisfied with the knights, declined alliance with their enemies.

of Jerusalem, actually resident in Malta, if acknowledged as such by the commander-in-chief, shall be permitted to return to their own country, and their residence in Malta shall be considered in the same light as if they inhabited France. The French republic will likewise use its influence with the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian republics, that this third article may remain in force for the knights of those several nations.

4. The French republic shall make over an annual pension of 700 French livres to each knight now resident in Malta for life, and 1,000 livres to those whose ages exceed sixty years. It shall also endeavour to induce the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian republics to grant the same pension to the knights of their respective countries.

5. The French republic shall employ its credit with the different powers, that the knights of each nation may be allowed to exercise their right over the property of the Order of Malta, situated in their dominions.

6. The knights shall not be deprived of their private property either in Malta or in Gozo.

7. The inhabitants of the islands of Malta and Gozo shall be allowed, the same as before, the free exercise of the catholic, apostolical, and Roman religion: their privileges and property shall likewise remain inviolate, and they shall not be subject to any extraordinary taxes.

8. All civil acts passed during the government of the Order, shall still remain valid.

The forces belonging to the Order before the capitulation, consisted of 200 French knights, ninety Italian, twenty-five Spanish, eight Portuguese, four German, and five Anglo-Bavarian: total, 332,—of whom fifty were disabled by age and infirmities. The Maltese regiment, 700 men; the grand-master's guards, 200; battalion belonging to the men-of-war, 400; ditto of galleys, 300; old gunners, 100; militia embodied as chasseurs, 1,200; sailors belonging to the men-of-war who acted as gunners, 1,200; militia, 3,000: total, 7,100. The militia might be increased to 10,000—all Maltese capable of bearing arms. Against this force Buonaparte might well have been astonished that his triumph had been so bloodless, the greatest quantity shed being that of the knights who perished during a massacre by the Maltese, which I am informed* was caused by the discovery of the treachery practised by certain of the knights in delivering over the place to the French,—by causing the cartridges distributed to the soldiery to be filled with charcoal, slightly topped with gunpowder; in support of which, it is added that they openly used tricoloured cockades, flags, &c. It seems certain that the bravery of the knights had become at this period nearly extinct; that they had grown sensual and indolent, and that they retained little of their original character beyond the name and certain ceremonials—the husk, not the kernel, of a time-honoured institution.

The disciples of liberty and equality were no sooner in possession of Malta, than they commenced destroying everything which bore any stamp of nobility; beautiful statues and paintings, which had escaped the ravaging hand of centuries, were mercilessly broken and burnt, because they recorded the chivalrous deeds of an "*ancienne noblesse.*" One of the first acts of the conquerors of Malta, and in violation of the treaty of capitulation, was an order for all the knights to quit the island in three days. On the second day, Buonaparte sent a general press-gang into every port of the island, and all the sailors, the grand-master's guards, and the enrolled soldiery, &c., were compelled to go on board the French fleet, leaving their families in a state of utter destitution. The third step was the seizure of such private property belonging to the grand-master and knights, as might be made to contribute towards defraying the expenses of the municipal government, or enrich the new authorities.

Buonaparte quitted Malta on the 19th June, 1798, leaving a garrison of 4,000 men in the island, under General Vaubois, and carrying away with him whatever ornaments in gold or silver could readily be obtained from the public edifices and churches.

When the Maltese learned the intelligence of the total destruction of the French fleet at Aboukir, a hope of destroying the invaders (now strengthened to 6,000 by the remnant that escaped from Egypt) arose, and five days after an insurrection broke out. On the 2nd September, 1798, some French officers were dispatched to Città Vecchia (the old capital of the island before Valetta was built, and distant from it about seven miles), and while they were employed in removing certain articles from one of the churches, the people assembled, fell upon them, put to death the commander, and the whole detachment afterwards met the same fate. This was the signal for a general rising; and such was the resolution and enthusiasm of the people, that almost unaided by arms or ammunition, they obliged the French troops to shut themselves up in Valetta. The principal leaders of the Maltese were the Canon Caruana (subsequently Bishop of Malta), Signor Vincenzo Borg, of Bircarcara, and Signor Vitale.

* By N. Mitrovitch, a Maltese gentleman.

The garrison of Valetta consisted of between four and five thousand regular troops, besides the crews of two frigates and a line-of-battle ship; in all amounting to above six thousand men. The French made several sorties, but were repulsed by the Maltese, who kept them closely blockaded. On the 18th September the Portuguese fleet, under the Marquis di Rizza, appeared off the island, and the Maltese chiefs having immediately concerted with the admiral, he supplied them with a few muskets and some ammunition. On the 24th September, a part of the English fleet, returning from Egypt under Sir James Saumarez, appeared off Malta; as did also Lord Nelson, on the 24th of October. The English furnished the Maltese inhabitants with 1,500 muskets and some ammunition, and left with them Sir Alexander Ball, who was chosen by the people as president of the National Council, to which they then gave the name of Congress. For the long period of sixteen months, the Maltese continued to blockade Valetta, without any support from foreign auxiliaries, inflicting loss and disgrace whenever the French troops attempted to make a sortie from the walls; and General Vaubois truly remarked, that "no trace of the former docile character of the islanders remained; they combated like enraged lions." In December, 1799, a small body of British troops (1,300), under General Graham, afterwards Lord Lynedoch, and two Neapolitan battalions (900), arrived to the rescue.

The blockade continued until the 4th September, 1800, when the French being quite exhausted,* surrendered to General Pigot, who had taken the command of the troops of the siege.†

On the departure of the French, the British provisionally occupied Valetta, and Sir A. Ball administered the government of Malta as civil commissioner.

By the treaty of Amiens it was proposed to restore Malta to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, but only on condition that the Maltese should be allowed to form a language of the Order without proofs of nobility being required, together with other privileges not before enjoyed.

The re-establishment of the order of St. John of Jerusalem was strongly opposed by the Maltese, who sought the blessing of free institutions, and the revival of their ancient commercial opulence, under the protection of Great Britain: indeed, the advisability of perpetuating the ancient institution, under the altered circumstances of the age, was more than doubtful.

The proposed restoration was not effected, though Russia was very desirous, as well as France, that such should have been the case: indeed, St. Petersburg had been the headquarters of the knights since their expulsion from Malta. Napoleon made the non-restitution of Malta one of the chief causes for breaking the treaty of Amiens; but no stipulation of the kind had been included in the terms of surrender. The island became a portion of the British empire, not merely by conquest, but by the voice of the Maltese themselves, who, by their bravery, showed themselves fully entitled to vest the sovereignty of their country in those who possessed their confidence, and were capable of affording them efficient aid.

Physical Aspect.—Malta, the most southerly island in Europe,‡ is in the parallel (Valetta observatory) of 35° 53′ N., and in the meridian of 14° 30′ 35″ E. of Greenwich. The shape is an irregular oval, and has been compared by some to a fish—its southern surface resembling the back, the Bay of Marsa-Sirocco the mouth, the various indentations on the north aspect

* The garrison was reduced to such extremity during a strict blockade, exceeding two years, that the horses and mules were killed for the use of the sick in the hospitals. Those of the inhabitants who had interest enough in the medical department to obtain for invalid members of their families a small portion of liver, or other viscus, thought themselves fortunate. A flight of quails passing over Valetta, enabled General Vaubois, with the aid of a good cook, to furnish the commissioners who were sent in to treat for the surrender, with an excellent dinner of two courses, of what they supposed to be every variety of meat. After the capitulation was completed, some surprise was expressed at the French general's table being supplied with such a variety of excellent dishes, at a time when it was believed the resources of the garrison were reduced to a moderate allowance of bread only. The general then confessed that they were chiefly indebted for such good fare to the fortuitous accident of some quails being taken on the terraces that day, which, with some tame rabbits, formed the only animal food on the table.

† Lord Carysfort, in a letter to Lord Elgin, dated Berlin, 29th November, 1800, states, that the French offered Malta to Russia a short time previous to its capitulation. The refusal of England to give up Malta to Russia, was the main cause of the latter laying an embargo on English vessels in 1800. The Muscovites have long coveted a position in the Mediterranean.

‡ The island was formerly placed by all geographers in Africa, but was declared to be in Europe by a British act of parliament.

the ventral fins, and the deep indentation of the Bay of Melleha, with a corresponding configuration at the back of the island, the tail; the land stretches east and west, and is much broken by bays and inlets of the sea on the side which lies parallel with the coast of Sicily, while that which faces the African coast is nearly a continuous curve.

The extreme length of Malta is stated by Dr. Hennen at eighteen to twenty miles, and its greatest breadth from north to south, ten to twelve miles; circumference, sixty to seventy; but a chart of the islands under the British Crown, furnished me from the Colonial Office, makes the extreme length sixteen and three-quarter miles, extreme breadth nine, and the area ninety-five square miles. The same document gives Gozo (the island adjacent to and dependent on Malta) nine and three-quarter miles in extreme length, five and one-third in breadth, with an area of twenty-seven square miles. Malta is distant from Cape Passaro, the nearest point of Sicily,* fifty-six miles, and from Cape Bon, the nearest point of the African continent, nearly two hundred miles. It is bounded on the east by the island of Candia; on the west by the islets of Pantelleria, Linosa, and Lampedusa; on the north by Sicily, and on the south by Tripoli. The sea dividing Malta from Sicily is only eighty fathoms deep in the middle or deepest part; very shallow in other places, with a sandy bottom: it is called the Canal of Malta, and is generally rough, with strong currents setting through it on the N.W. side towards the E.S.E., and on the E.S.E. side towards the E. Gozo Isle, originally known under the name of "*Gaulos*" by the Greeks, "*Gaulum*" by the Romans, and by corruption in the Arabic language, "*Gaudese*," which in process of time was Italianised into Gozo (pronounced Godso), is situate about three miles to the westward of Malta. In the channel lies the small islet of Comino, formerly called "Hephostia," of an oblong shape, and about five miles in circumference, with a still smaller islet or rock called *Cominetto*, off its north-west extremity. Malta, comparatively speaking, is low, the highest land being but 1,200 feet above the level of the sea, and undiscernible by the mariner until within twenty to thirty miles of the shore. The surface is much diversified with hill and dale; and the natural industry of the Maltese has converted an apparently barren rock into a picturesque country. As a general feature, it may be observed that the island is furrowed with valleys running from south-west to north-east, parallel to each other, and becoming longer and deeper as they extend from the eastern and western extremity. One, termed Melleha, nearly divides Malta into two parts; the most fertile, however, is the vale, which forms at its lowest extremity the port of Valetta.

A small range of hills and craggy rocks, called the Ben Jemma Hills, bearing a north-west direction from Valetta, stretch across the entire breadth of the island, and from these different spurs branch off, giving variety to the landscape. The southern shore consists of high or shelving rocks, destitute of any creeks or ports where a landing could be effected. To the east there is the port of Marsa (which Arabic word signifies port or harbour) Scala, and towards the south-west that of Marsa-Sirocco, capable of containing a great number of vessels. On the west there are two bays, called Antifaga and Magiarro.

The port of St. Paul is on the coast opposite Sicily, and is so called from a tradition that the vessel in which the great apostle was sent prisoner to Rome was driven in thither by a storm. St. George's Port, towards the north, is not far distant from that of St. Paul: St. Julian's Bay is on the same shore.

Directly facing Cape Passaro are the two largest havens; that to the left termed Marsa-Musceit, in the midst of which is a small island where quarantine is performed; the other, situate to the east, is called the Great Harbour.† These two are separated by a tongue of land, on which the city of

* The following, according to Captain Smyth, are the bearings and distances between several points on the south coast of Sicily and Malta:—From Cape Passaro to Valetta, south 33° 14′ west, 56 miles; Alicata to ditto, 21° 55′ east, 75½ miles; Terra Nova to ditto, 10° 40′, 70 miles; Girgenti to ditto, 30° 03′, 90 miles; Sciacca to ditto, 35° 51′, 118 miles; Cape Granitola to ditto, 42° 32′, 136 miles; Maretimo to ditto, 42° 45′, 173 miles.

† The following are the measurements of some of the principal points between Valetta and the Grand and Quarantine harbours. The mouth of the great harbour between Ricasoli and St. Elmo, from shore to shore, 435 yards; between Fort St. Angelo and the Marina of Valetta, from St. Angelo Point to the shore below tho statue of Neptune, 350 yards; between Isola Point and the custom-house, 360 yards; between Corradino Point and the Marina, from the ordnance store to the guard-house, 442 yards; between the church of the Capuchin convent

Valetta is built, the extreme point having on it the castle of St. Elmo, which defends the entrance of both ports. Projecting into the Great Harbour are two parallel points of land, shaped somewhat like two fingers: on one is built the castle of St. Angelo, nearest the entrance of the port, with the Burgh (*Il Borgo*) to the eastward; on the other equally small peninsula is the fortress of La Sangle, which divides the Galley Port from the French Port. Fort St. Michael is on the land side, and defends the two havens of La Sangle. Città Vittoriosa, or Borgo, is built on the same point of land as the castle of St. Angelo, but separated from it by a wet ditch. It has a line of works on its land front, extending from the Galley Port to Calcara Bay. La Sangle, or Isola, on the other point or finger, has its land front covered in a similar manner to that of Vittoriosa, by a line of works extending from the Galley Port to the French Port. More in the rear of La Sangle than St. Angelo is Cospicua, or Burmola, commanded by St. Margaret's-hill, on which is a fort of the same name, and covered to the eastward by a continued line of works, called Fiorenzola. Still further in the rear, and forming a crescent, joined at either end to La Sangle and St. Angelo fortifications, are the strong Cotoner lines, consisting of a succession of bastions without any advanced works, the erection of which was contemplated, but not effected. By sweeping round the French Port to Calcara Bay, towards the interior of the country, a considerable space is left in front of the St. Margarita lines, which would afford shelter to the inhabitants in the event of attempted invasion. The two points of land which jut out to meet the promontory on which St. Elmo castle is built, are also strongly fortified. One, Fort Ricasoli, which is very large, in conjunction with Fort St. Elmo, completely defends the entrance of the Great Harbour; the other, Fort Tigné, protects Marsa-Musceit harbour, which is further guarded by Fort Manoel, built on the quarantine island above adverted to. Fort Manoel is well and regularly built, has five bastions, a half-moon, and a covert-way: it is mined.

In addition to these powerful works, Valetta is effectually protected on the southward or land side, where the neck of the peninsula joins the main, by the fortifications before mentioned as *La Floriana*—a line of works extending from the Great Port to that of Marsa-Musceit, and in advance of which, on the side near the Great Port, there is a crowned hornwork, with a covered way. The Floriana includes five successive lines, any one of which, well manned, would suffice for all ordinary purposes of defence. The ditches in some instances are ninety feet deep, and excavated in the solid rock; the greater part of the ramparts having been in like manner formed by hewing the rocks into the required shapes. Thus Valetta is protected on three sides by the waters of the harbour, which no hostile fleet can enter, as the batteries of St. Angelo rise in four tiers of very heavy metal, a single discharge from which would sink the largest vessel.* The entrance to the port is still further secured by an enormous series of chains, capable of resisting the shock of any force that can be brought to bear upon them.

These extraordinary works were the fruits of continued and unremitting exertions during upwards of two centuries, as shown by the following dates:—

1551. Vittoriosa fortified. Fort St. Elmo built.
1554. Isola fortified. New works added to Vittoriosa. New works added to Fort St. Elmo.
1556. La Valetta commenced.
1571. La Valetta finished.
1636. Floriana works commenced.
1657. Towns built along the coast.
1670. New works added to Floriana. Cotoner lines commenced. Fort Ricasoli commenced.
1686. Fort St. Elmo rebuilt. The castle of St. Angelo considerably strengthened.
1722. Fort Manoel commenced.
1749. Fort Chambray (in Gozo) commenced.
1796. Fort Tigné commenced.

The old city stands upon a height which overlooks the whole country as far as La Valetta; it has a front, with a ditch and covered way. Above the top of the hills which cross the island and separate the inhabited and cultivated parts of Malta from the remainder, a wall five feet thick was erected by the knights as a retreat for the troops to fall back on if unable to prevent the landing of an enemy. Forts and batteries were also constructed at ports St. Paul

and the causeway, which bounds the Marsa, 1,064 yards. The mouth of the Quarantine harbour, between Fort Tigné and Fort St. Elmo, from shore to shore, 404 yards; from the Lazaretto island to Valetta, from shore to shore, 265 yards. The harbour is so deep, that the largest ships of war can anchor in almost every part of it between the mouth and Corradino Point; from that part it gets shallow, until at the causeway at the Marsa the depth does not exceed two feet from the surface to the soft mud.

* The entrance to the smooth but strongly defended harbour of Valetta is very picturesque.

and Marsa-Sirocco, which would place a vessel attempting to anchor under a cross-fire; and towers and redoubts built along the whole coast in such a manner as to communicate almost immediately with each other.

The lines themselves are of immense strength, enclosing the various quarters of the capital for the space of a square mile and a-half, and forming works of such extent and intricacy, that it is said 25,000 troops would be required to man them to their full extent. The French defenders numbered but 6,000, yet could only be reduced by famine. Upwards of a thousand pieces of cannon were mounted on the works, and Buonaparte entertained so confirmed an opinion of the strength of the place, that when asked, on his departure for Egypt, for instructions relative to the defence of the garrison and fortifications, he told the officer in command (Vaubois) *to lock the gates and put the key in his pocket.*

In fine, it may be said that Malta is as defensible as nature and art combined can render it. To sit down regularly before Valetta and its surrounding fortifications would require a well-appointed army of many thousand men; and the fortress, if efficiently manned and stored, might be deemed almost impregnable, since the besiegers, in addition to their land forces, ought to be able to blockade the port and command the Mediterranean.

La Valetta, the modern capital, founded by the celebrated grand-master of that name in 1566, and completed in 1571, may be considered one of the most remarkable towns in Europe; the kings of France, Spain, and Portugal, the Pope, and all the knights who resided out of Malta, having contributed munificently towards its erection. The neck of land or promontory on which it stands (originally called *Mount Sceberras*) divides the main harbour (Great Port) from Marsa-Musceit haven, where the shipping undergo quarantine. The neck is estimated at 3,200 yards long by 1,200 broad, descending by a gradual slope, its whole length, from the land barrier at the southern extremity to the point of St. Elmo, which terminates in the Mediterranean in a narrow point of about 300 yards, bearing north-east by north, on which point the citadel and lighthouse of St. Elmo are built. The centre of this strip of land is its highest point, whence it gradually slopes to the water's edge at either side. The chief streets, eight in number, run in parallel lines along this ridge or "hog's back" from south to north, or, more strictly speaking, from S.S.W. to N.N.E., and are intersected by shorter ones, eleven in number, which cross from one harbour to another up the sides of the ridge. Besides these regular streets, rows of houses front the works all round, a carriage space being left between them. The thoroughfares afford an excellent means of ventilation, while the gradual descent towards the sea on all sides facilitates the removal of nuisances. The public buildings and private dwellings are of a very superior order. The houses are of solid stone, with flat or terraced roofs, composed of stone slabs, covered over with a thick bed of "terras," or "puzzolana," so as to be impenetrable to rain, and, as in Calcutta and other parts of the East, afford a cool and agreeable morning and evening promenade. Very little wood is employed, the staircases, floors, &c., being of stone. The lower portions are used as shops, stores, or habitations for the poorer classes. Between the ground and first-floor is a "mezzanino," or middle floor, rarely exceeding seven or eight feet in height, and frequently used for bedrooms or eating apartments; the principal suite of apartments being on the first floor. Each house has generally a tank or large well, constructed in a court into which the windows of the principal chambers look. A dwelling, suitable for a moderate-sized family, containing twelve or fourteen apartments, may be rented at £20 per annum, and an equally commodious house and garden in the country for half that sum. The paving and lighting of Valetta are excellent: the principal streets are formed of flags cut out of the hardest pieces of native stone, or with blocks of lava from Mount Etna, and a regularly raised footway runs on either side. Water is supplied by means of the aqueduct before mentioned, at the rate of fifty-eight gallons per minute. In order to insure a supply of this indispensable aliment, every house is furnished with a tank, into which baked earthen pipes convey the rain-water from the flat roofs, and wells and cisterns are sunk in every possible situation. The buildings appropriated for government are admirable, and the palace of the governor is suited for the residence of a crowned head.

Amongst the numerous edifices which ornament the capital, the first to be named is the church, or, as it is called, the Con-cathedral of St. John. This magnificent building

was erected by the grand-master La Cassière, and enriched by the unwearying efforts of successive generations. The knights of the different nations, or, as they were termed, of different *languages,* had in this vast structure their respective chapels. Every compartment of the roof, between the pillars of the chapels, is ornamented with a picture representing the principal events in the life of St. John; the greater part of them are remarkable as paintings. The pavement is composed of sepulchral stones of inlaid marble; several monuments have also been erected between the pillars and in various places of the church, and for richness and grandeur have few rivals; some of them are encrusted with jaspar, agate, and other costly stones. The principal altar is placed in the middle of the choir, beyond which stands a group in marble representing the baptism of our Saviour. Before the deplorable French invasion, the cathedral treasury was stored with articles extremely valuable, not only on account of the precious material of which many of them were composed, but still more on the ground of antiquity and exquisite workmanship. Unfortunately, none of them escaped the rapacity of the conquerors.*

The church of San Pubblio, at Floriana, just out of Valetta, takes its name from the Pubblius mentioned in the "Acts of the Apostles;" this early convert to Christianity having been, according to tradition, the first bishop of Malta.

The church is much visited by strangers, who find within its precincts extraordinary means of gratification for that morbid curiosity which deems the unburied dead of the hospital of St. Bernard its chief attraction, and finds amid the dreary scenes of La Morgue a strange charm, surpassing in interest the varied fascinations of the gayest capital in the world. As a curious vestige of the "Middle Ages," the Sotteraneo of San Pubblio is perhaps unequalled. Beneath the building, and of almost equal extent, is a subterranean hall, around which, like statues in niches, stand the embalmed bodies of successive priors (about fifty in number), dressed in the well-known Capuchin habit. The walls of this strange catacomb are covered with the bones of friars of meaner degree, arranged in the form of swords, shields, and trees; while, as if in unison with the unseemly blending of the horrible and the grotesque (illustrated in Hogarth's "Dance of Death"), entire skeletons stand in the attitude of fencing, with leg or arm bones for weapons; and all around, devices equally coarse in taste and mistaken in principle, are scattered, with the intention of affording to the living, not a *memento mori,* but a *memento purgatori.*

Once every year—on "All-Saints' Day,"—this famed Sotteraneo is open to the public, when representations of a melo-dramatic and awfully profane character are enacted, in which Satan and the fallen angels, torturing the souls, or rather bodies, of unsaved believers amidst the dazzling glare of red and blue fire, are made to do the priests good service, by extorting from the terrified or amused bystanders, golden rewards for the contrivers of these impious theatricals, ostensibly in return for a certain quantity of "vain repetitions," to be offered up for the supposed sufferers, in accordance with the legends engraved around the collected bones of ancient saints—such as, "Weep before the relics;" "Rise and liberate us."

The other most remarkable buildings, are the palace of the grand-masters, the lodges of the different languages or nations, the conservatory, university, treasury, palace of justice, hospital, public bank (Monte di Pietà), barracks, theatre, and the exchange. The architecture of all these structures is distinguished by two qualities, which characterise most Maltese constructions; the one a refined taste in the composition of the general subjects,—the other a noble simplicity in the arrangement of individual portions. The front of the Provençal lodge, that of Castille, and of the conservatory, are the most notable in style. One section of the latter edifice serves for the public library, which contains about 100,000 volumes. Next to the library is an extensive museum, divided into several rooms, containing a variety of interesting objects, such as a large collection of medals, several vases, specimens of the antiquities of the island, ancient marbles, &c.

The hospital consists of several large airy apartments, capable of accommodating a number of patients. During the government of the grand-masters, the utensils employed in the service of the sick were all of silver, but of such plain workmanship, as indicated the measure to have proceeded rather from a refinement of cleanliness, than ostentation.

* When visiting this cathedral in 1844, I was shown several places where the ornaments had been of pure silver.

The grand-master's palace, now the residence of the governor, is an immense square pile of building, externally unornamented, but of an imposing appearance. The apartments are large and convenient, and enriched with beautiful pictures, hangings, damasks, and a great collection of arms of all kinds, arranged with precision and taste. The arsenal was formerly of considerable importance under the grand-mastership of the Order; it has been further enlarged by the British government.

The barracks and hospitals are numerous; and an idea of their substantial structure may be obtained from the fact, that the lower floors of the barracks are formed frequently on the surface of the quarries, whence the stone has been mined for the construction of the fortifications; while the lower parts of the walls are merely the rock perpendicularly scarped. The barracks or casements are all bomb-proof, ventilated by long galleries and large doors; the heat of summer is little felt; the supply of water is admirable, as also the facilities for sea-bathing and exercise. Several monuments stand within the ramparts, of much interest to Englishmen: namely, those of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Sir Alexander Ball, Sir Thomas Maitland, the Marquis of Hastings, Admiral Otham, Sir Robert Spencer, and others.

The casals, or towns, and the villages scattered throughout the island, are neatly and well built; the old capital of Città Vecchia, or *Notabile*, preserves among the natives its ancient name of *Medina*, and is still the seat of the bishopric; it contains the palace of the first grand-masters, and also the cathedral of Malta, adjoining which is an excellent college. The catacombs, the chief curiosity of the place, form an extensive labyrinth of subterranean passages, crossing each other in every direction; they are cut in the rock, at a depth of about fifteen feet below the surface; and the number of corridors is very considerable.

The famed grotto of St. Paul, not far distant, consists of a large cave, divided into three separate parts by iron grates: in the furthest part from the entrance is a statue of the apostle, of white marble. A part of the cave resembles the nave of a church, and is constantly covered with vegetation.

The roads are generally good, and extend to all parts of the island, so as to admit of easy access by horses, carts, and caleches; communications by water are also safe and cheap, hundreds of commodious boats keeping up a constant intercourse between the towns on each side of the harbour; boats of a larger class ply regularly to Gozo and Sicily.

---

Gozo Island,* although fertile and thickly inhabited, contains no town, the inhabitants being scattered in six villages, protected by a strong fort, *Rabato*, in the centre of the island. The surface is very agreeably diversified with hill and dale, some of the more elevated parts in the north-west being nearly 2,000 feet above the sea. A chain of these elevations encircle the island, forming fertile valleys, separated by gently rising grounds; the summits of some of the mountains are flattened; others are rounded or mammillary; and there are four or five remarkable detached hills, perfectly conical in shape, and presenting the appearance of old volcanic formations. The interior of Gozo and its shores abound in caves and rocks, being of the same calcareous nature as those of Malta, but the country is more rural and agreeable.

Fort Chambray affords the principal accommodation for troops; it is built on the south-east side of the island, upon an elevated promontory, forming one side of a little bay in which the Malta boats anchor; the coast-line is very bold, especially to the south, where it rises in rugged and inaccessible cliffs, with huge masses of rock broken off from them and projecting into the sea; the road gradually winds inland to the fort (which is 500 feet above the shore), after a circuit of about 700 yards; the area on which the fortification is built is about 2,500 feet in circumference. The barracks can receive 250 men, are admirably arranged, and there is a small but excellent hospital attached. The lieutenant-governor resides near Migiarro, a small and insecure port, but the only one which the island possesses. A constant intercourse is kept up with Valetta; the distance to be traversed by sea is eighteen miles, although Malta and Gozo are not four miles apart. The intermediate islet of Comino, oblong in shape, and two miles in length, has a few inhabitants, employed in cultivating about thirty acres of land, and in preserving the numerous rabbits with which the place abounds.

Besides Cominetto, which lies off the north-west end of Comino, there are four or five other islets, or rather rocks, belonging

* The name was supposed to be given from its imaginary resemblance to a cup; the actual shape is an irregular oval.

to Malta and Gozo. On the south coast of Malta is Filfola, or Filfla, which contains, it is said, an ancient parish church: nearer the shore, and more to the eastward, is a rock called the Pietra Nera; and at the north-west end of the island, towards Gozo, is another rock, called the Scoglio Marfo. At the north end of St. Paul's Bay is the island of Salmonetta; but the best known of these appendages is the fungus rock of Gozo, or "*Hagira tal general*," celebrated for its production of *Corallina Officinalis* (Linnæus), or fungus melitensis, which was formerly esteemed a sovereign panacea for all the ills that flesh is heir to.

Geology and Soil.—The commissioners sent by the grand-master, L'Isle Adam, in 1525, to examine Malta, when offered by Charles V. to the Order, described it as a rock six or seven leagues long, of sandstone, called *tufa:* the structure is now ascertained to be limestone of different species and of unequal density, though generally speaking remarkably soft, and crumbling away even under the action of the weather with great facility. Calcareous freestone is more or less abundant, limestone generally lying on the freestone, and the latter incumbent on a bed of marl. Geologically considered, Malta and Gozo belong to the tertiary aqueous formations, either to the older or the newer pliocene of Lyall.

The stone of Malta, adapted for architectural purposes, is principally of two kinds, viz., the hard and soft, of each of which there are many varieties; indeed, the one passes into the other by an almost insensible gradation. The hard stone is a species of coarse marble of crystalline structure; specific gravity, 2.5,—not absorbent of moisture, and not liable to decompose or disintegrate on exposure to the atmosphere. It consists almost entirely of carbonate of lime, is adapted for all works requiring strength, and particularly well fitted for pavements and floors. It is found in many parts of the island, generally near the surface. The soft stone is a kind of freestone, composed chiefly of carbonate of lime, with a variable though small proportion of alumina, and a trace of peroxyde of iron, which imparts a peculiar light fawn colour. It is absorbent of water: a specimen tried by Dr. Davy, immersed in water, gained eleven per cent., yet was itself very light, having a specific gravity of only 1.9. It cuts almost as readily as chalk, and is far more abundant than the hard kind. It is the common building stone, and is very durable if protected from the atmosphere; the purest kinds are those which contain least clay, and are not liable to disintegrate on exposure; when used for flooring, oiling or painting is requisite.

It may be remarked that to the absorbent quality of the soft freestone the lands of Malta owe their fertility; and so sensible are the natives of this fact, that it is a common practice to occasionally remove the soil from the subjacent rock, and break up its surface to the depth of an inch or thereabouts, either generally or at intervals, in stripes; such a measure being found necessary in consequence of the deposition of carbonate of lime, which is apt to take place on the surface from the percolating water, by which the minute pores are filled, and the superficial rock is rendered more or less impervious, thus preventing the admission of rain-water in the winter, and its escape in the dry season. The Maltese soft stone is said to be highly useful in the manufacture of fine china; the sediment of the deposition in water being collected and formed into a mould like bricks.

Dr. Hennen describes a species of stone, of the nature of the "Oolite" or "Roestone of Bath," which is principally employed in building: it is very general throughout the island, and so easily worked that it can be cut with a hatchet or turned into various architectural ornaments in an appropriate apparatus, like an ordinary cutler's wheel; but if not judiciously used, it chips and exfoliates very rapidly. The masses are naturally laminated, and in buildings it is necessary to take care that the extremities of the laminæ and not their flat surface be presented to the action of the air. The sea air and the contact of sea-water is peculiarly injurious to some of these stones: repeated exfoliations of a reticulated texture are thrown off from them until they are completely corroded—a process daily perceptible in the works about the harbour. This species, like the ordinary soft stone of Malta, is of a yellowish-white colour, and so very impure, that, although itself carbonate of lime, it will not burn into quicklime, while the purer and harder carbonates afford a copious supply of this material, when subjected to the action of fire. By an analysis made some years since by Dr. Naudi, professor of chemistry in the university, and a scientific English resident, alumina and magnesia were found to exist in some quantity in this

building-stone; in the softer sort *magnesia* was prevalent,—and *alum* in the harder: hence the old palace of Boschetto, which was built in the end of the 15th century, of the latter stone, is much less impaired than erections of a very modern date, in which the former stone has been employed.

Other specimens, chiefly from the western side of the island, proved to be pure carbonates of lime, so hard as to serve for pavements; some bear a high polish, and are employed for tables or chimney-pieces, forming a pretty species of marble: these are chiefly found at St. Julian's, on the western coast. Alabaster is also procurable in some parts of both Malta and Gozo, but especially in the latter. At Marsa-Sirocco, to the southward of the island, are found blocks in detached pieces, of a blackish and reddish calcareous stone-like lava; if rubbed they exhale, by Dolomieu's account, a strong smell, and if dissolved in sulphuric acid, a black oily scum, with a similar smell, floats on the surface. Gypsum, both spicular and cuneiform, is frequent. Iron pyrites are seen in various clayey hills, especially in Gozo.

The *soil*, like the rock of Malta, is almost entirely calcareous: a specimen collected by Dr. Davy in a barley-field near Città Vecchia, consisted of—91.0 carbonate of lime; 7.0 alumina, with a little siliceous sand and red oxyde of iron; 1.5 vegetable matter; 0.5 hygrometric matter. Considering the very small proportion of vegetable matter, and the little humidity the ground contains, or is capable of retaining, it is extremely fertile, —a circumstance which is attributed to the great proportion of carbonate of lime in the best state of mechanical division in the soil, and the porous nature of the rocky substratum, which absorbs the rain like a sponge, and permits, during the dry season, the slow exhalation of moisture.

In a communication received by me from Dr. Davy, while that gentleman was inspector of hospitals at Malta, he says that it is not commonly the practice to form soil by breaking up rock; soil ready formed, lying in the hollows and crevices of rocks, is collected; the crevices are filled up with fragments, the projecting rocks are removed, the surface is made as level as is easily practicable, and the soil collected deposited thereon: and thus, according to Carlo Giacinto, who has written an interesting little work on the agriculture of Malta, "*campi artificiali*" are formed. The soil is generally good as regards its quality, though in too many instances it is of little depth. Forty different specimens, collected in the neighbourhood of the different casals, on being examined, were found to be all composed principally of carbonate of lime: they varied chiefly in the proportion of clay, and likewise in that of peroxyde of iron, to which they owe their colour. The dark red soils contained most of this oxyde, and the largest proportion generally of alumina. The very light fawn-coloured abounded most in carbonate of lime, and contained only a just perceptible trace of the peroxyde of iron. All the soils belonging to Malta, and also to Gozo, may be considered as coming under the denomination of calcareous marls, and, with very few exceptions, fall to powder under the influence of water. In no instance did Dr. Davy meet with any siliceous soil, or any pure clay soil. The proportion of vegetable matter in the best soils is exceedingly minute, under one per cent.; much manuring is therefore required.

Nowhere in the island are there any traces of volcanic eruption, any hot springs (excepting two or three weak saline spas), or any trap rocks; portions of pumice are said to have been found in the freestone of Gozo. Whether Malta and Gozo were at one time joined together, and at a more distant period in connection with Sicily, or otherwise, it is impossible to say positively; though the rocks and marls of both islands are considered very similar to the adjoining parts of Sicily, which are of the newer phocene; but as yet, organic remains have not been collected in sufficient number to assist in the formation of a decided opinion.

In the craggy rocks round Malta and Gozo are many spacious caves or grottoes, some of which being on a level with the sea, the waves dash in when in an agitated state, and resound tremendously. The mouths of others are at different heights, and the access is more or less difficult and dangerous, according to their situation; there are some, indeed, in order to enter which, it is necessary to be suspended by ropes. One of the most considerable of those usually visited, is situated towards the point of land called Benghisa, near the Marsa-Sirocco creek. This, from its length and breadth, is distinguished by the name of the *Great*, and it extends more than 200 paces underground. All these grottoes are full of stalactites and stalagmites, produced by the water filtering through the calcareous rock. The falling in of one of these caverns must have caused the

singular excavation called Makluba, near Casal Zurrico. At the distance of a hundred paces to the south of the shore, and not far from the rocks on the coast, there is a circular, or rather an oval cavity, more than a hundred feet in depth, and formed like an imperfect cone. The larger diameter of the lower plain is about ninety-five paces, and that of the smaller one eighty; but the opening is less than twenty paces in extent. The excavation lies in the shelving cliffs which incline a little from south to north, and have hitherto suffered no change, but have remained exactly as if this, in part, circular space, had been the work of art.

Climate and Diseases.—The climate of Malta is decidedly warm; indeed, almost tropical. The maximum temperature for the year may be taken at 90° Fahr., and the minimum at 46°; mean at 63° Fahr. The barometer may be similarly quoted at 38° 8′, 30° 2′, and 30° 5′. The hygrometer 87°, 30°, and 58½°. The heat of the summer is doubtless increased by radiation of the solar rays from the rocks surrounding Valetta; but in the country around, and in Gozo in particular, the atmosphere is from 2° to 4° cooler.

The prevailing winds are from the south-east and north-west; the former are characterised by humidity and exhausting heat, and produce a damp and suffocating smell: these siroccos are most common in August, September, and October. The north-east wind ("*gregale*") is brief and violent in its duration, frequently occasioning serious mischief in the harbour during the winter months.

Sudden and partial gusts of intensely heated air are occasionally felt in Malta, which are blown from the coast of Africa. Fortunately they seldom exceed half a minute in duration, for, if prolonged, life would be extinguished, owing to the fierceness of the heat, which is remarkable for blowing in tracts, affecting the inhabitants of one house and not their neighbours. It is probably a portion of the "samiel" or "simoom" of Africa. When dry wind blows over the island, especially in summer, impalpable dust floats about in volumes, and is precipitated in the shape of a shower of mud, on the recurrence of a damp wind, or when the fogs and dews are peculiarly heavy.

No regular sea or land breezes moderate the heat of Malta. Captain Smyth found the temperature of the sea, round the adjacent shores of Sicily, at a depth of ten to twenty fathoms, 73° to 76° Fahr., which was ten or twelve degrees warmer than the water outside of the Straits of Gibraltar. Snow only appears at Malta as a luxury imported from Etna; but in the winter months there are frequent hail showers. Rain falls with tropical violence in December, January, and part of February. About March the sky gets settled; an occasional shower may occur in April and May; but during June, July, and August, not a cloud is to be seen. September and October are cooled by showers; the air is placid and invigorating; and this cheering period is termed the "St. Martin's," or "little summer." The effects of thunder and lightning are not severely experienced, though the electric discharge is loud and frequent, and during the summer and autumn nights the sky is brilliantly illuminated with bright corruscations, resembling the *aurora borealis* of northern climes.

Animal Kingdom.—All the domesticated animals thrive in Malta; mules and asses are remarkable for their strength and beauty. The Maltese dog—a breed once highly valued—is now, I believe, extinct. The goats are of good breed; but the horned cattle are small, and principally imported from Sicily, Barbary, and the adjacent coasts. Snakes are to be found, but they are not poisonous. Birds of various kinds migrate to the island at different periods, and the hawks of Malta were formerly much celebrated; the bees were also renowned, and still yield such excellent aromatic honey, that the island is conjectured to have been therefore named "*Melita*" by the Greeks. Mosquitoes and other insects abound. Among the different species of caterpillar is one of a very singular conformation, having no feet.

*Fish* of various kinds are plentiful. The dory, rock-cod, and a species of whiting, popularly called the "lupo" are excellent. The cray-fish, found on the rocks around the island of Gozo, is enormous in size, and of fine flavour. One of the most remarkable of Maltese fish is the "*pholis dactylus*," which abounds in the harbour, forming for itself a complete "habitat" in the soft rock, which it perforates as regularly as if with an augur, giving to the several portions of the rock the appearance of the wood-work of a cartridge-box.

Population.—When or by whom Malta was first peopled is unknown; but, as in Ceylon and other places, a race of giants were, according to tradition, the earliest

occupants. While in possession of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians it was probably thickly inhabited, owing to the extensive commerce then carried on; but the earliest data obtainable are those given by Boisgelin, who says that, in 1559, after the raising of the famous siege of Malta by the Turks, the island contained only 10,000 inhabitants. The official records of 1590 state the population of the two islands of Malta and Gozo at 28,864; in 1617, at 43,798; in 1670, 60,000; in 1780, at 100,000. In 1775 there were computed to be in Malta and Gozo, 121,507 native inhabitants; including 16,000 regular militia (effective men.) The loss during the siege of the French, in Valetta, from 1798 to 1800, amounted to 20,000, including women and children, independent of the levies Buonaparte forcibly carried off to Egypt. A detailed census for 1807, gives the number of inhabitants in Malta at 80,225; in Gozo, 12,829 = 93,054: other inhabitants and domesticated strangers, estimated at 22,100; absent, estimated by register, 7,650: grand total, 122,804.

The number of foreigners residing in Malta during the six or seven years preceding the plague of 1813, was estimated at from 30,000 to 40,000. Many houses were fitted up like ships, with tiers of berths, and several large vessels were converted into floating hotels.

In 1824, the population of Malta alone was estimated by the deputy inspector of police at 96,404.

The following return for Malta alone, from 1824 to 1828, was transmitted to me by the late governor of the island, Sir Frederick Ponsonby, together with the census for the year 1834:—

| Years. | No. of Population. | No. of Deaths. | Under what Age died. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Infants under 8 years. | Children from 8 to 14. | Youths from 15 to 28. | Men from 29 to 50. | Old from 51 to 70. | Decrepit from 71 upwards. |
| 1824 | 96,404 | 2,345 | 1,125 | 80 | 158 | 231 | 372 | 379 |
| 1825 | 97,627 | 2,612 | 1,276 | 82 | 179 | 293 | 398 | 384 |
| 1826 | 98,739 | 2,277 | 1,090 | 62 | 152 | 330 | 370 | 373 |
| 1827 | 99,549 | 2,434 | 1,180 | 60 | 160 | 260 | 385 | 389 |
| 1828 | 100,949 | 2,592 | 1,260 | 79 | 178 | 291 | 390 | 394 |

During this period of five years, there died each year of apoplexy, about 120; of dropsy, 200; of marasmus, 200; of dentition, 550; of dysentery, 130; of diarrhœa, 280; of miscarriage, 120; still-born, 30; of debility (infants who died soon after birth), 150; of phthisis pulmonalis, 100; of nervous and bilious fevers, 170. During this period, of those who died, no one had reached the age of 100; the oldest did not exceed 98 years: of this age about four or five in each year; about 30 individuals died annually of 90 and upwards.

The returns to the Colonial Office give the following as the number of inhabitants of Malta and Gozo, for a series of years:—

| Years. | White & Free Coloured People. | | Births. | Deaths. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males. | Females. | | |
| 1828 | 59,354 | 59,296 | 3,760 | 2,964 |
| 1829 | 59,239 | 60,537 | 3,722 | 2,592 |
| 1830 | 59.482 | 60,480 | 4,027 | 4,133 |
| 1831 | 59,762 | 61,077 | 4,115 | 2,938 |
| 1832 | 60,594 | 61,669 | 3,739 | 2,753 |
| 1833 | 60,493 | 61,563 | 3,824 | 3,604 |
| 1834 | 60,252 | 61,674 | 3,833 | 3,090 |
| 1851* | 63,508 | 65,933 | 4,695 | 3,981 |

* Exclusive of military, and their wives and families, viz.,—males, 1,730; females, 230; and political refugees—males, 289; females, 30; children, 31.

Taking the area of Malta and Gozo at 115 square miles, and the number of inhabitants thereon at about 131,000, there are 1,138 mouths to each square mile of surface.

The natives of Malta are said to be long lived, but only the later statistics of deaths include the ages of the deceased. Abela states instances of persons living to 80, 90, 100, 105, 107, and 110 years. He notices one man, a native of Zabbar, who lived nearly to the age of 120, and preserved his strength, his teeth, and, in part, the colour of his hair; and another, a resident in the civil hospital at Città Vecchia, completed the same number of years, retaining to the last his memory and judgment. It is asserted by the same authority, that some of the ancient inhabitants lived to 130 years of age, owing to the purity of the air, and their temperate mode of living.

The Maltese are generally of middle stature, with robust frames, and small hands and feet; the hair black, and sometimes inclined to frizzle; lips frequently thick, and skin swarthy among the common people where exposed to the atmosphere; the eye dark and bright; and the higher classes are remarkable for that full and languishing style of beauty which constitutes the most prized charm among oriental women. In some of the villages, such as the Casal of Zurrico, there are a considerable number of blue-eyed persons to be met with. In general, there is throughout the villages a good deal of the Spanish character dis-

played, but in the cities, and among the higher orders, French and Greek characteristics are combined. The men are industrious, active, frugal; attached to their country, passive, but yet nowise deficient in courage, as has been often proved, for they are considered the best seamen in the Mediterranean.* Those in easy circumstances dress like other Europeans, but the lower orders are clothed in a loose cotton shirt, over which is a wide vest, or jacket, ornamented with silver, or sometimes gold buttons, a long twisted scarf, wound several times round the body, with a sheathed knife attached thereto; loose short drawers, leaving the legs bare nearly from the knees downwards, and very peculiar shoes called *korch*, consisting of a leathern sole, fastened with strings, or thongs, to the foot and leg, not unlike the old Roman sandal. The winter head-dress consists of a woollen cap of different colours, with a hood falling down on the back; in summer, large straw hats are worn. The women, for the most part, retain their ancient and picturesque costume, consisting of a cotton under garment, a petticoat (generally of a blue colour), an upper robe opening at the side, and a corset with sleeves. The hair, covered with pomatum and powder, is arranged in a high cone in front of the head, and the face concealed by a large black silken veil called *faldetta*, which the wearer adroitly shifts when exposing her features to a side or full view. Many ladies have recently adopted the English fashions, except during the time of performing their religious duties, when they appear at church in their ancient costume.

The Maltese marry early: instances are not rare where girls have been mothers at thirteen years of age; they suffer little in childbirth; twins are a common occurrence, but no instance of triplets has ever been heard of in the island; and when told such occurrences are not unfrequent in England, they shake their heads in emphatic disbelief. Deformity is exceedingly rare, and monstrosity still more so: in early infancy the children are swathed from the shoulders down to the toes, including the arms, which are laid close along the sides, so as to present a striking resemblance to an Egyptian mummy. Notwithstanding this apparently unnatural restraint, the use of the limbs is early acquired: a crippled or an impotent child is a rare sight; and the activity of the Maltese, especially as swimmers and divers, is very great. In some cases, weakly or diseased children are taught to draw their nutriment from the goats; but in general there is no difference between the food of the infant and the adult, except in quantity; the newly weaned child swallowing oil, cheese, salt fish, vegetables, fruits, and salads, with the *gusto* of its parents—this food being sometimes varied by a little brown bread, maccaroni, oil, garlic, cheese, and a salt sardine or anchovy, eaten raw; a draught of Sicilian wine closes the meal. Coffee and iced water are the only luxuries common to all ages and sexes: even among the higher classes, little animal food is used. Fish is very abundant, and none allowed to be sold twenty-four hours after being caught. Tobacco, in the form of smoking, is regarded as a necessary article of diet, but is happily unaccompanied by any intoxicating draught.

Sea-bathing is general among both sexes, the time chosen being from sunset until near midnight. The siesta, or mid-day sleep, is a universal summer custom; from twelve to two is the hour of dinner and of the siesta, and during that period no respectable person that can avoid it, leaves home. Music is the favourite amusement of all classes: the lower ranks meet in groups at the corners of the streets, singing extempore verses to old national airs, the burden of the song being probably the praise of a mistress, or the disparagement of a rival. Dancing, horse and boat-racing, processions in honour of numerous saints, with an occasional village maypole festival, form the chief diversions; and it is an excellent feature in the Maltese character that these are unattended by drunkenness or quarrelling. The different promenades are much frequented; that of the botanic garden, in the suburbs, is enlivened by the military music of the various garrison regiments. Beyond the ramparts, the places called Pietà Sliema, and St. Giuliano, present an animated scene of beautiful walks. The surrounding country is covered with elegant villas, some of which have been lately built, after the native manner, by English gentlemen, who have chosen the environs of the capital as the scene of their residence.

Language. — The upper class speak Italian; the common people a patois com-

* The Quay or Marina of Valetta presents a very striking picture to the eye of the stranger; the commerce of the place contrasting strongly with the size of the small but deep and secure harbour.

pounded of Arabic, German, Italian, and other tongues. The Arabic, however, so far predominates, that the peasants of Malta and Barbary can without much difficulty understand each other. Captain Vella contends that the Maltese language, as it is generally spoken by the mass of the people, is still the original Punic, which has passed unaltered through the changes and revolutions of so many nations—successive masters and oppressors of the island of Malta. Differences may be perceived, chiefly in the pronunciation, in various parts of the island, but the substance of the language is in all the same.* There is no national alphabet; but, according to the fancy of the writer, those of other tongues are adopted. English is becoming generally understood throughout the island.

Religion.—A scrupulous attention to the rites of the Romish church is characteristic of the Maltese. The landed ecclesiastical property is considerable; and there are about one thousand secular and regular clergy in the two islands.†

Previous to the year 1827, many of the churches enjoyed sanctuary rights, and priests were not under the jurisdiction of the civil tribunals; but a law was passed in that year abolishing these privileges, and the bishop's court has now only ecclesiastical sway. The archbishop of the island has a seat in the Legislative Council.

The Roman catholic church is supported by its own revenues, under the immediate control of the Bishop of Malta, and is for the most part independent of the local government; it receives no assistance from the local revenues: its churches and chapels amount to upwards of 250; and its "secular" priesthood to nearly 900 persons. There are, however, a few benefices at the nomination of the local authorities, and a few churches are kept in repair out of the local revenues; besides which the government, in its capacity of landed proprietor, defrays the expenses of certain ecclesiastical establishments to the amount of about £1,300, the greater portion of which sum forms a permanent charge on the property so possessed. The tower and spire of the English collegiate church of St. Paul's, in Valetta, were completed in 1845; this building was erected, at an expense of £15,000, by Her Majesty the late Queen Adelaide. A small bible society was formed at Malta, through the exertions of Henry Drummond, M.P. The whole ecclesiastical establishment stood thus in 1854:—Church of England, 3: church of Rome, 68 = Malta, 56; Gozo, 12. Church of Rome has 234 chapels and oratories in Malta, and 23 in Gozo. Church of Scotland, 1; Greek church, 1; Synagogue, 1; Roman catholic convents—Malta, 16; Gozo, 3 = 19. Nunneries, 5. Ecclesiastical establishments, altogether, 424.

Education is well attended to in Malta. There is a college in Valetta, instituted by the grand-master Pinto, in 1771, where degrees in divinity, law, and physic are conferred under certain regulations; and a preparatory school is attached thereto, in which boys are received indiscriminately on payment of a trifle. The support of the college devolves upon government, as on the expulsion of the Jesuits from Malta, their property, which now amounts to about £700 a-year, was allotted for the support of the university, and of a church which now costs the government £176 per annum, the remainder being devoted to the university, in which there are 490 scholars; those in higher schools (unless specially exempted by the council) pay 4*s.* 2*d.* each month, from which is defrayed the salary of the secretary (£1 15*s.* 4*d.* per month), and certain pensions to superannuated professors. To this fund the students in medicine, surgery, and anatomy, do not contribute, but pay 4*s.* 2*d.* each month to their respective teachers.

There are two normal free schools, at which more than one thousand boys and girls are educated. These seminaries, together with a small one at Gozo, are supported chiefly by government; private subscriptions are, however, received. There was, for a considerable time, much jealousy on the part of the Roman catholic clergy regarding education, as it was feared that it might be made use of as the means of conversion to the Protestant faith. This feeling has subsided; and in one of the normal schools lately established, a canon of the church is the principal director. The chil-

* According to Anderson, the Lord's Prayer in the Maltese language is as follows:—"Missierna li inti fis meuiet jitkaddes ismech, tigi saltnatech icun li trit int chif fis sema hegda flart. Hhobsna ta culium atina illum u Ahhfrilna dnubietna chif ahhna nahhfru lil min hhata ghalina u laddahhanna fittigrif ta tentazzioni isda ehhlisna middeni. Amen."

† By the calendar of 1742, it appears that there were then 2,000 priests and ecclesiastics in Malta and Gozo, exclusive of the members of the Order.

dren are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, the rudiments of Italian grammar, and in some instances, English and Latin; the females learn needlework, spinning, and weaving. The number of schools under the control of government, in 1854, was—for boys, 18; for girls, 18; for infants, 3; navigation, 1; superior school, Gozo, 1 = 41: pupils—males, 2,777; females, 2,192 = 4,969. Much good is expected from, and has indeed already attended, the *Protestant College*, an institution founded in 1846, which comprises not only a school for youth, but also a class of adult orientalists under training as native teachers.

*The Press* is represented by a government gazette.

*Libraries.*—In the year 1761, the Baile De Tencen founded the public library of Malta, which was enlarged by the gifts of many princes, kings, and distinguished individuals. The King of France contributed a select set of books; and the institution was entitled to copies of all works published at the royal press at Paris. The collection formed at the general hospital was transferred to it, and a regulation enacted, by which the books of all the deceased knights became its property; an annuity of 300 crowns was allotted for its augmentation, and some additional income was derived from the sale of duplicates, insomuch that, in 1798, the number of books, if we are to credit Boisgelin, amounted to upwards of 60,000. This library is open to the public at certain hours of the day, but no books are lent out: it contains a number of excellent and some rare and very valuable works. A subscription library, attached to the garrison, was formed in 1806, for purposes of reference and lending out.

*Hospitals and Charitable Institutions.*—There are two large hospitals at Valetta, and one at Gozo, supported entirely by government. A good library is attached to the institution: all persons are received therein who require medical aid; and there is also a public dispensary, where medicines are furnished gratis to those who do not need in-door treatment.* At Floriana, a suburb of Valetta, there are two charitable institutions, one called *L'Ospizio*, the other the *House of Industry*: the first is for the reception of old men and women; and a part of the building is appropriated for the reception of the insane. About 700 persons are maintained in this establishment. The whole of the charitable institutions are under the management of a committee, chiefly composed of persons holding office under government. The prisons, which are admirably managed as regards the various ends of classification, cleanliness, and reformation, are under the same committee.

Government.—The administration of the island is usually confided to a military governor, who commands the troops: and is aided by a council.

The Revenue is derived from customs† and excise duties on corn imported, rent of Crown lands and houses, fees, fines, &c. In 1833-'34, and for some subsequent years, it averaged £100,000 per annum; in 1853, the average for several preceding years was £130,000. There is also a local revenue for municipal purposes, amounting to about £40,000 a-year. The established civil expenditure for 1853, was £56,000; pensions

* The medicines most in use belong to the pharmacopeia of past ages. Oil of sweet almonds is deemed a panacea for all diseases. Lemon-juice is also a frequent application in domestic practice, especially in disorders of the eyes; and it appears to be a tolerably active stimulant, and useful in certain stages of disease. The "*aqua distillata catellorum*," or puppy water, is still resorted to by some; it is not prepared like Ambrose Paré's celebrated emollient ointment, by stewing down the whelp with oil, but by a simple process of distillation; of course this is no more than distilled water, with a very minute admixture of such animal matter as would rise in the heat of 212°. It is held to be a sovereign remedy in frights and nervous affections of women, or "scanto," as they are called; and though an empirical trick, its employment is defended on a medical principle, viz., the violent reaction it produces when the patient is told of the remedy she has swallowed. An absorbent earth found in some caves is used in all cases attended with acrimonious humours, and as a specific in fevers. It is said to be perpetually reproduced by the exposure of the clay to the action of the atmosphere; which swells by the moisture, and when one layer of the surface is removed, another comes in contact with the atmosphere, and its texture loosens and becomes saturated like the preceding layer, after the manner of slaked lime. Another popular remedy is the sand-bath, and which is chiefly used for rachitis and pertussis. The patient is kept in the pit close covered up with sand for different periods from ten minutes to half-an-hour; and a copious perspiration being thus produced, is kept up by the use of diluents and artificial warmth, after which a cordial is administered.

† Custom duties on spirits, £1 2*s.* per Maltese barrel; on beer, 2*s.* per ditto; on wines (valued at £15 per pipe of eleven Maltese barrels), 11*s.* per Maltese barrel: all other wines, 2*s.* per ditto. Duties on grain—wheat, 10*s.* per salma; cattle, 10*s.* per head. Other descriptions of grain and cattle in like proportions. Tonnage dues, 20*s.* to 30*s.* for each vessel of 400 to 800 tons.

and retired allowances, £15,000; revenue service, £5,375; roads, streets, and bridges, £23,588; works and buildings, £18,275; contribution towards military expenditure, £6,200; charitable allowances, £3,630; education (exclusive of establishments), £1,115; hospitals, £12,115; police and gaols, £1,015; justice, £323; with various minor sums.

The military expenditure incurred by England amounts, ordinarily, to about £130,000 per annum; the inhabitants pay the salary of the governor (£5,000), and furnish from £18,000 to £20,000 per annum towards defraying military charges, including the support of the Malta Fencibles (a regular regiment, 639 strong) and a militia corps.

Public Debt—£78,446, bearing interest at 2½ per cent. per annum; created in 1805, in favour of those who lost capital in the ancient Malta frumentaria, or grain concern, on the arrival of the French in 1798:* £43,930, at 2 per cent., invested in Maltese bank; £11,439, a contribution or loan to the Monte di Pietà, existing from ancient times; £1,214, Gozo Savings' Bank.

*Moneys.*—The introduction of British money has not hitherto produced among the commercial† body of inhabitants generally any alteration in their mode of keeping their accounts, and of making sales, contracts, &c., which are continued as formerly in Maltese currency—namely, scudi, tari, and grains: 20 grains = 1 tari; 12 taris = 1 scudo = 1*s.* 8*d.* sterling. The current gold coins are the French louis-d'or, and a piece bearing the effigy of a grand-master, both worth about 10 scudi = 16*s.* 8*d.* Spanish doubloons, with an agis, from 40 to 40½ scudi; Venetian sequins from 4¾ to 5 scudi; and the Sicilian ounce = 6¼ scudi. *Silver.*—Sicilian dollar = 2½ scudi; Grand-master pieces of 2 and 1 scudi; pieces of 15, 10, 6, and 5 taris each; Spanish dollar = 2 scudi, 7 taris, and 4 grains.

There are two public banks in profitable operation. In the year 1854, the notes issued did not exceed £20,000 in amount.

* The Monte di Pietà was established at Malta in the year 1597, and, like all European institutions of the sort, with the object of affording pecuniary supplies to the distressed at reasonable interest, thereby preventing them from having recourse to usurers. Any sum of money, however small, is advanced to the applicants on the security of property given in pawn,—such as gold, silver, and other precious articles, or wearing apparel, whether worn or new. The period of the loan is for three years on pawns of the first description, and never more than two on those of the latter, renewable at the option of the borrowers, who are at liberty to redeem their pawned goods at any time within the stated period on payment of proportionate interest. The present rate is six per cent. per annum. The unclaimed property, at the expiration of the allotted period, is sold by public auction, and the residue of the proceeds, after deducting the sum due to the institution, is payable to the person producing the ticket. Of the accommodation thus afforded by the Monte, persons of high respectability occasionally avail themselves during temporary exigencies; and in this way considerable sums have been advanced. Till the year 1787, the operations of the institution were conducted by means of money borrowed at a moderate interest, and by funds acquired by donations, &c. But the then grand-master, Rohan, authorised the consolidation of the funds of the Monte di Pietà with those of the Monte di Redenzione, another national institution, founded in the year 1607 by private donations and bequests, for the philanthropic object of rescuing from slavery any of the natives who might fall into the hands of the Mohammedans, and not have the means of ransom. As this institution had larger funds (mostly in landed property) than it actually required to meet its proper demands, the act of consolidation proved of the greatest advantage to the Monte di Pietà. Thus united, the two institutions, with the new title of Monte di Pietà e Redenzione, conducted their separate duties under the superintendence of a Board, consisting of a president and eight commissioners, till the expulsion of the Order of St. John from Malta, which happened in the year 1798. The French republicans, by whom the island was then occupied, stripped the Monte of every article, whether in money or pawned goods, and inflicted a loss amounting to nearly £35,000, including the share of the proprietors of pawns, inasmuch as the advance they received on that security never exceeded one-half or two-thirds of the value of the articles pawned. Not a shilling of this sum was repaid by the French government after the restoration of monarchy; the rights of the Maltese being unrecognised in the capitulation of 1800. When the British forces took possession of La Valetta in September, 1800, this useful institution was enabled to resume operations. A new Board was elected, and about £4,000 advanced to them, without interest, from the local treasury. A loan was opened, to which individuals did not hesitate to contribute when they were assured that the institution considered itself bound to pay the old loan, though forming part of the amount carried away by the French, and that in the meantime interest would be allowed on it. The Monte possessing landed property to a much greater amount, could never refuse such an act of justice. Happily, the cessation of slavery put an end to the old charge for ransoms, and enabled the institution to devote its revenues to the payment of interest on the old loan, to the extinction of part of the capital, to the improvement of its property, and of late years to the assignment of £500 per annum in aid of the House of Industry.

† The Maltese are not merely a commercial but a manufacturing people: they excel in spinning and weaving cotton into coverlets, table-cloths, towelling, sails, blue-striped shirting, and dresses for the peasantry: the products of their looms have long been

*Weights for gold, silver, pearl, precious stones, &c.*

| | | | | | | | | | Cocci. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Trepesa.. | | | | | | | | | 18 |
| Sedicesimo.. | | | | | | | | 2 | 36 |
| Octavo.. | | | | | | | 2 | 4 | 72 |
| Quarta.. | | | | | | 2 | 4 | 8 | 144 |
| Oncia.. | | | | | 4 | 8 | 16 | 32 | 576 |
| Libbra.. | | | | 12 | 48 | 96 | 192 | 384 | 6912 |
| Rotolo*.. | | | 2½ | 30 | 120 | 240 | 480 | 960 | 17280 |
| Pesa.. | | 5 | 12½ | 150 | 600 | 1200 | 2400 | 4800 | 86400 |
| Cantaro† .. | 20 | 100 | 250 | 3000 | 12000 | 24000 | 48000 | 96000 | 1728000 |

* A rotolo is equal to 1¾ lbs. English.
† A cantaro is equal to 175 lbs. English.

*Measures for every description of dry goods.*

| | | | | | | Cocci. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Quarta.. | | | | | | 144 |
| Oncia.. | | | | | 4 | 576 |
| Rotolo.. | | | | 30 | 120 | 17280 |
| Pesa.. | | | 5 | 150 | 600 | 86400 |
| Cantaro.. | | 20 | 100 | 3000 | 12000 | 1728000 |
| Pesata or Quintale*.. | 3 | 60 | 300 | 9000 | 36000 | 5184000 |

* Firewood is sold by the pesata of three cantars.

*Measures for all grain and pulse, almonds, olives, salt, &c.*

| | | | | | | Lumini. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Half Misura.. | | | | | | 5 |
| Misura.. | | | | | 2 | 10 |
| Mondello .. | | | | 10 | 20 | 100 |
| Tumulo .. | | | 6 | 60 | 120 | 600 |
| Sacco .. | | 4 | 24 | 240 | 480 | 2400 |
| Salma*.. | 4 | 16 | 96 | 960 | 1920 | 9600 |

* One salma is equal to about 7⅞ bushels, imperial measure. Wheat and barley are sold by the stricked, and all others by the heaped measure.

*Long measure, for cloth, stone, &c.*

| | | | | Punti. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Linea.. | | | | 12 |
| Police .. | | | 12 | 44 |
| Palmo*.. | | 12 | 144 | 1728 |
| Canna† .. | 8 | 96 | 1152 | 13824 |

* Three-and-a-half palmi make an English yard, and 12 palmi in length, and one in thickness, make a tratta, by which measure ship timber and beams for houses are sold.
† 156 square canne are equal to one tumolo of land; 16 square tumoli are equal to one salma; the salma is equal to 4·44 English acres.

*For all liquids; oil, milk, and honey excepted.*

| | | | | | | | | | Mezza Pinta. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pinta.. | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Terzo.. | | | | | | | | 2 | 4 |
| Mezzo.. | | | | | | | 2 | 4 | 8 |
| Quartino.. | | | | | | 2 | 4 | 8 | 16 |
| Mezza Quartara.. | | | | | 9½ | 19 | 38 | 76 | 152 |
| Quartara .. .. | | | | 2 | 19 | 38 | 76 | 152 | 304 |
| Barrile*.. | | | 2 | 4 | 38 | 76 | 152 | 304 | 608 |
| Pipa .. | | 11 | 22 | 44 | 418 | 836 | 1672 | 3344 | 6688 |
| Botte.. | 2 | 22 | 44 | 88 | 836 | 1672 | 3344 | 6688 | 13376 |

* The barrile is about equal to 9·37 imperial gallons.

*Liquid measure, for oil and milk.*

| | | | | | | | | Quartini. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Misura.. | | | | | | | | 4 |
| Terzo.. | | | | | | | 2½ | 10 |
| Mezzo.. | | | | | | 2 | 5 | 20 |
| Quartucci.. | | | | | 2 | 4 | 10 | 40 |
| Quarta.. | | | | 4 | 8 | 16 | 40 | 160 |
| Half Cafiso.. | | | 2 | 8 | 16 | 32 | 80 | 320 |
| Cafiso* .. | | 2 | 4 | 16 | 32 | 64 | 160 | 640 |
| Barrile .. | 2 | 4 | 8 | 32 | 64 | 128 | 320 | 1280 |

* A cafiso is about equal to 4·38 imperial gallons.

Commerce.—The trade of Malta during the continental war, subsequent to the year 1804, was very great; but the plague, followed by the treaty of Paris, and the consequent throwing open of the Mediterranean ports, with other operating causes, materially lessened the importance of the place as a depôt.

The commerce is, however, still extensive: in 1853, the imports were valued at £1,137,344, and the exports at £721,765; a large part of the imports being British. The shipping inwards, in the same year, was, in number, 4,448; tonnage, 816,773: of this, 196,377 tons carried the English flag. The resources of the island are limited: about 45,000 acres are under crop for the production of food, the growth of cotton, of oleaginous seeds, &c. The importance of the position to England is unquestionable, not merely as a central shop for the sale of her goods along the shores of Sicily and Africa, but equally as a commanding maritime station, by which, in conjunction with Gibraltar, we are enabled to dispense with the large fleet otherwise indispensable to the maintenance of permanent supremacy in the Mediterranean.*

celebrated in the regions bordering the Mediterranean. Diodorus Siculus pronounced their cotton cloths superior to any others in softness and fineness; and Cicero, in his oration against Verres, enumerates, among the articles of his plunder, certain cotton dresses remarkable for the delicate fabric peculiar to Malta, and speaks also of Maltese wine as forming another considerable item of the spoiler's booty. Black silk stuffs, of various kinds, are woven in the island; and the lace veils, gloves, and mittens knit by the nuns and other industrious women of Malta, are highly esteemed by the ladies of the various European capitals. In ship-building, cabinet-work, and joinery, the native citizens have attained a high degree of excellence; their vessels are substantially built, and sail swiftly. Furniture (including sofas, chairs, and many ornamental articles) is exported to Greece and the Ionian Isles, to Constantinople, Egypt, the Black Sea, and other places. The timber employed is chiefly obtained from the shores of the Adriatic. As goldsmiths, the Maltese are famed for the filligree-work which characterises their neck-chains, bracelets, and jewellery of various descriptions. Maltese sculptors have manifested considerable skill in carving figures from the easily worked stone of the native quarries, and large quantities of this material are carried to Turkey, Egypt, and other countries for building and paving. There are manufactories for the construction of iron bedsteads, and for the preparation of leather, soap, maccaroni, and other articles. Many millions of cigars are made annually, and find a ready sale in every neighbouring port. Cumin, anise, and other seeds are successfully cultivated for the European and American markets, and are deemed superior in quality to those produced elsewhere. The squill, grown and dried here, produces the best oxamel obtainable from that bulb. The oranges and lemons of Malta are excellent. The silkworm thrives; and if capital were invested in this branch of trade, it would probably yield large returns.

* I visited Malta, and traversed the island; but am indebted to the works of Boisgelin, Hennen, Davy, Wilson, and Miege, for many of the facts in this section. Since the issue of my first *History of the Colonies*, twenty years ago, various improvements have been effected, under the sanction of the Crown, in the departmental administration; and many of the evils which then formed a just cause of complaint have been remedied. Taxes and duties that pressed unequally on industry have been abolished; natives are more freely admitted to public offices; and a more liberal view has been taken of the general value and capabilities of Malta.

# SECTION X.—IONIAN ISLANDS.

The septinsular group of the Ionian Isles is situated in the Ionian Sea, between 36° and 40° S. lat., and 20° and 23° E. long., and extends from the Albanian coast to the southern extremity of the Morean peninsula.

The ancient history of these famous islands, called by the Greeks "Frank Isles" (Φραγκονησια) is intertwined with the mythology of the Greeks and Romans, so that it is difficult for sober truth to find a starting point. The islands would appear to have been early colonised,—to have remained for many years as separate states, partially under the control of Corinth, and subsequently beneath that of Athens or of Sparta. During the invasion of Xerxes, the Ionians boasted of being second only in power to the Athenians; but at no period do they seem to have long maintained an independent position. When Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, invaded Italy, they co-operated with him: on the decline of the Grecian republics they became the prey of several successive conquerors, and were finally incorporated in the Roman empire, and included in the Achaia province. The Goths ravaged Ionia, and destroyed, it is said, many monuments of antiquity: the Vandals conquered the province, but it was recovered by Belisarius. For 250 years the islands were attached to the prefecture of Lombardy, and conjoined with that province or with Sicily; for the next 300 years they constituted a separate government, under the title of the Zema of Cephalonia.*

On the dissolution of the Greek empire, Ionia seems to have been ruled by chiefs of Norman extraction, and by princes of the house of Valois. About the middle of the 14th century, the islands (or at least Corfu) apparently belonged to Charles III., King of Hungary, Jerusalem, and Sicily. In 1386, Corfu, then in a wretched state, was placed by the Corcyreans under the protection of Venice, and remained steadily attached to the Venetian republic, subject to frequent assaults and spoliations by the Turks, from whom the islanders experienced a desperate assault in 1537-'38, when the Moslems commenced their efforts for the expulsion of the Venetians from the Morea, &c. On the downfall of the "Queen of the Adriatic," in 1797, the French took possession of Ionia, but evacuated the territory on the breaking out of the war in 1798-'99, when it was taken under the joint protection of Russia and Turkey; the former becoming, however, the dominant power.

The next phase was the transfer of the islands from Russia to France, in virtue of a secret agreement between Alexander and Napoleon, in 1807. In 1809, Zante was occupied by a British force, and subsequently Cephalonia, Ithaca, Cerigo, and Santa Maura: Corfu, protected by a strong French garrison, held out until 1814; and, on the abdication of Napoleon, was taken possession of by England. At the peace of 1815, the septinsular union was placed under the protection of the British Crown, and has so continued to the present day.

---

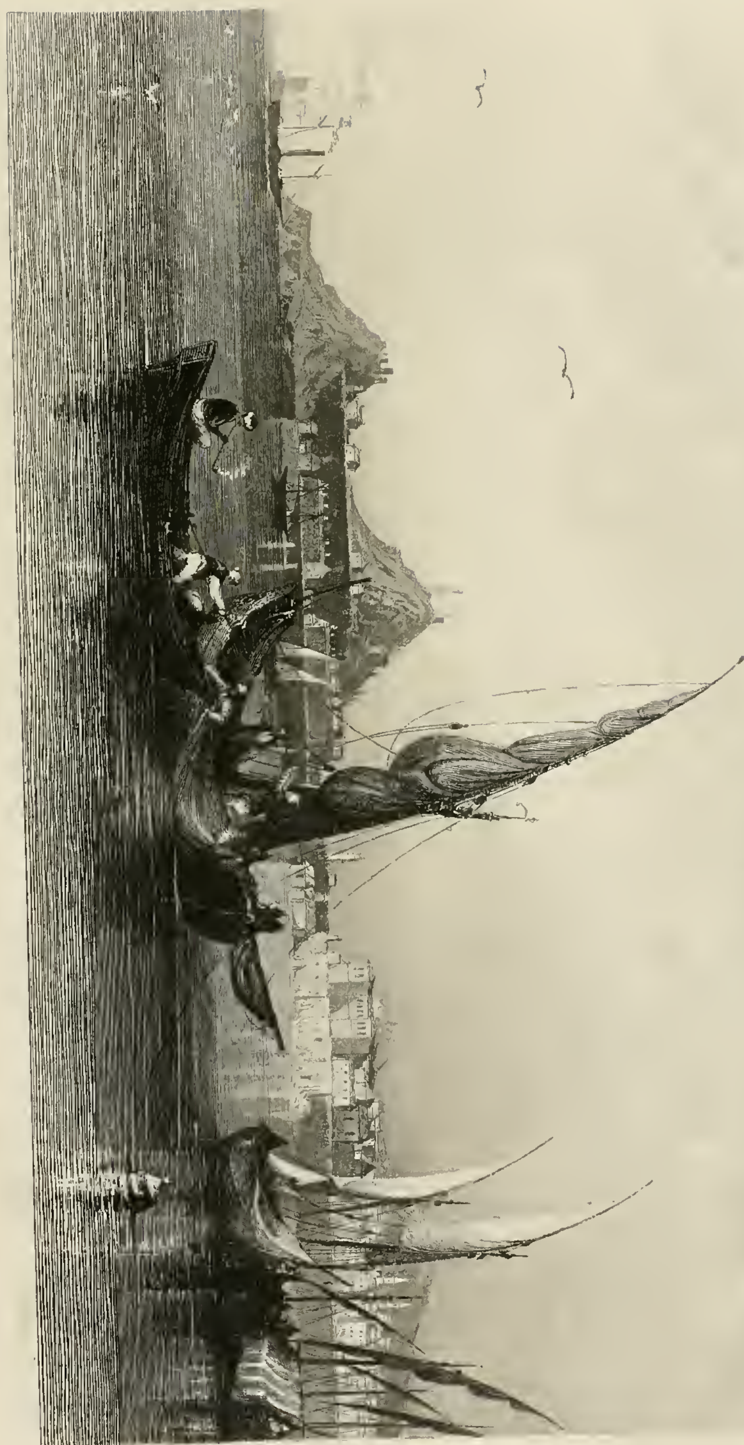
Corfu, in lat. 39° N., and long. 20° E., situate a little to the eastward of the mouth of the Adriatic, 150 miles north of Santa Maura, and the present seat of goverument of the septinsular union, was described by Homer under the names *Scheria*† (Σχερια) and (from Phæace the son of Neptune) *Phæacia*:—

> "Then swelled to sight *Phæacia's* dusky coast,
> And woody mountains, half in vapour lost;
> That lay before him, indistinct and vast,
> Like a broad shield amid the watery waste."

It was, however, previously known as *Drepanum* (Δρεπανη) Callinach, or *Drepanon* (Δρεπανον), and Apollon, an epithet bestowed in allusion to its semicircular or sickle shape, and connected with some mythological fable. To this designation succeeded that of *Macri*, by reason of its length from cape to cape (Sidero to Lefchimo), or, according

* *See* valuable *Notes and Observations on the Ionian Islands and Malta:* by Dr. John Davy; 2 vols. 8vo: London, 1842.

† *Scheria*, mythological records explain as a name given in consequence of the overflowing of the waves upon the banks of Epirus, covering a great space of territory. Ceres complained of the encroachment to Neptune, who arrested the waters; but not before they had separated a portion of land from the continent. Others assert that *Scheria* is derived from the Phœnician word *schara* (commerce), indicating thereby that the inhabitants of this isle were from early times pre-eminently skilled in maritime and commercial affairs.



to Apollonius, in honour of Marcris, the daughter of Aristee; but among the Greeks and Romans its usual designation was *Corcyra* (Κερκυρα), derived either from the grand-daughter of Neptune, or from the Arabic word *Cacara*, signifying a land of peace and abundance; or from *Kekuris*, a peculiarly constructed ship, which the inhabitants were famed for building. The present name of Corfu (given after the destruction of the Eastern empire) is said to owe its origin to Κορυφη, or Κορφοι, or Κορυφω, to overtop; alluding to the hilly or turret-like rocks on which the modern citadel is built.

According to mythology, Phæace, the son of Neptune, was the first who established himself in the isle; and Plutarch says that Jason, on returning from Colchis, bearing with him the golden fleece, touched at the island, and celebrated there his nuptials with Medea, when Phæace was king; but of the Phæacian city not a vestige remains: the Corfuite antiquarians aver that it occupied the site of Corcyra, the latter being built on the ruins of the former. Homer ascribes its colonisation to the Hyperians, who built a city and erected several temples to the gods. The successor to Phæace was said to be Alcinous, son of Nausithous; and then follows the story of Ulysses. According to Strabo, Archias, King of Corinth, in voyaging to Sicily, left Chersicrates, with a part of his army, at Corfu, then named *Scheria*. Chersicrates, it is said, made himself master of the place by conquering the inhabitants: this event took place in the 19th Olympiad, about 700 years before the siege of Troy. Certain it is that the Scherians or Corcyreans bore on their medals the winged horse, the well-known emblem of Corinth. Chersicrates made war upon and expelled the Liburnians, who inhabited the southern part of the island; and the new sovereign commenced his reign in Crisopolis, which Homer makes Ulysses gaze at in wonder, by reason of its magnificent buildings and temples. It is said to have continued subject to the mother country for upwards of a century; but in the wars between Corinth and Athens, the Corcyreans sided with the latter, and, in imitation of them, abolished monarchy, and founded a republic in its stead. It would appear that the Corcyreans maintained amicable but independent intercourse with the several Greek powers, and furnished an auxiliary force of vessels and men to aid in repelling the attack of Xerxes; but when the anger of the fickle Athenians was excited against Themistocles, the Corcyreans gave him shelter, and paid no heed to the insidious arguments or threats used to induce or compel the surrender of the brave commander.

The battle of Leucadia would appear to have been a vigorous attempt on the part of Corinth, aided by the Thebans, Leucadians, Cephalonians, &c., to crush the Corcyreans, who, however, with the assistance of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, almost totally destroyed the Corinthian fleet of 150 sail, under the command of Xenoclides. The engagement was fought by the Corinthians advancing in line, and being received by their opponents with 106 vessels, formed into three columns placed in alternate squares.

During the war between the different republics of Greece, the Corcyreans generally sided with the Athenians, and strenuously resisted the Lacedæmonians, who attempted the conquest of their island, the nobility of which favoured the latter people, and were in consequence entrapped and stoned to death in the temple of Juno by the democracy.

A detailed history of the island would be out of place here; it is sufficient to state briefly the leading events. Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, after several unsuccessful attempts, conquered Corcyra, and made use of its fleet and marines in his attempts on Italy, which greatly weakened the Corcyreans, whose commerce was almost annihilated by Teuca, Queen of the Illyrians, to whom they were subject in the century before our era; and, to check whose cruelties, the Corcyreans were obliged to follow the example set them by the little Grecian republics, and place themselves under Roman protection.

The ambassadors sent by the Corcyreans to Rome were, it is said, favourably received by the senate; the offer of becoming a province of the empire accepted, and the necessary assistance promised. During the domination of Rome, the Corcyreans were converted to Christianity; and the weakness of the Eastern empire enabled them once more to enjoy a government of their own choice. Corfu, although desolated by Genseric and the Vandals in one century (A.D. 466), and by the Goths and Sclavonians in another (A.D. 550), was able to assist the Emperor Heraclius against the Lombards (A.D. 638), and Leo the Isaurian

against the Saracens, during the siege of Constantinople, A.D. 717-'18. At the close of the 11th century, the naval power of Corfu seems to have been extinguished; for the island was occupied by Robert Guiscard, A.D. 1081, without offering the slightest resistance; but in the middle of the 12th century, the Corfuites aided the forces of the Emperor Emanuel Commenus in driving out the Normans, to whom they had voluntarily yielded obedience a short time before; and, at the close of the century, Corfu was annexed to the principality of Epirus and Ætolia, formed by Michael Angelus Commenus upon the division of the empire.* In the latter part of the 13th century, Corfu was conquered by Charles of Anjou, King of Naples; but the reverses sustained by his successors encouraged the people to assert their independence: the Neapolitan garrison was expelled, and a republican form of government established.

The growing power of the Genoese had begun to alarm the other Italian states; and the Venetians, perceiving the advantage to be derived from the possession of Corcyra or Corfu, on the 28th of May, 1386, entered into an agreement with the inhabitants, who, it is asserted by some, sold their liberty for 30,000 ducats; but this unauthenticated statement is probably founded on the circumstance of Zadislas, King of Naples, having ceded his claims on Corfu in 1401, for the sum above named.

Nothing of moment occurred until the growing power of the Turks in the Morea induced them to turn their attention to Corfu as a valuable acquisition. The chief fortress was besieged in 1537-'38, by Janus Beg and Cheredan Barbarossa, with the arms and fleet of Soleyman. Pesaro, who commanded at Corfu, stripped the galleys of their guns, and placed them on the ramparts and outworks,—sent the useless mouths out of the fortress into the Interior, and enrolled 4,000 men under the orders of Venetian officers; the nobility forming a separate corps. Barbarossa and Janus landed their forces on the coast parallel to Potamos, encamping between that village and the town, and opened their batteries with such effect, that the Corfuites were driven from their commanding position on an eminence above the town. Their subsequent attempts were less successful; several sorties were made by the besieged; and the Moslems beheld winter approach without having gained much ground. Meanwhile famine and plague made dreadful havoc in their camp, to reinforce which Soleyman dispatched 20,000 men, and followed them in person; but finding all hopes of conquest futile, he soon drew off the remnant of his shattered army.

From this time the island remained unmolested, until Achmet III., having conquered the Morea, resolved on the capture of Corfu with a force of 80,000 men. The Venetians, although much weakened by the loss of all the provinces and islands belonging to European Turkey, took active measures to enable Corfu to offer a vigorous defence. Several citizens were allowed to purchase orders of nobility; and with the money thus obtained, a force of 12,000 men was fitted out under Count Schulemburgh, who strengthened the fortifications, and placed the garrison in an efficient state of defence. On the 15th of July, 1716, Cogia Pasha, admiral of the Ottoman fleet, approached Corfu with twenty-two ships; he was met by the Venetian admirals Pisani and Cornari, whose force consisted of a squadron of galleys and galliots, under Pisani, and of ships under Cornari. Cogia being attacked and defeated by Pisani, put into Butrinto to repair and embark the troops destined for the siege,—landed a division at Vido, and opened a battery on the town and citadel of Corfu; the remainder came on shore below Potamos, and formed their camp about two miles from the extreme outworks of Fort Salvador, which, together with Fort Abraham, was captured by the Ottoman after several hard-fought contests. The seraskier endeavoured to storm the citadel in a night attack; Schulemburgh made a counter-sally with 2,000 resolute men, and surprised the Turks in the rear, upon which they fled in dismay, leaving 4,000 dead in the trenches. Among the slain was Mouchtar Bey, the grandsire of the celebrated Ali Pasha of Yanina, who played such an important part in the subsequent history of Greece. Mouchtar fell just as he had scaled the ramparts, and his sword was preserved in the armoury at Corfu until its occupation by the French. After repeated contests the Turks raised the siege, having lost 15,000 men, fifty-six pieces of cannon, several mortars, all the camp equipage, provisions, and the greater part of their baggage. The loss of the Venetians and Corfuites amounted

* Gibbon, vol. xi., pp. 247—253.

to 3,000. Pisani and Cornari pursued the Turkish fleet, captured several vessels, took possession of Butrinto, stormed Santa Maura, and put the whole of the Ottoman garrison to the sword. The Sultan was so exasperated at the result, that Admiral Cogia and the seraskier commanding the land forces suffered instant decapitation, by order of the fierce despot, in the very audience hall of Constantinople. The Turks made several other attacks on the island, as did also the Genoese; but the Venetians, aided by troops and funds from Austria, maintained their position for nearly 400 years.

The fall of Venice was the prelude to the transfer of Corfu to the French republic, the representatives of which took possession of the island in 1797, but were expelled by the Russian forces on the breaking out of the war in 1798-'99, when Turkey and Russia became its joint protectors. In 1807, hostilities between Russia and Turkey gave Ali, the Pasha of Yanina, a pretext for seizing on the continental towns then belonging to the Ionian republic; and by cutting off the supplies, deprived Corfu of the means of resisting General Berthier, who, with a French force of 17,000 men, arrived there and took possession, with the connivance of Alexander. Berthier was shortly afterwards relieved by General Donzelot, who remained at Corfu until the arrival of the British in 1814, when the island made a conditional surrender.

On the evacuation of the French, Sir James Campbell assumed the civil and military command of the Ionian States. General Campbell resigned the command to Sir Thomas Maitland, the governor of Malta, who, in 1817, proclaimed the constitution, in virtue of which the Ionian Islands are now governed by a lord high commissioner (representing the protecting sovereign), a senate, consisting of ten members (styled "the most illustrious"), with a president ("his highness"), and a legislative assembly ("the most noble"), composed of deputies from the different islands;—Corfu sending seven; Cephalonia, eight; Zante, seven; Santa Maura, four; Cerigo, one; and Paxo, one.

Geography, Area, Physical Aspect, Mountains, &c.—Corfu stretches from north to south in the form of a semicircle. On the north and west it is bounded by the Mediterranean, and on the north and east by the channel which separates it from Albania, or the ancient Epirus. This channel, which runs nearly south-east and north-west, is about twenty-one geographical miles in length; the narrowest or northerly mouth, at Cape Karagol, is not two miles across; the southerly entrance, between Cape Bianco and Gomenizza, is about seven miles broad; and the widest part, in the neighbourhood of the town of Corfu, does not much exceed ten miles in breadth. The soundings, in the deepest water, vary from forty to fifty fathoms.

The length of the island is about thirty-five geographical miles; the breadth, at the north-eastern extremity, about twelve; from thence it gradually lessens to its southerly termination, Cape Bianco.*

Corfu is divided into four bailiwicks, or districts:—*Oros*, a mountainous district, on the north-west, comprises Cassopo (the ancient Cassiope), formerly famed for a temple of Jupiter. *Agiru*, a beautiful tract, of remarkable fertility, situated between the western and southern parts of the island. *Mezzo*, or the midland district, contains the city of Corfu. *Lefchimo*, to the south-east, is so called from the ancient Cape Leucimna, now Cape Bianco.

*The aspect* is decidedly mountainous, particularly towards the Mediterranean, the part opposite the Albanian coast being less elevated, and presenting hilly slopes. A chain of mountains runs throughout the whole length of the island from north to south, the highest point of which is Santa Dacca, estimated as rising 2,000 feet above the sea; another range extends in an east and west direction, appearing like a termination of the Albanian or Acroceraunian range, subterraneously continued from Corfu to the mainland. The chief summit of this cross-chain, now called St. Salvador, or Παντοκρατωρ, the *Phœacia*, according to some, or, as others think, the *Istone* of antiquity, is supposed to be from 2,800 to 3,000, or even 3,500 feet: the view from its summit is magnificent, and comprises the bold Acroceraunian mountains, and even those of Macedonia; the Adriatic sea to the northward, and the Mediterranean to the southward: in clear weather the continent of Italy itself is visible. The cross-chain is of a rugged character, with many minor collateral offsets in a north and north-west direction. Viewed from the shore, or from a

* These measurements are derived from those of the French engineers, as given by Baron Theotoki, and by Dr. Hennen, in the work to which I have referred when describing Malta.

vessel in mid-channel, the mountains appear to form a boundary, like an amphitheatre, round that part of the bay where Corfu city is built; while on the north-west the shore rises abruptly, here and there dotted with olive groves, and straggling, wild-looking villages. On the opposite side, the snow-capped mountains of Albania stand, with the ancient *Buthrotum* at their feet, in towering magnificence; the combination of forest, sea, lake, and mountain, presenting one of those splendid panoramas on which the eye loves to dwell, and reminding the spectator of the voyage of Æneas—

> "Protinus aërias Phæacum abscondimus arces,
> Litoraque Epiri legimus, portuque subimus
> Chaonio, et celsam Buthroti ascendimus urbem."
> *Æneid*, lib. iii., 291.

There are three islands in the harbour of Corfu, extending, in a horse-shoe shape, from the promontory of Cape Mandrachi to Cape Karagol: between these capes, by which an excellent roadstead for shipping is formed, lies Vido (the *Ptychia* of the ancients), the largest of these isles,—two-and-a-half miles in circumference, and one mile distant from the town; it is protected by five forts, and British troops. Candilonipos is a mere rock, within cannon-shot of Vido. St. Demetrius, or Quarantine Island, is about two miles east of Vido, and one-and-a-half from the mouth of the Govino harbour or bay, which has a narrow entrance, protected by a battery, and is defended on all sides from the wind by mountains and hills. Govino Bay is the chief naval station of the islands. To the north-east of Cape Sidero lies a small islet or rather rock, named Fano, the fabled residence of Calypso, the enchantress. After passing Cape Sidero, the coast-line winds for twenty miles until it forms St. Angelo. Beyond this cape are some fortified rocks called *Smadrachi*. The shore continues unmarked by any remarkable point as far as Gardiki, and thence on to Cape Bianco (the southernmost point of Corfu), a conical cliff rising from the sea, known by the name of Lefchimo, from λευχείμων, signifying whiteness.

The city of Corfu, which the inhabitants say was founded by Æneas as a rival to the ancient Phæacia, is built on an irregular promontory, sloping to the north-west, which juts out nearly from the central portion of the eastern shore; the promontory resembles a triangle, the base being united to the island, and the apex directed towards Albania, with a semicircular bay on either side.

The citadel, or old fort, is built at the very extremity of the triangle. It is remarkable for two rocky eminences (the "*aërias arces*" of Virgil), which add greatly to the natural beauty of the scene. The triangular promontory was by nature peninsular, but has been completely separated from the mainland by a military work or ditch, about 150 yards in length, eighty in breadth, and forty in depth. The sea enters freely at the northern mouth of this ditch; but at the southern end stands a wall of separation. The communication with the esplanade is by a drawbridge. Within the citadel, whose circumference is 180 yards, are the old palace, an armoury (now used as an English chapel and school), barracks, artillery stores, an hospital, several houses (formerly private property, but now chiefly occupied by officers connected with the government or the army), and one or two churches of the Greek communion. No regular plan is observable in these buildings, except the barracks and the palace; all the others have been placed hap-hazard, or where a level surface presented itself for a site. The palace, immediately opposite the drawbridge, has some architectural pretensions. The barracks are on the northern face of the citadel.

The esplanade commences at the ditch which insulates the citadel, and extends about 450 yards in length from shore to shore, sloping very gradually from south to north: breadth, from east to west, about 180 yards. It is perfectly free from buildings on the southern side; on the northern are situated the new palace and the old hospital. One small Greek church projects somewhat beyond the line of the houses of the town, and is the only solid building that can be said at all to encroach on it. This open space forms the parade for the troops, and has been much improved by levelling and ornamental planting, and by the erection of an elegant fountain over a tank, towards the southern extremity. The position is singularly picturesque: looking from the town, the citadel stands in front; the mountains of Albania form a stately background; and the sea closes in on either hand. A carriage-drive has been formed, and the parade has become a place of common resort for the inhabitants and the garrison, for their walks and rides.

The circumference of the town, exclusive of the esplanade, is 2,800 yards; it is separated from the rest of the island by a strong

double circumvallation, which bounds it to the westward.

The "new fort," built at the latter end of the 16th century, is overlooked by Mount Abraham, a hill at a small distance from the walls. Towards the land side, chains of outworks and forts extend from the city to Lake Calachiopulo: in addition to, and beyond these, the French constructed strong lines, defended by bastions and redoubts, at intervals with a deep wet ditch stretching from the suburb of Castrades almost across the isthmus; in the erection of which the French lost 500 men from sickness. The works are very strong, are mined, and amply provided with the various munitions necessary for defence; but, from their great extent, 10,000 soldiers would be required to man them.

Corfu city, especially on its flanks, is quite a labyrinth. In the centre, or nearly opposite the entrance to the citadel, stands a range of tolerably good-looking houses, with piazzas, having an eastern aspect; from behind these, two or three principal streets, and as many of a secondary character, run from east to west, and are irregularly crossed by streets and lanes—narrow, straggling, and following no precise direction, being built, apparently, as the nature of the ground dictated. In these irregular passages, the gables of some of the houses and the fronts of others are intermixed; several are approached by steps, which are either of ordinary construction, or formed by ledges of the rock, converted into rude stairs. Anciently, outside staircases projected from almost all the houses; but these incumbrances have now been removed from the more frequented streets. Some superior dwellings are scattered through the town, and on the rampart facing the harbour; but the general habitations are of a very or-di nary character, consisting of two or three stories, each containing a large hall and a few apartments leading off from it.*

The number of religious edifices is very considerable; but the metropolitan church of the Greeks possesses (in their estimation) a great treasure, viz., the body of St. Spiridion, patron of the island, whose flesh, it is said, yields to the touch, though he has been dead many hundred years. The Corfiots aver that the Venetians made several attempts to carry off the body; and various strange legends are told respecting the supernatural manner in which this nefarious design was frustrated. The interior of the church is decorated with chandeliers, lamps, candelabras, &c., of pure gold and silver, chiefly the offerings of the worshippers. The senate-house is a plain, square building, in which the courts of law are held. The palace of St. Michael and St. George, occupying one side of the esplanade, along which its front extends, is built of Malta stone, and ornamented with a fluted Doric colonnade. On the west side a line of uniformly built houses, arched and pilastered, form with the palace nearly a parallelogram, two sides of which are closed and the other open, with grounds tastefully laid out in the centre. The theatre was originally intended for an exchange, and, with the other public buildings, requires no especial notice.

* Hennen, p. 173.

*Rivers.*—Strictly speaking, there are none; but throughout the whole island many streams run amid marshy valleys.

*Fountains.*—The two most classical and most copious, called the "Fountains of Cressida," are supposed to be close to the spot described by Homer as the scene of the famous interview between Nausicaa and Ulysses.

*Lakes and Marshes*, of fresh water, are found in all directions in the environs of the harbour, and amid the valleys of the more distant hills.

*Salt-water Lakes.*—The principal, at Govino, formed the old Venetian harbour, which is screened by surrounding hills from almost every wind, and situated about five miles to the north-west of the citadel; but sand and mud are rapidly accumulating within its basin, and a number of marshy spots are found along its banks: the entrance always narrow, is becoming yearly more circumscribed, and large ships are already excluded thence. In 1799, when the Ionian republic was under Russian and Ottoman protection, a squadron belonging to the two nations anchored there: yet in February, 1822, Dr. Hennen, while surveying in a small pleasure yacht of less than fifty tons burthen, frequently came in close contact with the mud. It is from three to four miles in circumference, exclusive of the marshy banks. The Venetians had their docks here, and the ditches, with other traces of these works, are still to be seen. Lake Calachiopulo, not more than a mile in a direct line from the works, estimated at from three to four miles in circuit, is celebrated by Homer as the harbour of the ancient Phæacians, and the little island at

its entrance represents the ship which, on its return from Ithaca, after having conveyed Ulysses thither, was turned into a rock. On its banks were situated the garden of Alcinous—according to the poet's tale.

*Canals* there are none: but a work which was cut by the French with the view of strengthening their position in the town of Corfu, by forming a fortified communication from the Lake of Calachiopulo to the Bay of Castrades, has been ranked under this head. This undertaking was commenced some time in 1810; but when the French evacuated the island, on the 14th of July, 1814, it was not half finished, although fatigue parties of 2,000 men daily, furnished by an army upwards of 10,000 in number, had been at work on it for a considerable time. This ditch is cut with salient and re-entering angles, &c., after the manner of a regular fortified line, along the bottom of the promontory of Monte Ascensione, the eastern boundary of Calachiopulo; it communicated with the lake, but not so efficiently as to allow of a free flow of the waters: at present the communication is nearly cut off, especially in summer. The French did not remain long enough to connect the channel with the sea at Castrades. The whole extent of the ditch, as it was left by them, beginning from Castrades, at the distance of 375 English yards from the sea-side, and following it along its whole line to the end behind Fort St. Salvador, was 996 French toises of nine feet each. Its breadth, at present, varies from twenty-eight to sixty English feet; in some of the intermediate points it is twenty-four feet broad; in others, 45½ feet. The depth of water varies from three to nine English feet. In consequence of the indisputable unhealthiness of these ditches, the government, in 1819, caused nearly the whole of that branch which extended from the back of St. Salvador to its communication with Calachiopulo (or 456 French toises) to be filled up—a work which lasted forty days, and employed 234 peasants.

Geology and Soil.—The mountains of Corfu are chiefly composed of a compact limestone, destitute of any organic remains, but with occasional strata of flint, precisely similar to the Albanian mountains. In some places carbonate of lime alternates with strata of vegetable earth; and is often found tinged with oxyde of iron, and presenting, when fractured, beautiful arborescences. Fibrous, crystallized, and granular gypsum abounds, principally disseminated in argillaceous deposits; breccia in immense masses, either purely calcareous, or with a mixture of silex, is frequently observable; in some spots carbonate of lime is mixed with nodules of sulphur, or with coarse jasper: and Dr. Benza, in one spot, found the rare mineral dolomite. There is a quarry of white marble under the western peak of St. Salvador, of a very fine grain, and well adapted for statuary; and variegated marble is found in small masses widely scattered. The substance known on the continent as Corfu alabaster, is a fine gypsum. The lesser hills have an argillaceous soil, mixed with lime: the substratum to all the low and cultivated lands in the island, is principally a stiff tenacious clay, very retentive of moisture, and extremely fertile.

The island is not apparently of volcanic production, but would appear to have been separated from the mainland by some violent convulsion of nature. Earthquakes, however, are not uncommon, and are supposed to originate in the island itself, and to bear no relation to shocks in neighbouring localities; they generally run from north-west to south-east, and are slight; but in 1745, one shock was so severe as to destroy the palace, bishop's house, and many other buildings. In May, 1819, a severe shock in the interior of the island stopped a copious spring. The great earthquake which, a few years since, made such dreadful havoc in Santa Maura and Zante, was not felt at Corfu.

Climate.—Nearly tropical; but the physical sensations are influenced more by the winds than by the alternations of the mercury in the thermometer. On an average of four years, the thermometer ranged from 44° to 91°; the general annual average of rainy days for the four years being 96¾. It appears that there is not a month in the year in which rain does not fall for a greater or less number of days; but November and December, February and March, are the most rainy. Snow is seldom seen, but sometimes the summit of St. Salvador is covered with scattered patches, which remain for ten or twelve days. On the Albanian mountains the snow falls generally about the end of November,* and continues till May.

Botta† asserts, that in his time the maxi-

* I saw them capped with snow at the close of October, 1845.

† *Storia Naturale e Medica dell' Isola di Corfu*; Milano Anno vii., 12mo.

mum of heat of different years did not vary more than 3° or 4°, but that the minimum of cold often varied 6°, 8°, or 10°. Mr. Starkie's tables contradict this. In four years the lowest degree of cold ranged from 45°, 46°, 46°, 44°,—only 2° difference; while the highest degrees of heat were, for the same four years, 89°, 90°, 91°, 85°,—or 5° of difference.

*Winds.*—It is difficult in Corfu to ascertain the quarter whence the wind blows; on inquiring of a sailor, the answer will be—"I cannot say what it is outside." When a cloud rises from St. Salvador summit, it is generally succeeded by a north-west wind, scattering the fogs and vapours, as described by Homer:—

> "The low-hung vapours, motionless and still,
> Rest on the summit of the shaded hill;
> Till the mass scatters as the winds arise,
> Dispersed and broken through the ruffled skies."
> *Iliad*, 5th Book.

Dr. Hennen thinks that the peculiar winds of Corfu depend upon the local situation of the island. The usual remark of the Corfiots is, that their country forms one side of a funnel, very narrow and winding at the mouth, dilated in the middle, and again contracted at the extremity. Two somewhat transverse funnels lie at the extremities of the longitudinal one, formed by the channel which divides Corfu from the mainland of Greece. The first and largest of these is that extremity of the Adriatic which extends from Durazzo to the Straits of Otranto, and lies to the northward; violent eddies and irregular blasts sweep along the coast of this great inland sea. The second is formed by the more distant gulfs of Arta and Prevesa,* which lie to the southward. An easterly breeze commences in them daily, soon after sunrise, and continues till near noon. At about three in the afternoon a westerly wind sets in, lasting until nightfall; and so regular is this alternation, that it requires a strong gale in the Mediterranean to interrupt it: the current also follows these successive changes; and the joint effects are sensibly felt even to the westward of Paxo, and far beyond the southern extremity of Corfu. The eastern boundary of the channel or canal of Corfu is formed of lofty and precipitous mountains, covered for more than half the year with snow; and the breaks and gullies give a direction to the winds corresponding to that particular point upon which they strike. This, of course, varies with the angle of incidence; and the effect is uniform only in one particular, viz., the cold communicated by the snow to the passing column of air.

The result of these diverse inflections of the wind is, that vessels may frequently be seen steering different courses in the channel, with the breeze "right aft" for each. Thus it often happens that a ship is coming through the north channel, and another through the south, both before the wind, while in mid-channel a perfect calm may prevail, or, what is more probable, the wind may be veering rapidly to all points of the compass. These currents do not appear to extend to any great height, for the shipping is often affected by the breeze, while the flag at the citadel, about 120 feet above the level of the sea, lies motionless on the flagstaff.

The most frequent winter and autumnal winds in the town of Corfu, are these from the E., E.S.E., S., and S.E. In spring and summer they come chiefly from the N., N.N.E., N.E, and E.N.E. They are rarely violent for more than three or four days; but often continue in the same point for a longer period: those from a northward direction, which come sweeping over the mountains of Epirus, are cold; but all from the southward are oppressively hot, accompanied with mist and rain. The hazy and humid south-east wind, called the Sirocco, as felt at Corfu, is not to be compared in intensity and injurious effect to that experienced in Sicily.

Fevers, especially of the remittent and intermittent types, are of frequent occurrence, and form nearly two-fifths of the total admissions into the hospitals. Dysentery and diarrhœa are also of frequent occurrence. Phthisis and pulmonic inflammations are alleged alike in Malta, Gibraltar, and Minorca, to bear a proportion of one to two-and-a-half to all the other fatal complaints. The plague has several times appeared; and of twenty-eight cases treated in 1816, only three recovered. The process of parturition is extremely easy; twins are common, and triplets not rare. In December, 1807, a Jewess brought forth five children at the seventh month, three of them alive. In point of longevity, the Corfiots are on a par with the other natives of

* The Gulf of Prevesa is the name given to that portion of the ocean which lies between Santa Maura and Paxo.

southern Europe, and many old people are to be seen among them. Within the last fifty years, thirty-five males and thirty-six females died upwards of ninety, and five males and three females at upwards of 100; one of them 116. Deformity is a rare occurrence among the Corfiots, and monstrosity still more so. In one or two families children have been born with six fingers, and this had continued for four generations. Goitrous persons and cretins are unknown.

Vegetable Kingdom.—The olive is the principal production of Corfu, yielding in favourable years nearly 10,000,000 gallons of oil. The small grape, from which the well-known dried currants are prepared, is next in importance; flax is raised in considerable quantities; but of corn, not more than suffices for four or five months' consumption is grown in the island. Various woods are found in the mountains, but none of them adapted for ship-building; yet the list includes several sorts of oak, in particular the Balania, or Valonia (*Quercus Ægilops*), the acorn of which affords a useful dye-stuff. Cyprus and palm-trees are common, and the plains are in many places covered with the *cactus indicus, agnus castus, salvia pomifera,* myrtle and other odoriferous plants; potatoes and various vegetables are excellent; as are also numerous fruits, including the fig, orange, citron, pomegranate, melon, apricot, peach, plum, pear, apple, &c. Several medicinal plants flourish, such as the *colchicum, hyosciamus, momordica, elaterium, scilla maritima, ricinus, smilax aspera,* &c.

Animal Kingdom.—There are no animals peculiar to the island, and, owing to the scarcity of pasture, few cattle are maintained. It is a curious fact that dogs are reared with difficulty: hares and rabbits are met with, but deer and other large game are unknown. Birds of prey (*accipitres*) are rare in Corfu. Vultures, hawks, and owls, are occasionally seen. Of the orders *pici, coraces,* and *passeres*, the variety to be met with (particularly of the latter) is very great; and they are almost indiscriminately used for food by the Corfiots. Among the *gallinæ*, the domestic fowls are good and plentiful; but the turkey is principally imported from Albania and the Morea. Pigeons, both tame and wild, of different species, are found in vast numbers. Partridges, both of the common and red-legged kind, are plentiful. The *tetrao coturnix* (or quail, a migratory bird) is, in the season, very abundant, as are also most of the migratory birds of Europe.

Among the *grallæ*, storks and herons are occasionally met with; but the *scolopax rusticola,* or woodcock, is found in the greatest profusion; many, also, are imported from Albania. Snipe, red-shank, plover, and other species of scolopax, are also abundant. Of the *anseres,* or water-fowl, the supply is immense, including many species of the anas or duck tribe, as wild duck, widgeon, teal, &c.

In the markets of Corfu may be observed a variety of fish, the principal of which are as follows:—Among the cartilaginous fishes, various species of the genus *raia,* especially skate, and varieties of the genus *squalus,* especially dog-fish. The beautiful *pegasus draconis* (or sea-horse) is often found. Of the *acipenseres,* the sturgeon is occasionally seen. Of the *apodes,* eels and sword-fish: of *jugulares,* the star-gazer (*uranoscopus*), the weever (*trachinus draco*), the blenny, the whiting, and the pollack, are the most common: of *thoracici,* the *echeneis remora,* or sucking-fish, is very common; and, though rejected even by the shark, is eaten by the lower orders of the Corfiots. The john dory, the plaice, the sole, various species of the sparus, or gilt-head, the perch, the pilot-fish, the mackerel, the bonito, the dolphin, miller's thumb, the little sea scorpion, and the mullet of the Romans (*mullus barbatus*), are found: and of the *abdominales,* the anchovy, the trout, pike, tench, and the roach. The river fish are imported from Albania. The most noted fish of Corfu is the *mugil cephalus,* or grey mullet. It is caught in great quantities in the Lake of Calachiopulo, and called *chefali,* probably from the great size of its head. It is a delicious fish, and from its roe, mixed with that of another species caught in Bucintro, the Corfiots prepare their *botargo:* they first salt the roes, then smoke, and preserve them in oil.

Of *mollusca,* the star-fish, cuttle-fish, and echinus, are very abundant. Many of this class are dried, and form a common article of food; they are glutinous if well dressed, but otherwise tough and leathery. Of *crustacea,* the crab, craw-fish, and shrimp, are plentiful; and the lobster is frequently met with. Of *testacea,* the razor-fish, pinna, oyster, mussel, and scalop, are abundant; and in Calachiopulo, the cockle is found in vast quantities, and of excellent

quality. Of the *cetaceous* tribe, the *delphinus phocæna*, or porpoise, and the *delphinus delphis*, or dolphin, of the ancients, are very common.

Many, if not most of the fish exposed for sale in Corfu, come from the coast of Albania. The Corfiots assert that, since the last siege, the fish have been frightened away from their shores.

The principal fisheries are Calachiopulo, Govino, and the neighbourhood of Gerovolio and Bucintro. The means employed are nets, the line, and occasionally an intoxicating substance called "Splono." The basis of this is *verbascum*, a plant which in England is commonly looked upon as merely mucilaginous, but viewed by Haller and Linnæus as an anodyne. Some species of *euphorbium* are used for a similar purpose. Dr. Hennen says that, when striving to catch *polypi*, *echinides*, and cuttle-fish, the fishermen throw a few drops of oil on the surface of the water, which having thus rendered calm, they drop the bait and speedily secure their prey. Mordo speaks of a fish caught in a valley near Corissia, which, though of a very delicate flavour, is unwholesome. Coral is found in small quantities near Cape Sidero and Cape Bianco: it was formerly an object of commerce. Corallina is also found upon the coast of Corfu; and sponge and many other zoophytes abound.

Venomous reptiles are either unknown or very scarce. Among the harmless kinds, are the land tortoise, the frog, common lizard, and the well-known *coluber beres*, or adder. Corfu is infested with insects; including the tick, by whose ravages so many museums have been destroyed; *chrysomela*, of various species; *lampyris*, or glow-worm; *blatta*, or cockroach; *mantis*; *meloe*; a great variety of *papiliones*; the *gryllus*, *cicada*, *tipula*, &c., &c. The beautiful moth *phalæna junonia*, is occasionally seen, as also the *lepisma*, the *scolopendra*, and the *scorpio europæus*, whose bite, however, is not poisonous.

POPULATION.—Corfu being the capital of the seven isles, I proceed to show in this place the entire population; reserving, however, details regarding each island.

*Population of the Ionian Islands from* 1824 *to* 1854.

| Years. | Population. | | Total. | Persons employed in | | | Births. | Marriages. | Deaths. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males. | Females. | | Agriculture. | Manufacture. | Commerce. | | | |
| 1824 | — | — | 175,902 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1827 | — | — | 180,301 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1828 | 104,625 | 90,698 | 195,323 | 40,783 | 9,508 | 4,804 | 6,159 | 1,196 | 5,332 |
| 1829 | 101,611 | 88,287 | 189,898 | 37,813 | 7,574 | 4,418 | 5,606 | 1,186 | 5,018 |
| 1830 | 100,447 | 87,027 | 187,474 | 34,646 | 6,111 | 3,693 | 5,861 | 1,431 | 5,498 |
| 1831 | 99,854 | 88,836 | 188,690 | 38,883 | 5,793 | 3,669 | 6,127 | 1,314 | 4,673 |
| 1832 | 103,394 | 89,452 | 192,846 | 33,371 | 5,329 | 4,408 | 5,776 | 1,564 | 4,306 |
| 1833 | 103,579 | 90,588 | 194,167 | 39,768 | 6,092 | — | 5,897 | 1,400 | 5,013 |
| 1834 | 103,920 | 90,475 | 194,395 | 41,042 | 5,829 | 4,363 | 6,242 | 1,424 | 4,818 |
| 1854 | 123,436 | 105,727 | 229,163 | — | — | — | 5,843 | — | 5,363 |

*Population by Islands in the Year* 1854.

| Islands. | Area in sq. miles. | Males. | Females. | Aliens, &c. | Mouths to sq. mile. | Births. | Deaths. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Corfu . . . . . . . | 227 | 37,796 | 32,736 | 9,700 | 350 | 2,054 | 1,465 |
| Cephalonia . . . . | 311 | 38,524 | 31,957 | 1,993 | 233 | 1,687 | 1,375 |
| Zante . . . . . . | 161 | 20,757 | 17,870 | 436 | 243 | 805 | 1,511 |
| Santa Maura . . . . | 156 | 10,678 | 9,365 | 104 | 130 | 529 | 440 |
| Ithaca . . . . . . | 44 | 5,936 | 5,412 | — | 258 | 292 | 229 |
| Cerigo . . . . . . | 116 | 7,016 | 5,991 | 52 | 112 | 350 | 223 |
| Paxo . . . . . . . | 26 | 2,729 | 2,396 | 45 | 200 | 126 | 120 |
| Total . . . | 1,041 | 123,436 | 105,727 | 12,330 | 220 | 5,843 | 5,363 |

In 1802, the population of Corfu was 42,926; in 1832, 59,839; in 1854, 70,532.

The Ionians retain the physical contour of their Grecian ancestors. The upper and front parts of the skull are well developed; the features pleasing and intelligent. The complexion, in healthy persons, inclines towards olive; that of the higher class of the females, who are not exposed to the sun, and lead a secluded life, is often clear and white. That of the peasantry is, of course, much affected by the sun. Those who reside in the Lefchimo district in particular, and in the neighbourhood of marshes, generally have a sickly leuco-phlegmatic cast. The eyes are brilliant

and full in both sexes, and mostly dark-coloured; the teeth good; the hair usually brown or black, and bushy in the men; the beard copious; the figure of the middle height, sometimes beyond it, and indicative of activity if not of strength. The constitution is often of a sanguine and choleric cast; the gestures vivacious; the gait erect and elastic, and the enunciation voluble and emphatic.* The females are, in general, well formed, many of them are handsome; but their beauty soon decays.

The Corfiots are abstemious in all matters relating to diet, with the one exception of the universally immoderate use of tobacco. Dancing is a favourite amusement, and their national figure is supposed to be the same with the ancient Pyrrhic dance: a circle is formed by men and women joining handkerchiefs; it opens, and the leading person goes through numerous evolutions in forming and re-forming the circle; sometimes completely; again only to half its extent; very often the leader passes through the middle of the waving line, under the uplifted hands of his associates, and is followed by the whole train: after a variety of movements which seem entirely arbitrary, the chief actor is succeeded by another, who in return alone directs the entire assemblage. There is another dance, principally executed by men, in which they form circular and other figures, and use considerable muscular exertion, leaping from the ground and stamping upon it with great energy.

The open air is the usual scene of these performances. Theatrical amusements, singing, music, and village *fêtes*, are all popular among the Corfiots. Their instruments are the fife, lute, guitar, violin, and drum. Amongst the most interesting diversion of the Corfiots, is the "*chiostra publica*." This is in imitation of the former knightly custom of tilting in the ring. The *chiostra* generally takes place in the summer. A long course of strong wood-work is erected on the esplanade; about two-thirds of the way a string is drawn across on the tops of two elevated posts, and from it is suspended the ring; the latter is divided into a certain number of circles, and the candidate who hits nearest and fairest in the inner one, wins the prize, which is sometimes a sword of considerable value. Seats are erected on each side the course for the accommodation of the spectators. The judges take their places in front of the ring. The principal people usually assemble, together with a vast concourse of the lower orders. The "*preux chevaliers*" who engage in the affair are gaily dressed, mounted on richly caparisoned steeds, attended by squires, and armed with lances above six feet long, terminating in a sharp steel point.†

The Ionians waste much time in a state of listless idleness, for which the numerous festivals of their church afford them ample opportunity; and Cicero's remark on the "*summum Græcorum otium*" of their ancestors, is applicable to these modern Greeks. Unfortunately, it is not only a too strong appreciation of the "*dolce far niente*" which travellers have accused the Ionians of inheriting. The proverbial *Græcæ mendax* is likewise laid to their charge, together with litigation, love of intrigue, revenge, inordinate vanity, and a long train of vices and defects.‡

That they are sunken and debased, is too true; but it should be remembered that so are every people who have been long subject to the demoralising influence of despotism, priestly and political, by which every noble faculty has been kept down, and a fearful impulse given to the host of evil passions which infest the unregenerate heart of man. From one of these crushing chains the Ionians are free; and, as education spreads, we may reasonably hope that the glorious liberty of the Gospel may banish the gross superstitions of the Greek church, and enable its members to regain the lofty posi-

* Hennen.

† Kendrick.

‡ Dr. Hennen gives a very melancholy picture of Ionia. The clergy, he says, are taken from the scum of the population, and are, with few exceptions, illiterate, superstitious, and immoral. The nobles are without honour, the merchants without integrity, and the peasantry ignorant and degraded to the most abject degree. This lamentable decadence is described as being peculiar to no class of society, but as pervading all ranks, from the palace (and every house of more than ordinary size is called a palace) to the cottage. That the Greek character, in general, has been greatly debased by their long endurance of Turkish and Venetian tyranny, as exerted on the continent and in the islands, is agreed on all sides, and is consonant with what the history of man has in every age presented to our view; but one of the principal causes is to be found in the depravity and ignorance of their clergy. Many of these persons can barely read their breviary: few, if any, acts of private atrocity, or rebellion, have occurred in the islands, which have not been planned and in part executed by the priests; and, according to Dr. Hennen, the very gangs of robbers or pirates have their regular chaplain.

tion they once held, and, by the blessing of God, may yet regain.

So long as the Ionians remained under the Neapolitan rule, little or no improvement could be expected; and the ascendancy of the lion of St. Mark wrought, of course, no great change in their moral condition. The criminal guilty of ten murders, was punished with ten years of the galleys; whilst the offence of having once spoken disrespectfully of one high in office, received a similar sentence; hence a powerful incentive was given to great crimes, and the national tendency to obsequious flattery fostered. The Venetian policy was to foment discord in the neighbouring states of the Osmanli, and stipendiary hordes of miscreants were retained for that purpose: the provisions requisite for the garrison of Corfu were purchased from these brigands, and paid for with munitions necessary for carrying on their systematic plunder. Criminals and outlaws of all descriptions found shelter with these marauders; and the fugitives remained in their haunts until they had amassed sufficient wherewith to purchase oblivion, bringing, on their return, the evil habits acquired during years of licentiousness; the worst crimes being consequently committed with impunity, so far as any active interference on the part of the state was concerned. Among the lower classes, education was utterly neglected, and the peasantry were in the most degraded state of ignorance. In the higher and more opulent families, it was customary to send children to the universities of Padua and Venice, where they learned to despise their native language, its practice being forbidden in the law or other courts, and its use held as degrading to any but menials. Commerce was diverted from its legitimate channels, or so trammelled with restrictions as to become subservient to the aggrandisement of Venice alone; thus baffling every prospect of honourable occupation for the Ionians, and forcing those bred to the sea into a life of piracy. Under the dominion of neither France or Russia was the state of Ionia improved; the sway of either power was of so short duration, or they were so much engaged in weightier matters, as to pay little attention to the islands.

With the British a brighter period commenced;—improvements rapidly advanced; and it is only just to state that moral reform has kept pace with external progress. Nothing tended more to ameliorate the state of the islands than the disarming of the population. Prior to this act, a dagger and pistols formed part of the national costume; hence, on the slightest excitement, these were put in requisition, and assassination, with its train of attendant miseries, followed. On the promulgation of any edict inimical, or supposed to be inimical, to the inhabitants of a district, the people assembled, set the civil force at defiance, and frequently required large bodies of military to restore order; happily, their disarment put an end to scenes of the kind, and deeds of violence are not now more frequent than in other countries.

In many points of character, the Ionian differs materially from the continental Greek;—he is quick to devise, prompt in execution, and surprisingly intelligent. He has more enterprise, but is less scrupulous in the means he employs, than the Moreot; —in religious matters he has as much bigotry, and more bombast in relating his actions. That most efficient Grecian weapon, the tongue, is ever ready; but the refinement of the Asiatic or Fanariote Greek is wanting. No people are more patient under privation; hunger, thirst, heat, and cold, they endure with undaunted resolution. A morsel of black bread, a few olives, an onion, and his capote,—thus fed and sheltered, the Ionian, supported by climate and constitution, is contented and happy.

The Corfiot gentleman is stigmatised as "subtle and adroit, cloaking his evil qualities under the mask of courtesy."* At the period of these remarks there was doubtless much truth in them: the islanders had in a very short space been subjected to so many rulers, that on Great Britain assuming the supremacy, the better class of Greeks hardly knew what course to pursue; and even now, there is a strong inclination to inflated compliments, sometimes approaching to servility. Those vices at which human nature revolts, are at the present day held in just abhorrence and detestation; and examples are not wanting in the higher classes of individuals whose conduct would do honour to any age or country, by the practice of the virtues which grace society, and the self-denying promotion of measures calculated to increase the welfare of their countrymen.

From the long dominion of the Venetians, society altogether took its tone from

* Goodison's *Ionian Islands*.

that people; and many of their old customs are still retained. Formerly the females of rank were closely secluded, rarely or never mingling with the males. Their accomplishments seldom extended beyond an acquaintance with the mysteries of the tambour-frame. At times a soft dark eye might be seen peering from the corner of a jalousie, or verandah—and nothing more. At present the Ionian ladies participate freely in all public amusements, such as balls, *fêtes,* and entertainments, which at Corfu are very frequent during the winter months; English and Greeks mingling together in their enjoyments with all the refinement and ease common to the most polished assemblies, the variety of costume and language giving these meetings a charm rarely found in similar *réunions* in other countries. The reputation of the fair Ionians formerly stood on no very high ground as regarded chastity; and it is to be lamented that frequency of divorce still forms a strong feature in the social state of affairs.

With the Russians, although of the same religion, there was little reciprocity of feeling, and still less with the French; and on Great Britain becoming the protecting power, the islanders mixed little with them, their meetings being confined to visits of ceremony. The present good understanding which animates all parties, is mainly attributable to the hospitality of the several presidents of the senate, first commenced by Baron Theotoki, whose presidency gave a striking example of refined and elegant hospitality.

The dress of the Corfiots has greatly changed of late years, that is, as far as the higher orders are concerned, the English and French fashions being adopted by them; but the peasantry have made no alteration in their ancient dress. A wide capote of thick felt (the principal material of which is goats' hair) forms their chief winter garment; exchanged in summer for a coarse shaggy woollen cloth, with an additional article of the same material to ward off rain or unusual cold. The capote is very rarely taken off; the under dress is a woollen vest, large breeches of coarse cotton, called *thoraké,* with cloth leggings, and a coarse sandal of undressed hide, secured by thongs, or a shoe of half-dressed leather scarcely less rude. This is the national dress of the aboriginal peasantry; but the settlers, whether Albanians, Moreots, or others, retain traces of their native costume, as the red skull-cap, the turban, &c., &c. A girdle, or zone, of silk or cotton, is almost invariably worn round the waist by both sexes. The better classes wear very picturesque attire, composed of a double-breasted vest, usually made of blue or maroon-coloured velvet, with a double row of hanging gold or silver buttons, descending from the shoulder to the waist, generally bordered with broad gold lace, and fastened with a sash of coloured silk; Cossack trowsers, cut short at the knee, or the white Albanian kilt or petticoat; white stockings and buckled shoes complete the dress. The hair floats loosely on the shoulders of the men; the women wear it plaited, and hanging down to the heels, the head being covered with a gay kerchief.

The fair sex seem to delight in loading themselves with as much clothing of coarse cotton, silk, or brocade, as they can procure; and are passionately fond of every species of ornament, especially necklaces, ear-rings, and girdle buckles. The vests are made like those of the men, of rich velvet ornamented with gold lace, and flowing open; beneath is worn a beautiful cestus, or girdle, fastened in front by a clasp of gold or silver, and highly wrought. The petticoats are of pink or blue, richly bordered and spangled; the costume fitting closely to the waist all round: high-heeled shoes, with very large silver buckles, complete the attire. Many of them tinge the nails and tips of the fingers of a pink colour, and the practice of inserting powdered antimony along the edges of the eyelids is very common, especially among such as come from the islands of the Archipelago. This application gives a certain degree of brilliancy to the eyes; but the dark, lustrous, almond-shaped orbs of a Greek require but little aid from art, and fully justify the term of "ox-eyed," so frequently applied to them. Cosmetics and perfumes are much used.

Mats are spread on the floors of the poorest cottagers; but, generally speaking, in the towns, and in the better order of houses in the villages, there is to be found a good bed, stuffed with wool, hair, or straw, and placed either on a regular bedstead, or on boards and tressels. In lieu of blankets, a counterpane, thickly quilted and stuffed with wool, forms a common and comfortable substitute. The Greek females pride themselves on the elegance of their beds, which are covered with silk and embroidered counterpanes, and adorned with orna-

mental pillows, in proportion to the fortune and luxurious habits of the owner. The generality of the middle, and the whole of the lower order of people, sleep in their ordinary clothes, and rarely change their personal or bed linen oftener than once a month. A few chairs, tables, and chests of drawers, of an ordinary description, a copper cooking kettle, with some earthen pots and pans of a very coarse kind, complete their furniture.

Religion.—The Greek church is the predominant faith of the islanders, the followers of the Latin or Roman creed being few—probably not exceeding 3,000: of Jews there are about 5,000 in the island, who are, unfortunately, hated by all the Corfiots. The Roman church was introduced into the island by the Venetians, and at first was only a bishopric; but Pope Gregory, in 1600, elevated the see to an archbishopric; the chief being generally a noble Venetian, chosen by the senate, and installed by the pope. The cathedral has a chapter composed of six canons, who elect a grand vicar. The clergy of the Latin church were heretofore paid by government stipends, but excepting life interests, this system has, I believe, been discontinued.

The Latin and Greek communion at Corfu have had many quarrels on the score of superiority—the latter claiming the right of precedence, which, indeed, the Venetian government secretly favoured; but Paul III. enjoined his clergy to cease all further quarrels, since which the Greek church has never been subject to any persecutions; and during Passion week the Roman and Greek churches have alternate processions on the esplanade. Idolatrous and full of vain ceremonial as the Latin church appears to protestants, the Greek is tenfold worse; no pagan mythology so abounds in superstitious rites, festivals, and fasts. Each year includes four Lents, and 191 fast days; during some parts of which the use of even fish is proscribed, and bread and vegetables alone permitted.

The Greek church has for its head a protopapa (archpriest), elected by ballot in an assembly of the clergy and nobles, and confirmed by the patriarch at Constantinople. The new protopapa is decorated with his robes in the hall of assembly, and conducted home amidst the ringing of bells and the firing of petareroes. The Corfu functionary is distinguished by the title of grand protopapa, and his authority is equal to that of a bishop. The office lasts five years, at the expiration of which time he returns into the number of ordinary priests or papas. The cathedral has its canons like the Latin church, but no fixed prebend; the honour of being at the head of their church, and the distinction of a violet-coloured girdle, being the only advantage derived from the canonry. Marriages, baptisms, and funerals afford them some remuneration. The expenses of these ceremonies are, generally, eleven livres to the protopapa, and three to each canon, with a wax candle of a pound weight. Excommunications formerly constituted the most lucrative source of priestly revenue. Not long since a Greek purchased with a small sum the excommunication of his neighbour, who speedily retaliated by a similar measure, which rendered null that of his adversary. The same priest performed both acts with equal zeal. These thunderbolts of the Greek church, until neutralised, were very grievous inflictions. The ceremony was performed in the public street, and opposite the house of the unlucky victim, and the success was considered sure, provided the prosecutor had the means of feeing the protopapa himself, to come at the head of his clergy and pronounce the anathema, for the execution of which he proceeded to the spot in a mourning habit, a black wax candle in his hand, preceded by a large crucifix and a black banner; his suite in similarly lugubrious fashion. Imprecations, accompanied with violent gestures, constituted the dreaded anathema; and once pronounced, the luckless victim was excluded from visiting the church, and deprived of the prayers of the faithful—restoration being only procurable by a counter-excommunication. If the sinner had not the means of paying the expense, it often happened that he revenged himself by assassination. Since our government has been established, we have effected a modification of this shameless system, and excommunication can now only take place by the sanction of the archpriest or protopapa. The number of churches is very considerable: the officiating priest is chosen annually by the parishioners. In the country, most of the churches have been built by individuals, who, as proprietors, nominate the papas. The property of the church of St. Spiridion is vested in a private family, who exercise the right of inspecting the account of its revenues. Eight days previous to the festival of St. Spiridion, the doors, windows,

and steeple of the church are ornamented with festoons of laurel and myrtle. On the eve of the festival, the shrine which contains the body of the saint, marvellously well preserved (?), is exposed to the veneration of the people, dressed in pontifical robes, overshadowed by a costly canopy. Then follows a procession, the most offensive features of which have happily of late years been done away with.*

In all public calamities the relics of the saint are exposed with the most infatuated confidence. The church of St. Spiridion enjoys the revenues of some lands which various individuals have bestowed for its support. The superstition of the people still affords a considerable harvest to the island clergy. The mariner and the artisan still hope to further the success of their speculations by sacrificing a part to St. Spiridion; and few boats leave the port without the representatives of the saint having an interest in the profits of the voyage.

The ecclesiastical establishments, in 1854, throughout Ionia, were as follows:—

| Designation. | Churches & Chapels. | Number of Priests. | Amount of Salaries. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greek:— | | | £ |
| Public | 80 | 860 | 520 |
| Corporate | 872 | | 3,835 |
| Bodies | 1,190 | | 687 |
| Latin | 11 | 27 | 1,000 |
| English | 2 | 3 | 215 |
| Scotch | 1 | 1 | — |
| Total | 2,156 | 891 | 6,257 |

Education and Schools.—At Corfu there is a public university, and an ecclesiastical seminary for the education of young men intended for the priesthood of the Greek church; in each of the islands of the state is a school entitled "secondary," maintained at the public expense, where instruction is imparted in the Greek and Latin classics, in the modern Greek, English, and Italian languages, in arithmetic, and the elements of mathematics. In the chief town of each island is a central school, likewise maintained by government on the mutual instruction plan, for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic; and in these schools the village masters are trained. Besides these public seminaries, there are in each island district schools on the same plan, where similar instruction is given, the expense being defrayed by the parents of the children. The terms per scholar vary greatly, according to special agreement between the masters and parents, and are frequently paid in kind. Government also contributes to the maintenance of these schools, by furnishing books, slates, benches, &c., and, where no suitable building exists, by providing a school-house. The district and village seminaries are under the immediate superintendence of the head-master of the central school in each island, and there is an inspector-general of them all. The whole educational establishment is under the general direction of a commission for public instruction, revised and improved by Lord Nugent. The number of colleges and schools under government, in 1854, was, in all, twenty-four; with pupils—males, 6,024; females, 611 = 6,635.

*The Press.*—Nothing deserving this title exists in the islands; there is a government newspaper at Corfu, one-half of which is printed in Italian, and the other in the Romaic Greek.

*Libraries.*—A collection of books, originally founded at Messina, in 1810, by British officers, and transferred to Corfu by them, has, since that period, gradually increased into a very respectable library of several thousand volumes, containing many valuable and well-selected books, to which ready access is at all times afforded by means of a moderate entrance-fee, and a small annual or monthly subscription. The medical officers of the garrison have, moreover, a collection of English periodical publications, and standard works. A small collection was made by the Canon Carale, by means of voluntary subscriptions from the nobility, &c. The books were lodged in the Franciscan convent of St. Giustina: to this the Ionian academy added theirs; but on the arrival of the French, the most valuable

* The worship offered at the shrine of the tutelary saint of Corfu is peculiarly revolting to the feelings of all whose faith is grounded on the doctrine of one all-sufficient Atonement offered by one Divine Mediator. It is, however, alleged that English rulers have erred by countenancing proceedings which they should have barely tolerated. Thus the Rev. S. S. Wilson writes—"I have actually seen Sir Frederick Adam, our late governor in the Ionian Isles, walking in procession with some scores of monks, supporting (? honouring) by his presence the bag of bones called St. Spiridion; his entire suite of officers around him, each carrying in his hand an immense lighted taper, while the natives have laid their sick in the path of this singular representative of protestant royalty, to be healed by the passing of the shadow!"—(*Sixteen Years in Malta and Greece.*) Such discreditable scenes are not now thus sanctioned by British authority.

volumes were abstracted by them. Some few remain at the convent.

---

CEPHALONIA, although second in rank to Corfu, is the largest of the islands composing the Septinsular Union. It is situated in 38° 27′ N. lat., and 20° 32′ E. long., having Santa Maura six miles to the northward, Zante eight miles to the southward, and being twenty-four miles from the west coast of the Morea. Its area is 348 square miles; extreme length thirty-two; extreme breadth eighteen; and the circumference (following the coast-line), 150 miles.

HISTORY.—Cephalonia, like Corfu, has had many names: some assert its original denomination to have been *Teleboa;* but Strabo denies this, and states it to have been Cheffali (from, it is presumed, κεφαλη, a head), in allusion to its superiority in size, and at that time in political importance also, to the other islands in the Ionian Sea. Homer, in describing the various armies of the Greeks assembled at the siege of Troy, represents Ulysses as commanding the *Cephalonites,* and gives the title of *Samos* to the island, which was also known by the name of Tetrapolis, from its four towns, of Palis, Same, Cranii, and Pronesos, called after the four sons of Cephalus. Pliny speaks of the island both as *Melæna* and *Same;* Virgil, as *Dulichium.* Its early history is involved in fable or allegory, the leading features of which may be briefly stated.

The prevailing narrative is, that the Curetes, who occupied the island of Crete, spread over Ætolia, made themselves masters of Acarnania, passed into Ionia, and conquered the country of the Leleges, or Teleboans: after which they added to their dominion the islands in the Ionian Sea, and planted a colony in that of Cephalonia, to which they gave the name of Teleboa. Strabo, however, asserts that the Teleboans sought an asylum in this island, after being chased by Achilles from the continent, and places this event prior to the siege of Troy. The fierce warriors of Cephalonia (then called Teleboa), under the conduct of Ulysses, are therefore supposed to have shared with the Myrmidones the honour of avenging Menelaus.

Cephalus, an Athenian prince, being obliged to fly his country for the murder of Procris, his wife, took refuge in Bœotia, with Creon, King of Thebes. At this time the Teleboans had excited the wrath of the Thebans, by assassinating the brothers of Alcmena, the wife of Amphitryon, their general. The army, strengthened by the assistance of the Locrians and Phoceans, who lent their powerful succour for the occasion, prepared to punish the audacity of the islanders. Cephalus offered his services, and was permitted to share the dangers of the expedition. The Teleboans were defeated in battle, and, after losing their king, submitted to the yoke of the conqueror. Amphitryon returned triumphant to Thebes, where he found Alcmena pregnant by Jupiter. She gave birth to Hercules. Cephalus remained in peaceable possession of the isle of Teleboa, which from thence was called Cephalonia. His successors and descendants reigned for six generations, when they abandoned the kingdom, and retired into Attica, in consequence of a supposed communication from the oracle of Delphi; whereupon, the throne of Cephalonia, being thus voluntarily vacated, the inhabitants resolved to adopt the republican form of government. The four principal cities assumed independence irrespective of each other, but were obliged to unite for the common cause: they therefore formed a republic, of which Palis became the capital, the supreme authority being divided between the senate and the people.

The power of the islanders, their progress in navigation, and their advantageous ports, rendered them, previous to the siege of Troy, valuable allies or formidable enemies to the various neighbouring people. The Argonauts touched at the port of Cranii, and on landing, Jason found himself surrounded by a people inured to the hardships of a seafaring life, and well versed in maritime affairs. Cranii was constantly frequented by vessels from Argos, whence its name of Argostoli, from the Greek, signifying the "fleet of Argos." Some other authorities, however, trace its nomenclature to *Argo,* the vessel of the Argonauts.

In remote times the Cephalonites took part in the various revolutions of Greece, and their unfaltering courage often decided the victory in favour of the people whose cause they embraced. Before the Trojan war, Thucydides speaks in terms of commendation of the share borne by the Cephalonites in the contest occasioned by the inhabitants of Epidamnus, between the Corinthians and Corcyreans. The Cephalonites afterwards abandoned the cause of the Corinthians, on the Athenians declaring war against the latter people, who forthwith

dispatched forty vessels to punish the desertion of their late allies. This fleet arrived in Cranii, and the troops disembarked; but being a strongly fortified place, it resisted every attack, and the inhabitants surprised the Corinthians by night, and defeated them with great slaughter. The islanders remained faithful to the Athenians, supplying them with ships and men, whenever required, throughout a long series of wars.*

Cephalonia continued independent long after the downfall of Athens, Corinth, Sparta, and the other celebrated republics of Greece; but though it repulsed Titus Quintius Flaminius, the Roman consul, and long held out against the legions sent for its reduction, Fulvius finally stormed Same,† then containing 1,800 houses, and put the people to the sword. Cephalonia became a province of Rome, and remained such until A.D. 364, when it passed under the yoke of the emperors of the East, who continued masters thereof until 982, when the Lombards, a people of Pannonia, under the command of John Leone, conquered and took possession.

In 1125 A.D., Cephalonia again became subject to the eastern emperors, when they regained strength after the irruptions of the Ottomans, under Mahomet. The island is stated to have been given to Baudoin, for his services against the Saracens, when they besieged Constantinople. On the death of Baudoin, it was ruled by Galus, Prince of Tarento, to whom other islands in the Ionian Sea had been given by the eastern emperor, in return for money lent to aid the prosecution of the Saracenic war. Cephalonia, on the downfall of the eastern empire, became like Corfu a dependency of the Venetian republic, which retained possession until Napoleon occupied Venice; since that period the island, as stated in the previous section, has successively passed under the government or protection of the Russians, French, and English.

Physical Aspect. — Cephalonia is extremely broken and mountainous. The general direction of the mountains is from south to north. The southern extremity of the range, opposite the coast of Zante, is marked by the highest mountain in the Ionian Islands, the Ænos of antiquity—the Black Mountain, or Montagna Negra of moderns, 3,625 feet above the level of the sea. Mr. Muir, who has attentively examined the island, says, that "the general aspect of the mountains is arid and barren, some of them being without a trace of vegetation, and presenting, from the bottom to the top, nothing but a rugged variety of brown and gray rock, with, perhaps, here and there a solitary olive-tree growing from a fissure betwixt them." What little soil they may have formerly been covered with, has either been washed away by the rains, or, if found in the interstices and fissures, been carried down to cover the crusts of rock appearing through the scanty soil in the valleys below. On many of the heights are found large blocks, of various dimensions, of a hard calcareous stone, sometimes isolated, and sometimes in groups, lying often on the tops of the highest hills in great abundance. They are in general not angular, but rounded by the action of water, which

* The ruins of fortifications and ancient monuments of all kinds which have been found in the isle, leave no doubt of the riches of the people, or of the progress made by them in the fine arts. At about three miles' distance from Argostoli to the south-east, the walls of the ancient city of Cranii can easily be traced, occupying the top of a very rough and inaccessible ridge, which projects upon the east angle of the lake or gulf at its southern extremity. A considerable portion of the butt of the walls still remains, marking their circumference throughout, and partly consist of enormous masses of stone, hewn and laid together much after the same fashion as those existing at Santa Maura and Ithaca. All the different descriptions of cyclopic building are found here, the rougher and more massy specimens occupying the higher parts. The southern wall may be traced for about 1,508 paces, and another looking to the north-eastward extends for about 800 paces. The latter includes very large blocks of stone; at one part regularly squared, having probably formed the casement of a door. The juncture of the walls is formed by nearly square masses; one, a very large stone, rests on two others, and is of the following dimensions: length, eight feet ten inches; depth, five feet two inches; height, six feet seven inches. A second, nearly quadrangular, is eight feet in width, three feet ten inches high, and four inches and a-half in thickness. A third enormous block is thirteen feet five inches in length, three feet three inches in height, and about the same in its greatest depth, which is, however, irregular. Besides these powerful artificial defences, the situation of the place was at once difficult and dangerous for the assault of an enemy, particularly the ascent to the south wall, which runs along the edge of a precipice throughout its whole length.—(*Kendrick.*)

† Cranii is mentioned in history as the capital of one of the four kingdoms, or districts, into which the island was divided. Philip of Macedon, and the Roman consul Flaminius, were repulsed by its citizens; and according to Livy (Book. xxxviii., c. 29), the Samians held out against the Romans, under Marcus Fulvius, for four months.

must have been sea-water, from the number of marine fossil shells largely deposited in the rocks, at various elevations, all over the island. It is to be remarked, also, that these blocks appear much more compact than the rock of the mountain itself, which is likewise calcareous; in all probability, they are the *debris* of former elevations, perhaps of the continent of Greece itself, lodged there by currents before the island emerged above the level of the sea.

The top of Montagna Negra is usually covered with snow about the beginning or middle of December, which seldom wholly disappears before the commencement of May. The inhabitants say that disease was less frequent before the destruction of the wood on the Black Mountain, the north side of which was formerly covered nearly to the summit with forest trees, principally fir and cypress. About twenty-seven years ago the forest was completely destroyed by being set fire to by some evil-disposed person belonging to a political faction. The whole island, but especially the neighbouring valleys, are said to have ever since been subject to greater atmospherical vicissitudes, in consequence of the boisterous winds and storms having a gathering-point from whence to rush down on the plains below with unimpeded fury. At present, the north side of the mountain affords a very extraordinary sight; the whole slope, for miles, is thickly studded with the bleached trunks of trees entirely denuded of their bark, and without a leaf, many of them from thirty to forty feet high, presenting themselves, by their various forkings and withered branches, under the most grotesque and even hideous forms; a feature often observable along the mountain ridges of New Holland, after a dry summer, when forest conflagrations have been general.

The *harbour of Cephalonia* runs inland for eight miles; it is rather difficult of ingress and egress, owing to its serpentine form, but offers, nevertheless, a spacious and convenient shipping port. The entrance is extremely picturesque: on either side groves and plantations, relieved by a background of majestic mountains, greet the eye in varied succession. To the left, on the western side of the harbour, three miles from its entrance, stands the town of Lixuri (olim Palis), in front of which the haven opens into an inlet running to the southeast for three miles; and on the peninsula formed by this branch, and close to the sea, stands *Argostoli*, the capital of the island. The town is built on a slip of level ground upon the western shore of the haven, at the foot of the narrow promontory or tongue of land above mentioned, which is about three miles and a-half long, does not exceed two miles in length at its broadest part, and gradually becomes narrower till it terminates in the point which forms the northwest extremity of the harbour. Argostoli occupies the centre of this ridge, and consists of two main highways, which run north and south, and a number of cross streets and lanes, all very narrow, but tolerably well paved, and with several common sewers. The principal street, or that next the water, is about a mile and a quarter long, and twenty feet wide; the other is much shorter. The town is about three miles in circumference, open, and unwalled. The houses are generally two stories high, fronting the north-east, and are built of stone, cemented with lime and terra rosa, and covered with tiles.

The soil on which the majority of the houses are built is gravelly, but some stand on "made ground" recovered from the sea, in the neighbourhood of the wharfs and moles at the southern end of the town, which is decidedly more unhealthy than the northern extremity. The hills adjacent are thickly planted with the currant and the vine to the distance of about 120 or 130 feet up their sides, and interspersed with olive-trees, but above that level they are bleak and precipitous.*

*Lixuri* has nearly the same general characteristics as Argostoli; but cleanliness is much less attended to. It is situated on the northerly branch of the harbour, on an argillaceous schistous soil.

Catacombs have been found by the Venetians, French, and British to the southwest of Argostoli, and the remains of ancient warriors completely clad in their war dresses discovered, the bones crumbling into dust on the slightest pressure. Eight catacombs were opened in 1647, and the antiquities contained in them sent to Venice; the further investigations, made in 1810, produced little of antiquarian interest.

The citadel or castle of St. George, six miles' distance from Argostoli, is situated on the summit of a hill of considerable height, which constitutes the southern termination of a range, and forms the eastern side of the harbour of Argostoli.

* Hennen.

Cephalonia is at present divided into the cantons of Erizzo, Tinea, Samos, Anoi, Pilaro, Kaloi, Livadi, Potamiana, Ikongia, Skala, and Piric. It formerly comprised four regions, each named after an ancient city (viz., Samos, Palæa, Pronos, and Cranii,) and hence, as before stated, was called Tetrapolis. This division accorded with the natural configuration of the island, owing to the double aspect of the mountainous formation; one of the faces inclining east and the other west. The variety of mountain scenery presents many sweet and romantic views to the Cephalonian tourist, among which the valley and bay of Samos is of unsurpassed beauty.

Geology and Soil.—Limestone of secondary formation constitutes the chief characteristic. The ranges which project from the body of the island were originally a sand deposit, and their tops are incrusted with limestone. The strata of sandstone begin to appear one-third from the summit, and abound in shells and marine fossils. So rapid is the formation of carbonate of lime, that quarries where sandstone was hewn not many years since, are now in many places coated with thick sublimate. Crystals of sulphate of lime of a yellowish tint, and very brittle, are occasionally found; and stalactites of a greenish white, and remarkable for their hardness, abound in caves near the coast. A sulphurated mineral spring issues from a rock close to the sea, and is used externally and internally by the natives as a remedy for *psora*. The soil is generally of a light calcareous nature, thinly sprinkled on a rocky substratum; but in some of the deeper valleys and ravines there are beds of rich alluvium, mixed with a fine red mould termed "*terra rosa*," which is occasionally employed for covering the roofs and floors of houses, or, mixed with lime, as a substitute for mortar. In the Lixuri district there is a heavy gray argillaceous soil, approaching somewhat to the nature of schistus, useful in making tiles, bricks, and coarse earthenware.

Climate and Disease.—The general observations made respecting Corfu apply to the other islands: the thermometer maximum is 95°, the minimum, 44° Fahrenheit. Sharp frost prevails in January; heavy rains in February and March, succeeded by dry weather. In the middle of May heavy rain falls; June is sultry, with occasional showers; July, August, and September, clear, with occasional rain; October, fine; with much rain from November 12th to December 20th; the remainder of the year clear, with snow on the mountains, which continues visible until April or May. As a whole, the climate may be said to be more variable than that of any other island of the Septinsular Union, owing, probably, to its elevation.*

Vegetable Kingdom. — M. Sauveur speaks of several remarkable plants in Cephalonia; one of which, being eaten by goats, dyes their teeth of a bright golden yellow, and imparts a rich flavour to their milk; and a second turns gold to a whitish colour, similar to the effect of mercury.

The Cephalonites are more active, enterprising, and intelligent than the Corfiots: a number are educated as physicians; and when their studies are completed, they migrate to the Morea, Albania, and various parts of Turkey, there being scarcely a town on the continent without a Cephalonite doctor.

The Staple Products are currants, oil, wine, honey, linseed, cotton, lamb and hare skins, oats, and different kinds of fruit; the annual quantity of currants produced varies from five to six million pounds' weight; they are of a finer flavour than those of Patras or Corinth, or indeed of any of the other islands, except Zante.

The wine is next in importance. Owing to the variety of favourable soil, no less than eighteen different descriptions are produced: of the red vintages, that of Livadi enjoys the preference; and of white, that of Ribola and Cosanikio. There are three sorts of muscadel of excellent flavour. Of raisins, about 150,000 lbs. weight are annually prepared.

There are several small manufactories, viz., one of blue cotton cloths, and two or three for the preparation of maraschino, or rosolio, to which an exquisite flavour is given by the aromatic herbs and flowers of the island; the red, called "alkermes," has a delicious fragrance. Ship-building is carried on, and the deep water close to the shore at Lixuri is favourable for docks.

---

Zante.—This island, which Pliny states was once called Hyra, is supposed to have been named Zante, Zacynthos, or Zacynthus, from being the burial-place of one of the Bœotian followers of Hercules. It is situated in 37° 47′ N. lat., 20° 54′ E. long., ten miles distant from Cephalonia, and lies

* For population, see "Corfu," p. 139.

opposite the Gulf of Lepanto or Patras, distant about fifteen miles from Cape Klarenza. The area is 156 square miles; the greatest length twenty-four miles; breadth, twelve; circumference, about seventy miles.

The island was formerly dedicated to Diana Opis; in whose honour three or four temples were erected by the Zantiotes. It has been considered as the burial-place of Cicero, from an ancient sepulchre being found, surmounted by a stone bearing the inscription, "M. Tvl. Cicero Have tu tertia Antonio;" while beneath the urn containing the ashes, were the words, "Ave Mar. Tul."*

Physical Aspect.—The exquisite beauty of the island has obtained for it, by common consent, the palm among its compeers—"Zante, Zante, il fiore del Levante." The aspect is decidedly mountainous, three-fifths of the surface varying in elevation from 500 to 1,300 feet above the sea.

An extensive range lines the whole of the western coast. Occasional rising grounds skirt the shore. The most striking, as well as the loftiest of these detached eminences (1,300 feet high), is Monte Scopo, the "*Mons elatus nobilis*" of Pliny, which rises from the plain at the south-east end of the island, and is washed by the sea on its southern and eastern faces, sloping gradually on the land side. Towards the northern extremity of the plain, and the town of Zante, a chain of lofty cliffs extend for some distance: at the foot of these is a remarkable well called Crio Nero, which supplies the city and shipping with water. On a detached offset of these cliffs, which were formerly known under the appellation of Acroteria, is situated a castle of considerable antiquity. It crowns the top and one side of a hill formed of clay and calcareous stone, which rises immediately behind the town to a height of between three and four hundred feet. Several deep gullies indent its sides, and, to the southward, a very large mass is divided from the main body by a deep and impassable fissure, said to have been occasioned by an earthquake. The town stretches up the side of the hill to within about a hundred paces of the entrance of the fortress,—an enclosure of triangular shape, about fourteen acres in area. The entrance presents somewhat the appearance of modern military architecture, but the remaining portion is simply a strong old wall, occasionally loopholed, turreted, or battlemented, without any regularity of plan; and, consequently, without any military strength. The approach winds along the face of the hill, and the ascent from the town is easy.

* Sandys.

The city of Zante is very imposing in its external appearance, viewed from the sea. It is an open, unwalled town, and stretches along a gently curved bay for about a mile and three-quarters.

In breadth the town nowhere exceeds 300 yards, except towards the hill, upon which the castle is erected. Some of the houses are four or five stories high, built of stone, strongly clamped together with iron, and in the Venetian style of architecture, with triangular lattices to the windows; many have a good external appearance. The principal streets run parallel to the bay, and are intersected in various directions by lesser lanes and alleys. The Via Larga, or great street, would not disgrace any city in Europe. The houses are very handsome, and are furnished with piazzas in front, which afford a shady walk. Under these are shops, well stocked with the various products of England, the continent, and the Levant.

In the country there are about fifty villages, and many scattered dwellings of picturesque construction. Several of them are two stories high; and even the peasantry take pride in the adornment of their homes. As in all the other islands, there are no fireplaces in the houses, and the majority of them are deficient in drainage.

The water of the island is peculiar. There are, in the town of Zante, forty-four cisterns, 1,288 public and private wells, and three springs, and fountains, which are all so highly saturated with sulphate of lime, or sulphate of soda, as to be unfit for culinary purposes; besides which, from the porous nature of the soil, proper reservoirs cannot be constructed to retain the rain-water; and owing to this cause, as well as to the proximity of the town to the sea, and its very small elevation above it, the water in the cisterns becomes brackish. Luckily for the inhabitants, a never-failing and copious supply of water is obtainable from the fountain of Crio Nero, before mentioned. Monte Scopo abounds in excellent springs.

In many parts of the island, according to M. Sauveur, springs of an oily taste and smell are found; some of them on the shore, though covered with sea-water, still retain their sweetness to a certain extent when

drawn from a depth, after the removal of the sea-water from the surface. All these springs have been greatly neglected, and many have been destroyed by the earthquakes.

Geology and Soil.—The western mountains, as also Mount Scopo, are formed of calcareous rock, with an occasional mixture of gypsum, principally of the gray foliated kind, with a proportion of selinite. The Castle hill is composed of a loose, friable, calcareous matter, mixed with clay and sand. There is some tolerably hard marble in the island; and around the villages of Agrassi and Sarachira, immense masses of selinite and foliated gypsum are observable.

The *soil* is of three different kinds—a strong clay in the plain, calcareous on the rising ground, and sandy near the shore. Zante possesses petroleum and tar-springs, somewhat similar to those of Trinidad.

There are many instances of longevity among the Zantiotes, and several inhabitants are known to be above ninety years of age, in the full possession of all their faculties.*

Vegetable Kingdom.—Aromatic herbs, the odour of which is experienced some distance at sea, abound; the delicious flavour of the Zantiote honey is doubtless owing to the sweet and fragrant flowers. Currants, oil, wine, and flax are the principal vegetable products. Horticulture is a favourite pursuit. The state of agriculture is better than in the other islands: many of the farmers are educated and enlightened proprietors; and in the cultivation of the currant and vine, Zante is superior to Cephalonia and Ithaca.

---

Santa Maura (formerly called Neritos, afterwards Leucadia) is insulated, being cut off by a channel from the mainland of Acarnania. Cephalonia lies ten miles to the southward, and Corfu thirty-five to the north-west; Santa Maura itself being situate in 38° 40′ N. lat., and 20° 46′ E. long., and having an area of 180 square miles; an extreme length of twenty-three; an extreme breadth of ten; and a circumference of about sixty miles.

The island was anciently known under the appellations of Neritos and Leucadia. According to Eustathius, Pterelaus had three sons; Ithacus, who gave a name to Ithaca, Neritus to the Acarnanian promontory, and Polyctor to a place called Polyctorum. The island, on its separation from the mainland, was at first solely inhabited by Acarnanians; at a later period, it became a dependency of the Corinthians. Homer, in his *Odyssey*, mentions that the Leucadians furnished their contingent of men and vessels in the famous siege of Troy, and served under Ulysses, together with the Ithacans, the Cephalonians, and the men of Zante and Corcyra. Æneas, on his return, touched at this island:—

> "At length Leucate's cloudy top appears,
> And the sun's temple, which the sailor fears:
> Resolved to breathe awhile from labour past,
> Our crooked anchors from the prow we cast."
> *Æneid*, lib. iii.

By this it evidently appears that the temple of Apollo Leucas was feared by the sailors of those times; and the superstitious custom, in the present day, of throwing money in the sea beneath it, originated from the sacrifices formerly offered to propitiate the favour of the fabled deity. Oxen were sacrificed on the altar of this temple, which custom the Romans strictly followed whilst in possession of the island. The Leucadians entered into the famous league of the Greeks against Philip of Macedon.

Dion, in his expedition against Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, was assisted by Tymonides, at the head of a considerable force of Leucadians. After the fall of the various small republics of Greece, the island passed under Roman domination. Lucius G. Flaminius conquered it. In the reign of Pompey, the famous temple of Apollo was pillaged and reduced to ruins by pirates. After the fall of the Eastern empire, Santa Maura was governed by a succession of princes whose names are lost: it was afterwards conquered by Logan, the Turkish admiral of Mahomet II. Pesaro, the Venetian general, captured the island from the Turks in 1502; but the senate at Corfu restored it to that power on the conclusion of peace. In 1684, Morosini attacked and subdued the island, after an obstinate resistance from the Ottomans. When the Morea was overrun by the latter, in 1715, the Venetians razed the fortifications, and fled; but returned in the following year, and remained there until the French destroyed their shadow of a republic.

In the year 1810, the English, under the command of General Oswald, successfully besieged the fortress, which has since remained in our possession.

* For population, see "Corfu," p. 139.

Physical Aspect.*—Santa Maura presents a mass of mountains, of which St. Elias, the highest, rises 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. The figure of the island is somewhat triangular; the north-west coast, which forms the base line, runs straight and perpendicular, the land rising a considerable height above the level of the sea; and the surface inclines irregularly towards the eastern coast, giving nearly the whole an eastern inclination. The ridge-line of the north-west face being, as it were, levelled off, gives a strip of land of about twenty miles in length a gentle slope towards the north-west; and this tract, despite its limited extent, contains many populous villages and much cultivated ground, and is, from its great height and free exposure to the northerly and westerly winds, peculiarly healthy during the hot summer months. The north-west coast, perpendicular nearly throughout, contains no single harbour or roadstead, and opposes a mass of pure limestone to the heavy surf rolled in by northerly and westerly winds towards the bottom of the Gulf of Prevesa. It would appear, that the constant action of this great body of water has given the land its present form; and that the *detritus*, or loosened matter, swept along the coast by the southerly and westerly winds, and carried round the north-eastern point of Santa Maura, has caused the present isthmus. This may account for the otherwise irreconcilable difference between the descriptions of ancient writers and the actual state of the island, as well as explain more recent changes.

The south-eastern extremity is narrow for about ten miles, giving the island a disproportionate length. The hills towards Cape Ducato are singularly grouped: they form a regular series of cones, diminishing gradually in size to the cape; and are, as it were, cut upon the north-west faces by a plane, which is parallel with their axis, and continuous with the north-west coast of the island. The faces shown by these sections are of dazzling whiteness; one of them—Cape Ducato, which has a perpendicular height above the sea of about one hundred feet—is famous as the scene of Sappho's leap. Their convex surfaces are turned to the southward in rounded slopes, covered with evergreen shrubs down to the water's edge. Their figure is so near mathematical proportions, that the south-east coast is here indented with regular spherical angles. From the sea this singular formation is not so evident, but it is very striking when viewed from the tops of the cones, upon returning from a visit to Sappho's Leap. The change in the point of sight readily accounts for this; as, in the former instance, the curves and angles are seen clearly, the eye being in the same plane with them; whereas, in the latter case, the spectator is placed almost perpendicularly above them.

The next remarkable feature in the topography of the island is the new isthmus. From the north-east angle of the island a narrow and irregular waving strip of land, about four miles in length, extends across the mouth of the channel towards the coast of Acarnania, which it reaches within a hundred yards; and then runs parallel with that coast for about half a mile, forming a channel of equal length. From near its extreme point it sends off a ledge of rocks, of singular appearance and composition, at a small angle towards the north. When seen at even a short distance, it bears a perfect resemblance to a mole running out into the sea, and is by many believed to have been a work of the Romans. The ledge is about half a mile in length, and from twenty to thirty feet wide, with deep water at each side. Its breadth and direction are nearly uniform throughout, which heightens its special appearance. The rock of which it is composed consists of gravel and sand, accumulated there by the water, and formed, according to the size of the particles so brought together, into sandstone or pudding-stone. The substance which unites them is become as hard as the particles themselves; for upon breaking the mass with a hammer, the fracture goes through them equally with the interstitial matter;—the result is an exceedingly hard stone, capable of taking a certain degree of polish, which is used for building, as also for making stones for flour-mills and oil-presses. The loose gravel forming the isthmus seems to have been deposited on this rock as on a basis.

*Amaxichi*, the chief town, about a mile in circumference, is situate on a beautiful plain two miles long and one broad, thickly covered with olives. About 6,000 persons inhabit Amaxichi; the remaining population are scattered among thirty-two villages, some located on the very tops of the moun-

* I am indebted for this description to Surgeon Goodison, who resided for several years at Santa Maura.

tains. There are no rivers, but numerous springs and natural fountains.

Like the other Greek islands, Santa Maura was at one time a place of considerable importance. The extensive ruins of the former city of Leucadia are situated about three miles from the present town, near the coast. The former capital was built by the people of Nerikos, a colony of Corinthians who had settled on the opposite coast; but who, probably for the sake of security, removed to the island.

The fortress is a strong, irregular, six-sided building, flanked by towers and outworks, its largest diameter running north and south. It stands on the isthmus which once connected the island with the adjacent continent, there termed Acarnania; has the open sea on the north and north-west, on the south and south-east a lagoon, and is completely insulated by wet ditches on the other points. The castle was built in the 13th century, by a Venetian prince of the house of Facchi, who likewise constructed the aqueduct that runs from the isthmus to the town: this causeway, which is upwards of half a mile in length, serves as a bridge, having 365 arches; in height it is nearly three feet above the surface of the water; but in breadth so narrow, that two persons cannot securely walk abreast. The aqueduct was repaired by Bajazet, the Ottoman emperor, but is now useless; the pipes having been destroyed by an earthquake, and some of the larger stones removed for building purposes.

Geology and Soil.—The basis of the primary ridge, running nearly north and south, in the direction of the Cassiopæan range, is secondary limestone. Lesser ridges traverse the island, generally in a south and east direction: they are composed of crystallized, compact, fibrous, and earthy carbonate of lime and of gypsum, the lime always predominating. The soil is poor, but in a few places alluvial; it seems adapted for the growth of the vine, olive, and currant.

---

Ithaca (called *Thiaki* by the natives, *Val de Compare* by the Venetians), in 38° 25′ N. lat., 20° 40′ E. long., is about eight miles distant from Cephalonia, and is bounded on the east and north-east by the channel of Zante and a group of small islands, the ancient Echinades; on the north by a part of Santa Maura; and on the north-west, west, and south-west by the channel which runs between Santa Maura and Cephalonia. Somewhat more than thirty miles distant, in a south-east direction, lies the opening of the Gulf of Lepanto. Ithaca is irregular in shape: its extreme length, from north to south, is eighteen miles; extreme breadth, five; but in some places not more than a mile and a-half; the circumference is about thirty, and the area forty-four square miles. Whether this little island was the celebrated Ithaea of Homer, is not yet a settled point; its very name was forgotten until of late. But the modern inhabitants call their home *Thiaki;* and Sir William Gell has endeavoured to prove it the actual birthplace and patrimonial kingdom of Ulysses. The aspect is dreary and unprepossessing, the island being a series of heights running in an irregular ridge east and west; or it may be considered a single mountain divided into rugged and mis-shapen rocks. Homer's description is still correct:—

"Horrid with cliffs, our meagre land allows
Thin herbage for the mountain goat to browse."

Again—

"The rugged soil allows no level space
For flying chariot or the rapid race."

Mount Stephanos and Mount Neritos are the two highest points, the former rising immediately to the south, and Neritos to the eastward, above the chief town called *Vathi,* situate in one of the inlets of a bay four miles deep, and one of the most secure harbours in the Mediterranean.

Vathi is little more than a single street, upwards of a mile long, containing from three to four thousand inhabitants; the houses are built of stone, and the town remarkable for cleanliness and salubrity. The site of the alleged ancient capital of Ulysses is to the south-east of the present town; immense masses of hewn stone indicate the spot, as does also the situation of several gateways; and the remains of a suburb flanking the walls are distinctly observable. Near this place several sepulchres have been discovered; and coins, bracelets, bronze figures, chains, with other articles of exquisite workmanship carried from thence. An entire skeleton was found in one of these catacombs, having the head encircled by a gold coronet, the arms and legs by solid bands of gold; and an emerald ring of great value on one of the fingers.*

A cave wherein, according to Homer, Ulysses was placed while sleeping, by the Phæacians, is situate at a small distance below the entrance of the harbour. On the

* Kendrick, p. 78.

isthmus near Aito, or the Eagle Mountain, are some ruins, or cyclopean walls, said to be the relics of the castle of Ulysses; and the famed fountain of Arethusa is pointed out on the recess of a declivity four miles from Vathi, and nearly covered with shrubs. Korax, a white limestone cliff, eighty feet in perpendicular height, fronts the sea upon the south-east coast, and somewhat resembles a bird with extended wings.

The antiquarian or classic student, desirous of fuller details regarding this romantic isle, will find gratification in following the researches of Sir William Gell, and the interesting descriptions of Assistant-surgeon Goodison.

Geology.—Like the other Ionian isles, Ithaca is a mass of secondary limestone; the rock is mostly found in loose insulated masses on the surface, in some places forming gigantic heaps—in others, worn into water channels by the mountain torrents. The soil, as may be expected, is exceedingly stony; and the declivities, where the vine and currant are cultivated, so great as to require terraces, which resemble the benches of a theatre; and, in contrast with the surrounding bleakness, give a picturesque character to the landscape. The fruit produced is excellent, and the wine superior in flavour to that of any of the other islands. The orange, lemon, and citron flourish, as does also the oak, which produces the velonia, or acorn, used by woollen dyers as a mordant to fix the colour of their cloth.

The Ithacans are hardy sailors, and are possessed of some shipping. Several islands, or islets and rocks, lie in the channel between Ithaca and the continent: the chief of these is Kalamos, near the mainland. Ithaca sends one member to the senate at Corfu, and has a municipality for the management of local affairs.

---

Paxo, an oval-shaped island, in 39° 12′ S. lat., 20° 12′ E. long., has an area of twenty-seven square miles, and a circumference of twelve miles. It is nothing more than a single mountain, and was probably, at one period, a part of Corfu, from the southernmost point of which it is only seven miles distant. *Port Gai* affords good anchorage for a few vessels; and there is an inner harbour formed by an islet, with a circular battery commanding the town, the houses of which are scattered in an irregular manner along the beach.

Paxo was first inhabited by colonists from Corfu; and by an ancient tradition, St. Paul is said to have landed and preached the gospel, after which he banished all reptiles from the island. To the southward of Paxo is Anti-Paxo, chiefly inhabited by fishermen, and, while the Venetians held sway, a notorious retreat for pirates, who levied heavy contributions on all who fell within their power.

---

Cerigo and Cerigotto.—Cerigo, the most southern island of the Septinsular Union, in 36° 6′ N. lat., 22° 50′ E. long., is situated at the entrance of the Archipelago; to the the north of Cance, and south of the Morea; five miles distant south from Servi, and fourteen E.S.E. of Cape Malie. Its area is 116 square miles, extreme length twenty, extreme breadth twelve, and the circumference about fifty miles. The island was anciently known (according to Pliny) by the name of Porphyris, from its possessing abundance of that description of marble. Ptolemy attributes the name of Cythera to Cytherus, the son of Phœnix, who established himself in the island. According to some, Cerigo was first peopled by the Lacedæmonians, who in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, were expelled by the Athenians under the command of Nicias. At a subsequent period it passed under the dominion of the Spartan republic, and served as a retreat to Cleomenes, who on the approach of Antigonus, King of Macedon, took refuge in Cerigo. Ptolemy, King of Egypt, was afterwards lord of Cerigo; the Romans next came into possession, then the Venetians; and it shared the fate of the neighbouring islands. Relics yet extant denote the former greatness of the place; "Pælo Castro" ruin, to the northward of the harbour, is said to mark the site of the ancient capital of Menelaus, the deserted husband whose wrongs caused the siege of Troy: the bath of the faithless Helen is still shown. Six miles to the east of the harbour of St. Nicholas, stood the former city of Cythera; and a little further to the south are some ruins, supposed to have belonged to a temple dedicated to Venus Cytheræa.

At the north of the island is Cape Sparti, with a chapel on its extremity: to the south is Cape Kapello, close to which is situate the chief harbour, and the capital of Cerigo, called Kapsali, which contains about 5,000 inhabitants, whose ill-constructed

tenements are mostly of wood. The harbour is small; and vessels are sometimes wind-bound for several months off Cerigo. The island is scantily covered with soil, and subject to violent winds, which destroy the vineyards and plantations, so that it is very partially cultivated. The oil is of excellent quality, and brings a good price; the inhabitants, however, resort chiefly to fishing for their support, and are in a less advanced state of civilisation than those of the other Ionian isles.

Four miles to the south of the harbour is an insulated rock, of a sugar-loaf form, called "*l'Ova*," or the *Egg*, on which is found a shell-fish, partaking of the characteristics of conchilia, and yielding a colouring matter, supposed to have formed the basis of the famous Tyrian dye. Two miles off Cape Kapello, are two rocks called "*Kuphonisis*," or baskets. To the east of Cerigo lies the small island of Cerigotto, formerly known under the appellation of Ægilia, and now chiefly inhabited by Greeks and Turks, but subject to Corfu, as are also the isles of Strophades, Maganissa, Panorno, &c. Strophades, about twenty miles south-east from Zante, is about five in circumference. On its east coast stands the celebrated convent of the "Redeemer," built of white freestone, resembling marble, ninety feet high, divided into four parts, each protected by a tower. It is only accessible by a door leading to the vaults, which is closed up immediately on an alarm being given, when the monks are drawn up by means of baskets, after the manner of the Copt monasteries in Egypt. The establishment consists of about sixty brothers, with a grand and sub-prior, &c., supported by a revenue derived from landed possessions in Greece and Russia. The brothers of the order include several nobly born and well-educated men, possessing a good library and every comfort that rigorous seclusion can admit of. The building was erected by Prince Tocchis, but owed its celebrity to San Dionisius, who, after residing in Strophades several years, accepted the bishopric of Egina, but finally died at Zante in 1624. Several Zantiotes reside on the islands.

Government.—The civil government is composed of a legislative assembly, of a senate, and of a judicial authority. The *Assembly* consists of forty members, including the president: of the forty, eleven are permanent members, and twenty-nine elected from the various islands in the following proportion:—Corfu, seven; Cephalonia, seven; Zante, seven; Santa Maura, four; Ithaca, one; Cerigo, one; Paxo, one. Each of the three last, in the rotation in which they stand (exclusive of that island whose regent becomes an integral member of the legislative assembly), elects a second. The members are chosen (on a double list formed by a majority of the votes of the primary council) from the body of the *sincliti*, or noble electors of each island. The elections, and all civil appointments, are valid for five years; and the session of the parliament of the states is held every two years. The votes are delivered *vivâ voce*, and the sittings open; ten members, and the president, or vice-president, constitute a legal meeting; and conferences with the senate, &c., are managed by the eleven integral members of the assembly, who form, with their president, the primary council. These eleven members, in the case of parliament having expired after lasting the whole five years, comprise the president and five members of the old senate, the four regents of the chief islands during the late parliament, and one of the regents of the smaller islands; but in case of a dissolution, instead of the regents, the lord high commissioner names five members of the late legislative assembly.

The *Senate*, or executive power, is composed of six members, viz., five and a president, entitled "his Highness;" while the senators are styled the "Most Illustrious;" the senators are elected out of the body of the legislative assembly in the following proportion, viz., Corfu, one; Cephalonia, one; Zante, one; Santa Maura, one; Ithaca, Cerigo, and Paxo, one. The power of placing a member of the assembly in nomination for a senator rests with the president, to whom an application is made in writing, signed by four members and the candidate himself, requesting such nomination; the election takes place three days at furthest after the meeting of the assembly, and is decided by the majority; the president has a casting vote in case of an equality. The sanction of the lord high commissioner is necessary to the validity of the election. The vacancies occasioned by the promotion of five members of the assembly to the senatorship are filled up by the transmission of double lists of names from the primary council to the sincliti of each island. The senators remain in office

five years; his highness, the president, half that period, eligible, however, to be re-appointed by the lord high commissioner. The senate names its own ministerial officers, with some exceptions, and has the power of nominating to all situations under the general government; the regents to the different local governments; the judges in all the islands; and generally to all situations, except merely municipal ones, with certain renovations. During the recess of parliament the senate has the power of making regulations which have *pro tempore* the force of laws; and can originate, as well as disallow, those passed by the legislative assembly. The lord high commissioner is appointed by the Crown; his excellency names in each island a resident, or representative. The regent, advocate, fiscal, secretary, and archivist of each island, are appointed by the senate, subject to the approbation of the lord high commissioner. The various municipal administrations consist of five members, independent of the president (who is the regent), appointed by the electors of each island, out of their own body, from a list of names approved by the regent and his assessors. Ten members being chosen by the sincliti from these "lists," five are selected from them by the regent to form the municipal body.*

The qualifications of the "noble electors" are, I believe, usually hereditary, and the pursuit of any trade or business is a disqualification. To form a legal meeting, one-half of the sincliti of each island must be present.

The respective powers of the assembly and senate are set forth in the Constitutional Charter, which those who are curious in examining the different forms of government, will be interested in perusing; it owes, I believe, its origin to the late Sir Thomas Maitland, and is a singular specimen of constitution making.

The *Judicial Authority* in each island consists of three tribunals—civil, criminal, and commercial; the judges are appointed by the senate, subject to the approval of the lord high commissioner. Independent of these courts, there are in each island tribunals for the trial of minor criminal offences, and for the adjudication of small civil suits; these are presided over by justices of the peace, appointed by the local regent.

At the seat of government there is, in addition to the foregoing courts, a superior or high court of appeal, denominated the "Supreme Council of Justice:" it consists of four ordinary members (judges)—two English and two Greek, and two extraordinary members, viz., the lord high commissioner, and his highness the president of the senate. Trial by jury does not exist; nor are there any assessors to aid the judges. No crimes but those of murder and high treason are punishable with death,—which penalty is now rarely inflicted. Lawyers are very numerous: it has been calculated that every tenth individual is connected with the legal profession, and suits are known to have been protracted through several successive generations. The laws were formerly partly Venetian, partly Greek: a code has been framed for the islands, and was much needed, particularly as regarded the law of entail, now abolished, and that singular enactment by which a purchaser was compelled to restore a property to the seller, after the lapse of several years, for the same price at which it was vended—a measure that of course struck a blow at the root of improvement.

The gaols seem to be well managed: wherever the localities will admit, the debtors are separated from the felons; the cost for each prisoner is about 5*d.* per diem; the average of hard labour nine hours per diem, varying with the season. In Cephalonia those who work at the hand corn-mills receive half of their earnings, the gaoler one quarter, and the remainder is paid into the police chest. The prisoners are supplied with coarse clothing.

The Revenue obtained from customs, stamps, local rates for roads, &c., was, in 1833, £165,000; in 1854, £138,000; of this latter, £23,000 came from import customs and duties; £36,000 from export duty on olive oil; £29,000 from export duty on currants; £1,000 from export duty on wines. The salary of £5,000 to the lord high commissioner is paid by the Ionians, who have also, since December, 1849, contributed £25,000 per annum in aid of the military expenditure by Great Britain, which amounted, in 1854, to £110,000. The local revenues raised by the several island municipalities, average £50,000 per annum.

The imports amounted, in 1854, to £781,121, of which £372,277 consisted of goods in transit. The exports for the same year were valued at £374,366. Shipping inwards, in 1854—tons, 451,950: of this quantity there was, under the Ionian flag, 150,281;

* *See* Ch. iv., Art. 9, "Constitutional Charter."

under that of England, 34,107; and under Austrian colours (principally steam-packets belonging to the Trieste Company), 163,101 tons.

The exportable produce consists chiefly of currants, olive oil, wine, silk, cotton, fruits, &c. A large extent of the islands is in a state of nature, and absolutely pestilential, for want of a proper system of draining and tillage. Few proprietors cultivate their own lands, but usually let them out on short leases, the tenants binding themselves to return a fifth, or even a third, of the produce.

Manufactures.—Oil is the principal manufacture, and the machines employed in it are of the rudest possible construction. The olives are pressed under a perpendicular stone wheel, which revolves in a large-sized horizontal stone of a circular form, somewhat hollowed in the centre. A horse or mule sets the machinery in motion, and a peasant runs before and shovels the olives under the approaching wheel, the action of which is necessarily confined to a limited space, while its power is very insignificant. The bruised mass is then transferred to a bag made of rushes or mat, which is subjected to heavy pressure, increased by means of a screw, wrought by two men at irregular intervals; for the labour is so violent, that it could not possibly be long continued. They ship two strong bars, after the manner of a capstan, and then, with a savage yell, urge them forward by a simultaneous push, the effect of which is marked by a quantity of oil oozing through the mat, and falling into a hole cut in the ground for its reception. After the interval of forty or fifty seconds, the labourers rush forward again with similar violence, and with a bodily effort which must strain the whole frame. The quantity of oil that two expert labourers can express in a day, is estimated at ten or twelve jars of rather more than four gallons each. Some steam-engines have been recently introduced.

The wine would be decidedly good were it judiciously manufactured.

Salt is prepared in large quantity by evaporation under the rays of the sun. Soap, leather, and pottery are made, but of a coarse kind, and not to any great extent. There are also dealers in silk, lace, snuff-makers, confectioners, dyers, tanners, bell-founders, basket and mat-makers, &c., scattered throughout different districts.

The number of acres of land under cultivation throughout the Union is more than half a million [625,106.]

The protection of the Ionian Islands by England is an object of national importance; for, in conjunction with the positions of Malta and Gibraltar, they form a chain of maritime posts, and of commercial depôts, which establishes her power in the Mediterranean. In a Christian point of view these territories are valuable as nuclei for the diffusion of a tolerant faith, and of political liberty among neighbouring states.

---

## SECTION XI.—HELIGOLAND.

The island of Heligoland, in the North Sea, or German Ocean, is situated in 54° 11′ N. lat., 7° 51′ E. long., and from twenty-four to twenty-six English miles distant from the mouths of the Elbe, the Eyder, the Weser, and the Jahde. It is of considerable importance to vessels bound to these rivers, not only because its church and lighthouse form an admirable beacon, but also because ships may here be supplied with experienced and licensed pilots.

In August, 1714, the island was conquered from the Duke of Schleswig by the Crown of Denmark, which retained possession of it till the 5th of September, 1807, when it was occupied by the English; and in 1814 a formal cession was made to Great Britain, under whose government it still continues. The island is in form an acute angled triangle: it is now only about one English mile in length from north to south, one-third in breadth from east to west, and two miles and one-third in circumference. It was anciently of much greater extent, but there are no authentic records to determine how far it may have

stretched into the sea and approached the continent. In 1721, Heligoland and Sandy Island were connected by a low isthmus: a storm separated the islands, and the latter has since been gradually decreasing. Heligoland consists of an upper part, called the Oberland, and a lower, or Unterland, which lies in a south-easterly direction. The height of the Oberland, at its most elevated point on the western side, is 200 feet above the level of the sea, the eastern side being lower. The island is visible at a distance of sixteen and twenty miles; its first appearance is very striking, and the interest augments on a nearer approach.

The climate is mild, and resembles that of the midland counties of England, the heat and cold being tempered by the sea-breezes; the air is pure and very salubrious. Heligoland has been especially frequented by visitors from various parts of Germany, Prussia, Poland, and Russia, since the erection of baths in 1826; the waters being considered by physicians as the most efficacious in the North Sea.

The number of inhabitants is about 3,200. The population, which is increasing, is considerable for so small a spot, especially as many families have emigrated within the last twenty years from the want of employment at home. They are chiefly engaged in the fishery or navigation, and many also are brought up as pilots. There is a brewery and a distillery, and the number of mechanics and shopkeepers is commensurate to the wants of this small colony. The number of houses is 470. The Heligolanders are of Frisian origin, and speak a dialect of that language; but at church and in the school the high German alone is used. They are a tall and strong people, with handsome features and florid complexions; their habits are very simple, and their indolence and timidity on shore are as remarkable as their industry and daring courage at sea.

There is one church, St. Nicholas, built in 1685, situated in the Upper Town, capable of containing from 700 to 800 persons; about 250 generally attend. The clergyman receives £74 per annum, and has likewise a house found him, together with two pieces of ground, one 48 fathoms long and 27 broad, and the other 140 fathoms long and 13 feet broad. The junior clergyman instructs the upper class in the school; the other two classes being taught by two schoolmasters. The total number of children in the schools is about 350.

By virtue of the capitulation concluded with Admiral Russel, in 1807, the inhabitants were permitted to retain their ancient constitutions and Danish laws—an agreement which has been strictly adhered to. The affairs of the island are administered by a governor (salary, £500), and a court composed of six municipal councillors, who are chosen from among the inhabitants. The finances and police are superintended by sixteen elders, and eight adjuncts, who with the municipal councillors constitute the government.

There are no manufactories, mills, or works, &c., of any kind. There has been one ship built in the colony of fifty tons burthen. There are about sixty boats employed fishing for haddocks and lobsters; between seventy and eighty thousand of the former, and about 27,000 of the latter are caught annually, the whole of which go to Hamburg and Bremen, with the exception of seven or eight thousand lobsters annually sent to England; value of haddocks, £3,333; value of lobsters, £675: total, £4,008. There are no horses; and very few horned cattle, sheep, or goats in the island.*

* Lieutenant-governor Hindmarsh, referring, in 1845, to the species of birds which visit the island, says—"Birds are found here whose habitat extends northward from 75° N. lat., as Larus Sabinii; together with such as have their nesting-place in the tropics, such as Grus Virgo, the Numidian crane. The Himalaya mountains, Siberia, the United States of North America, and other countries, furnish the island with specimens. The astonishing number of 300 different species have been obtained in this island. Among them, besides those already cited, the following are worthy of notice:—Falco Islandicus; Falco Rufipes; Turdus Whitei (belonging to the Himalaya; the specimen of this bird figured in Gould's *Birds of Europe:* plate 21 was from Heligoland, though there described as from Hamburg); Turdus Bechsteinei (*Atrogularis*); Turdus Lividus; Sylvia Galactodes, several times (Gould, plate 112); Sylvia Coerulecula (the blue-throated warbler, but having a red spot in the blue throat instead of a white one), in great numbers; Regulus Modestus (*Dalmatian Regulus*, Yar. *Brit. Birds*, vol. i., p. 355); Anthus Ricardii, Anthus Rufugularis (Gould, plate 140); Metacilla Melanocephala (sometimes in considerable numbers), and another Wagtail, which has not yet been placed in the lists of European birds; Alanda Alpestris, Alanda Brachydactila; Emberiza Melanocephala, Emberiza Rufibarba (*Syrian Hortulan*), Emberiza Rustica (Gould, plate 177); Emberiza Pusilla, five or six times; Caprimulgus (Gould, plate 52); Charadrius Viginicus; Tringa Rufescens (Yar. *Brit. Birds*, vol. iii., p. 57), &c. These and other rare and interesting specimens found on the island, are prepared and stuffed in an ingenious manner, and assembled in a collection interesting to every ornithologist."

# CONCLUSION, AND PARTING ADDRESS.

A self-imposed task is ended,—the result of five-and-twenty years' study, expenditure, and travel, in each quarter of the globe, is now before the public; and a testimonial (not a monument) has been constructed, illustrative of the maritime dominion and power of England in the middle of the nineteenth century.

In bidding farewell to those who have honoured his labours with their support, the author cannot but gratefully express his lively satisfaction at having been sustained to the completion of a national undertaking, without incurring the imputation of being swayed by party predilections or government influence; his position throughout the period of publication having been entirely independent. He earnestly hopes that, while endeavouring to convey some idea of the vast territorial power of England in every region of the earth, and explaining the direct influence exercised over the physical and moral state of more than a tithe of the human race, he has not failed to set forth the serious responsibility incurred by the governing nation to Him who giveth or withdraweth dominion according to its application and use in good or evil stewardship.

When time has been given for the dissemination of this history throughout the empire, and the value of "colonies" become more justly appreciated by statesmen and economists, the author and his readers may again meet to discuss topics intimately associated with the present position and future state of Britain.

The points which require elucidation are briefly these:—*First.* The rise and progress of England, as a maritime nation, in intimate connexion with the acquisition of colonies, and the consequent development of commerce and manufactures. *Second.* The effect of colonial dominion in producing an elevated tone of society and more catholic views, resulting in an extension of civil and religious liberty. *Third.* The beneficial influence exercised on the physical condition of the British public, by the encouragement held forth to enterprise, and scope for energy offered in the outlying, thinly-inhabited, but fertile domains of the Crown. *Fourth.* The lucrative and honourable employment furnished in the various local governments to intelligent members of the upper and middle classes of society, who, as in India, Canada, Africa, Australia, and elsewhere, are placed under a description of training which experience has proved singularly favourable to the formation of eminent statesmen and warriors. *Fifth.* The conversion of several million paupers into prosperous emigrants, profitable instead of useless consumers of the national resources. *Sixth.* The establishment of reformatory penal schools at the Antipodes, where banished felons, removed by half the earth's circumference from their accustomed haunts and vicious associations, may and have been taught to lead a new life, and to earn for themselves, and bequeath to their children, the fruits of honest industry. *Seventh.* The varied products of diverse climates, indispensable to the steady progress of manufacturing and commercial operations, are supplied with regularity and economy, and for the most part in annually increasing quantities, from sources wholly unaffected by the friendly or hostile disposition of foreign cabinets, while the same regions afford unfailing markets beyond the reach of prohibitory tariffs: in a more general sense, the colonies ensure a constant flow of wealth and power, from every quarter of the globe, to Britain;—the mother country, in return, acting as the heart of a gigantic frame, sends the vigorous life-blood through every member of the body corporate. On the continuance of this joint and healthful action depends (under Providence) the duration of a mighty empire. *Eighth.* The naval and mercantile marine—the pride and safeguard of the nation—is inseparably connected with its colonial dominion; was twin-born, and has ever since grown with its growth, and strengthened with its strength. *Ninth.* In a military point of view, England owes scarcely less to her colonies; for, without them, how could the marshalled ranks of her standing army find place within the sea-bound shores of the United Kingdom, without giving umbrage to popular feeling, if not, indeed, without endangering public liberty? In the *Tenth* and last place, it may be well to name the less definable but not less real advantages attached to the *prestige* of wide-spread dominion. To intelligent foreigners the British colonies are a source of never-failing interest; and "John Bull" may well be pardoned a little self-congratulation regarding the possession of an empire on which "the sun never sets."

# GAZETTEER

## OF CITIES AND TOWNS IN THE COLONIES AND TRANSMARINE POSSESSIONS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE—INCLUDING INDIA AND THE ADJACENT TRIBUTARY, DEPENDENT, AND ALLIED STATES.

[Abbreviations—(I.) India—(C.) City.]

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Aayn Hadit ... | Malta. |
| Abanpolle ...... | Ceylon. |
| Abbot .......... | V. Diemen's Ld. |
| Abdulpoor ...... | Hyderabad, I. |
| Aber Cromby .. | W. Canada. |
| Aboo .......... | Rajpootana, I. |
| Aboonugur .... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Aboopoor ...... | —— |
| Abraham ...... | V Diemen's Ld. |
| Abrakonune .... | Nepaul, I. |
| Abrang ........ | —— |
| Abyssinia ...... | V. Diemen's Ld. |
| Acadia ........ | Jamaica |
| Acadie ........ | E. Canada. |
| Accra .......... | W. Africa. |
| Achalgang ...... | Oude, I. |
| Achora ........ | Cashmere, I. |
| Addalur ........ | Madras, I. |
| Addanki........ | —— |
| Addar ........ | Bengal, I. |
| Addove ..... .. | Cutch, I. |
| Addumdigee .. | Bengal, I. |
| Adelaide ...... | S. Australia. |
| Aden .......... | Arabia. |
| Adjumpoor .... | Mysore, I. |
| Adjumta ...... | Hyderabad, I. |
| Adoni .......... | Madras, I. |
| Adstock ... .... | E. Canada. |
| Adumpoor .... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Adusumalli .... | Madras, I. |
| Aeng .......... | Arracan, I. |
| Atfionia ........ | Ionian Ids. |
| Affra .......... | —— |
| Agala .......... | —— |
| Agapoor ....... | Rohilcund, I. |
| Agnea Pullee .. | Hyderabad, I. |
| Agoada ........ | Goa, I. |
| Agoree ........ | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Agoutuh ...... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Agra, C. ........ | —— |
| Agrafus ........ | Ionian Ids. |
| Agrahaut ...... | Bengal, I. |
| Agrasmount .... | Ceylon. |
| Agroha ........ | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Agur .......... | Scinde, I. |
| Ahapola ........ | Ceylon. |
| Ahar .......... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Ahipara ........ | New Zealand. |
| Aheerwaree .... | Bombay, I. |
| Aheeree ........ | Nagpoor, I. |
| Ahmedabad .... | Bombay, I. |
| Ahmed Khan .. | —— |
| Ahmednuggur .. | —— |
| —— .. | —— |
| —— .. | Guzerat, I. |
| Ahmedpoor .... | Punjab, I. |
| —— Barra | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| —— Chuta | —— |
| Ahmogd ...... | Bombay, I. |
| Abrorah ........ | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Ahtoor ...... . | Madras, I. |
| Aikota ........ | Cochin, I. |
| Airwas ........ | Indore, I. |
| Ajeetmall ...... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Ajmere, C...... | India. |
| Akaligurh .... | Punjab, I. |
| Akar .......... | Nagpoor, I. |
| Akbarpoor ...... | Bengal, I. |
| Akburabad ... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Akkawarrum .. | Hyderabad, I. |
| Aklonee ........ | Gwalior, I. |
| Aklooj ........ | Bombay, I. |
| Aknur ........ | N. Punjab, I. |
| Akoat .......... | Hyderabad, I. |
| Akolah ........ | —— |
| Akorah ........ | Punjab, I. |
| Akoree ........ | Jaloun, I. |
| Akounah ...... | Oude, I. |
| Akowlak ...... | Hyderabad, I. |
| Akra .......... | Punjah, I. |
| Akraunay ...... | Bombay, I. |
| Akraunee ...... | —— |
| Akulkote ...... | —— |
| Akyab.......... | Chittagong, I. |
| Alambarai...... | Madras, I. |
| Albany ........ | W. Australia. |
| Albert.......... | S. Australia. |
| Albion .... ... | Jamaica. |
| —— | W. Canada. |
| Aldfield ........ | —— |
| Alfred... ...... | —— |
| Ali Bang ...... | Bombay, I. |
| —— Bunder ... | Scinde, I. |
| Aligang ........ | Bengal, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Aligaum ...... | Hyderabad, I. |
| Aligunj ........ | Oude, I. |
| Alipore ........ | Bengal, I. |
| Allapoor........ | N.W Prov., I. |
| Allatori ........ | Madras, I. |
| Allee Mohun .. | Malwa, I. |
| Allehgunj ...... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Allipoor .. .... | Nagpoor, I. |
| Alliyarka Tanda | Scinde, I. |
| Alloor .......... | Hyderabad, I. |
| Allow .......... | Ceylon. |
| Allumpoor...... | Bengal, I. |
| Allutnewa .. .. | Ceylon. |
| Almacoor ...... | Madras, I. |
| Alnwick ...... | W. Canada. |
| ——........ | N. Brunswick. |
| Alot....... .... | Dewas, I. |
| Alsir .......... | Bikanere, I. |
| Altumpettia .... | Ceylon. |
| Alumkhan... .. | Punjab, I. |
| Alumparva .... | Madras, I. |
| Alumpoor ..... | Hyderabad, I. |
| Alung ........ | Kattywar, I. |
| Alvar .......... | Madras, I. |
| Alynnoor ..... | —— |
| Amain ........ | Gwalior, I. |
| Amait.. ...... | Mewar, I. |
| Amallapoorum .. | Madras, I. |
| Amarpatan .... | Rewah, I. |
| Amarpoor ...... | Nepaul, I. |
| Amba .......... | Indore, I. |
| Amba Bhowan-nee ........ | Mewar, I. |
| Ambagur ... .. | Nagpoor, I. |
| Amber, C. ...... | Jeypoor, I. |
| Amberwarra .... | Berar, I. |
| Ambgaon ...... | —— |
| Amboh ........ | Bengal, I. |
| Amboor ........ | Madras, I. |
| Amboordroog .. | —— |
| Ambora ........ | Berar, I. |
| Ameengurgh .. | Bombay, I. |
| Ameergong .... | Bengal, I. |
| Amethi ........ | Oude, I. |
| Amherst ...... | India. |
| Amingur ...... | Bengal, I. |
| Amjherra ...... | Malwa, I. |
| Amla .......... | —— |
| Amlee.......... | Mewar, I. |
| Ammalapoor.... | Madras, I. |
| Ammanaikoor .. | —— |
| Ammeir ........ | Berar, I. |
| Ammerpoor .... | Nepaul, I. |
| Amorha ........ | India. |
| Ampata ........ | Bengal, I. |
| Amrabad ...... | Madras, I. |
| Amrapoor ...... | —— |
| Amrawatti...... | Hyderabad, I. |
| Amritoir, C. .... | Punjab, I. |
| Amrooah ...... | Agra, I. |
| Amsterdam .... | B. Guyana. |
| Anagon ........ | Hyderabad, I. |
| Anajee ....... | Mysore, I. |
| Anamdpoor .... | Kuhloor, I. |
| Ananapoor...... | Bengal, I. |
| Anantawaram .. | Hyderabad, I. |
| Anchilty ...... | Madras, I. |
| Andry ........ | Bengal, I. |
| Andooree ...... | Berar, I. |
| Andrew, St. .... | N. Brunswick. |
| Andur ........ | Bengal, I. |
| Aneamsagur .. | Hyderabad, I. |
| Angaddypooram | Madras, I. |
| Angola ........ | Guinea. |
| Angool ........ | Bengal, I. |
| Angtong........ | Siam, I. |
| Angtsoo ........ | Nepaul, I. |
| Anigeeree ...... | Dharwar, I. |
| Anikul ........ | Mysore, I. |
| Animally ...... | Madras, I. |
| Anjenganum.... | Hyderabad, I. |
| Anjengo ...... | Travancore, I. |
| Ankree ........ | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ann, St. ...... | Canada. |
| ——........ | N. Brunswick. |
| Annadararoofad | Madras, I. |
| Annais ........ | W. Africa. |
| Annamoboe .... | E. Canada. |
| Annantagherry | Hyderabad, I. |
| Annantapoor.... | Mysore, I. |
| Aunapolis ...... | Nova Scotia. |
| Annavaram .... | Madras, I. |
| Annavutty...... | Mysore, I. |
| Anopgwigh .... | Bikanere, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Anopshehr .... | Agra, I. |
| Anotta ........ | Jamaica. |
| Antoine, St. ... | Canada. |
| Antonio ....... | Jamaica. |
| Antowrah ...... | Oude, I. |
| Antree ........ | Gwalior, I. |
| Anundpoor .... | Jutt, I. |
| Anundpore .... | Bengal, I. |
| Anwulkhera .... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Anzerma ...... | N. Granada. |
| Aoulaganj ...... | Bareilly, I. |
| Aongasee ...... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Api ............ | Nepaul, I. |
| Apparowpett.... | Hyderabad, I. |
| Apta .......... | Bombay, I. |
| Arabul ....... | Cashmere, I. |
| Arachi ....... | Madras, I. |
| Arail .......... | N W. Prov., I. |
| Aravacoorchy .. | Madras, I. |
| Aravarcourchy .. | —— |
| Arawood ...... | Bombay, I. |
| Arcot .......... | Madras, I. |
| Arculgode ...... | Mysore, I. |
| Ardanji ........ | Madras, I. |
| Ardrah ........ | Guinea. |
| Ardysir ........ | —— |
| Arebo .......... | —— |
| Areeng ........ | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Areepadgab .... | Bengal, I. |
| Areepore ...... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Argostoli ..... | Ionian Ids. |
| Arinda ........ | British Guyana. |
| Arkairy ........ | Hyderabad, I. |
| Armoree ...... | Berar, I. |
| Arnee .......... | Arcot, I. |
| ——.......... | —— |
| Aroul .......... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Arpeillee ...... | Berar, I. |
| Arracan ........ | Bengal, I. |
| Arrah .......... | —— |
| Arriatoor ...... | Madras, I. |
| Arroll .......... | Bombay, I. |
| Arundawull .... | Jeypoor, I. |
| Arundle ........ | W. Canada. |
| Arung ... .... | Berar, I. |
| Arwapully .... | Hyderabad, I. |
| Arwee.......... | Berar, I. |
| Ashburton...... | E. Canada. |
| Ashfield ........ | W. Canada. |
| Ashta .......... | Bombay, I. |
| ——.......... | Hyderabad, I. |
| ——.. ....... | Bhopal, I. |
| Ashtee ........ | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ashwapoor .... | —— |
| Ashwarowpetta . | —— |
| Askot .......... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Asmah ........ | Bengal, I. |
| Asophgurh .... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Asphoden ...... | W. Canada. |
| Assapoor ...... | Indore, I. |
| Assaye ........ | Hyderabad, I. |
| Assoorillee .... | —— |
| Atalmalica ..... | Keunjur, I. |
| Atchera ........ | Bombay, I. |
| Athgath ........ | N W. Prov., I. |
| Athol .......... | W. Canada. |
| Atka .......... | Bengal, I. |
| Atparee ........ | Bombay, I. |
| Arowba Telhenee | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Atrowlle ...... | —— |
| Atrowllea ...... | —— |
| Atta............ | Jaloun, I. |
| Attaia ........ | Bengal, I. |
| Attair .......... | Hindoostan, I. |
| Attanagar ...... | Oude, I. |
| Attaran ........ | Tenasserim Prov., I. |
| Attock ........ | Punjab, I. |
| Attree ........ | Bengal, I. |
| Atuk .......... | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Atuva .......... | Madras, I. |
| Aubyn, St. ..... | Jersey. |
| Auckland ...... | N. Zealand. |
| Augmen ....... | E. Canada. |
| Augmer ........ | W. Canada. |
| Augusta ....... | W. Australia. |
| Auklah ........ | Hyderabad, I. |
| Aulapolay ...... | Travancore, I. |
| Aulatoddy ...... | Madras, I. |
| Aumnier ....... | —— |
| Aurungabad .... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Aurungabad .... | Bengal, I. |
| Australind ..... | W. Australia. |
| Autuncarray .... | Madras, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Auteriah ....... | Berar, I. |
| Autgawn ....... | Bengal, I. |
| Autgurh ....... | Cuttack, I. |
| Autmallek...... | —— |
| Autoor ......... | Madras, I. |
| Autunkull ...... | Travancore, I. |
| Avangah ... ... | Hyderabad, I. |
| Avinasi ........ | Madras, I. |
| Awein ........ | Amherst, I. |
| Awun ......... | Jeypoor, I. |
| Ayagudy ....... | Madras, I. |
| Ayah ......... | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Ayewarra ...... | Berar, I. |
| Aynoor ......... | Mysore, I. |
| ——......... | —— |
| Ayrwa......... | Furruckabad, I. |
| Azeemabad ..... | Sirhind, I. |
| Azimghur ..... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Azmerigunge ... | Bengal, I. |
| Azumpoor ...... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Baboobund ... | Bengal, I. |
| Babra ......... | Guzerat, I. |
| Babrigote ...... | Scinde, I. |
| Babye .......... | Bengal, I. |
| Bachoonda...... | Joudpoor, I. |
| Backergunge.... | Bengal, I. |
| Badamee .... .. | Bombay, I. |
| Badanpoor .... | Meyhar, I. |
| Badapully ...... | Hyderabad, I. |
| Badarka ........ | Oude, I. |
| Baderhat ....... | Bengal, I. |
| Badrinath ...... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Badrooah ....... | Guzerat, I. |
| Badshahnagur .. | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Badshapoor .... | Joudpoor, I. |
| Badulla ........ | Ceylon. |
| Bagapar ........ | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bagehwaree .... | Bombay, I. |
| Bagesur ........ | N.W. Prov.. I. |
| Baghel ........ | —— |
| Baghput ....... | Bengal, I. |
| Baghul ........ | Hindoostan, I. |
| Bagnan ........ | Bengal, I. |
| Bagnugour...... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bagore ........ | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Bagrod ......... | Gwalior, I. |
| Bagulcot ...... | Bombay, I |
| Bagulkota ...... | —— |
| Bahaderpoor .... | Guzerat, I. |
| —— .. | Guzerat, I. |
| Bahadoorganj ... | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Bahadoorgunje . | Bengal, I. |
| Bahadoorgurh .. | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bahar .......... | Oude, I. |
| Bahawalpoor.... | W. India. |
| Bahmier......... | Bombay, I. |
| Bahmingawn ... | Nep ul, I. |
| Bahnsdi ........ | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bahul .......... | —— |
| Baicull ........ | Madras, I. |
| Baijmath ...... | Punjab, I. |
| Bail ............ | Nagpoor, I. |
| Bailaman ...... | Bengal, I. |
| Bailgaon........ | Nagpoor, I. |
| Baimley ........ | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bainpore ...... | Bengal, I. |
| Baintghur ...... | —— |
| Bairchue ....... | Scinde, I. |
| Bairea.......... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bairkaira ...... | —— |
| Bairoor ........ | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bairseah........ | Malwa, I. |
| Baitmah ....... | Indore, I. |
| Baitmungalum.. | Mysore, I. |
| Baitool ..... .. | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bajetpore ..... | Bengal, I. |
| Bajpoor ........ | Guzerat, I. |
| Bakah ......... | Nagpoor, I. |
| Bakhira ....... | N.W. Prov., I. |
| —— Jhill .. | —— |
| Bakra .......... | Joudpoor, I. |
| Bakroo ........ | —— |
| Bakuh ......... | Nagpoor, I. |
| Bala .......... | Joudpoor, I. |
| Balabet ....... | Gwalior, I. |
| Balagutch ...... | Bengal, I. |
| Balan .......... | Joudpoor, I. |
| Balana ........ | Jessulmer, I. |
| Balaonee ...... | Bombay, I. |
| Balapoor........ | Hyderabad, I. |
| Balasinore .... | Guzerat, I. |
| Balasore ...... | Bengal, I. |
| Balheega ...... | —— |
| Balcondah ...... | Hyderabad, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Baldhi | Thibet, I. |
| Baldoon, Chitty | Bengal, I. |
| Balekba | Joudpoor, I. |
| Balibang | Nepaul, I. |
| Ballairai Droog | Mysore, I. |
| Ballapoor | ——— |
| ——— | ——— |
| ——— | Oude, I. |
| Ballavedder | ——— |
| Balleabera | Mysore, I. |
| Balliapudda | Bengal, I. |
| Balliaree | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ballpoor | Oude, I |
| Balmer | Joudpoor, I. |
| Baloamoodrum | Madras, I. |
| Balotra | Joudpoor, I. |
| Balowal | Punjab, I. |
| Balumba | Guzerat, I. |
| Balung | Bengal, I. |
| Bambhola | Rajpootana, I. |
| Bamingolah | Bengal, I. |
| Bamnee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bamo Myo | Burmah, I. |
| Bampoora | Rajpootana, I. |
| Bamungaon | Indore, I. |
| Bamunhatee | Bengal, I. |
| Bamunwas | Jeypoor, I. |
| Banaar | India. |
| Banaganpilly | Madras, I. |
| Banana | Rajpootana, I. |
| Banapoor | Nagpoor, I. |
| Banawaram | Mysore, I. |
| Bancaneer | Gwalior, I. |
| Bancapoor | Bombay, I. |
| Bancoorah | Bengal, I. |
| Bancot | Bombay, I. |
| Band | Bundelcund, I. |
| Banda | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bandans | N. Brunswick. |
| Bande | India. |
| Banderpoor | ——— |
| Bandoogurh | Rewah, I. |
| Bandora | Salsette Id., I. |
| Banga Bazar | Bengal, I. |
| Bangalore | Mysore, I. |
| Bangaon | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bania Chung | Bengal, I. |
| Bankee | Oude, I. |
| Bankybazar | Bengal, I. |
| Bannawassi | Madras, I. |
| Banouli | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bansee | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Banswaddy | Hyderabad, I. |
| Banswarra | Malwa, I. |
| Banter | Oude, I. |
| Bap | Jessulmere, I. |
| Bapioo | Bikanere, I. |
| Bar | Bengal, I. |
| Bara | N W. Prov., I. |
| Baraghee | Bengal, I. |
| Barah | N.W. Prov., I. |
| ——— | ——— |
| Barahaut | Gurhwal, I. |
| Barahully | Hyderabad, I. |
| Barai | Punjab, I. |
| Baramuttee | Bombay, I. |
| Baraset | Bengal, I. |
| Barathor | Nepaul, I. |
| Barbuda | W. Indies. |
| Barcelore | Madras, I. |
| Barcoor | Madras, I. |
| Bardolee | Bombay, I. |
| Baree | Dholpoor, I. |
| ——— | Bhopal, I. |
| Bareilly | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Barengee | Bengal, I. |
| Barewellee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Baripoor | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Barkaloor | Madras, I. |
| Barkaroondee | Nagpoor, I. |
| Baroda, C. | Guzerat, I. |
| Baroda | Gwalior, I. |
| Baronda | Bundelcund, I. |
| Baroo Barye | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Barr | Bengal, I. |
| Barra | Bombay, I. |
| Barrackpoor | Bengal, I. |
| Barrah | Kotah, I. |
| Barramahl | Madras, I. |
| Barreeah | Guzerat, I. |
| Barreah | Hindoostan, I. |
| Barrie | W. Canada. |
| Barsee | Bombay, I. |
| Barungula | Punjab, I. |
| Barut | Hyderabad, I. |
| Barwah | Madras, I. |
| Basantganj | Oude, I. |
| Basantpoor | ——— |
| Bashta | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Basoda | Gwalior, I. |
| Basquit | W. Canada. |
| Bassein | Pegu, I. |
| Bassim | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bastenda | Bengal, I. |
| Basunee | Joudpoor, I. |
| Basutea | Bengal, I. |
| Baswapatam | Mysore, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Batala | Punjab, I. |
| Batcull | Madras, I. |
| Batel | Punjab, I. |
| Batesar | N W. Prov., I. |
| Bathurst | N. S. Wales. |
| Bathurst | W. Canada. |
| Bathurst | W. Africa. |
| Batinda | Patialah, I. |
| Bat Kooche | Bengal, I. |
| Battalah | Punjab, I. |
| Battana | Bombay, I. |
| Batticaloa | Ceylon. |
| Bang Cheenee | Gwalior, I. |
| Bangda | Bengal, I. |
| Banglee | Malwa, I. |
| Banjpoor | Bombay, I. |
| Banlapoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Baulea | Rajeshahye, I. |
| Baunda | Punjab, I. |
| Bauntwa | Soruth, I. |
| Baupetta | Madras, I. |
| Bausur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bayham | W. Canada. |
| Bazaar | Punjab, I. |
| Bazpoor | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Beacull | Falkland Ids. |
| Beara | Bombay, I. |
| Beaupre | E. Canada. |
| Beaverly | W. Canada. |
| Beawr | Ajmere, I. |
| Beerbhoom | Bengal, I. |
| Beder | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bednor | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Bednore, C. | Mysore, I. |
| Beeans | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Beeas | Bengal, I. |
| Beebameyoo | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Beecha Koh | Nepaul, I. |
| Beedasir | Bikanere, I. |
| Beegoh | Bikanere, I. |
| Beehee | Bengal, I. |
| Beehut | Gwalior, I. |
| Beejapoor | Sattara, I. |
| ——— | Guzerat, I. |
| ——— | Madras, I. |
| Beejwar | Alwur, I. |
| Beekaneer | Rajpootana, I. |
| ——— | ——— |
| Beelara | Joudpoor, I. |
| Beelkaw | Kattywar, I. |
| Beelun | Punjab, I. |
| Beercool | Bengal, I. |
| Beergunje | ——— |
| Beerkoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Beerool | Bengal, I. |
| Beerpoor | Bombay, I. |
| ——— | Bengal, I. |
| Beesulnuggur | Guzerat, I. |
| Beesulpoor | Joudpoor, I |
| ——— | Bareilly, I. |
| Beethnok | Bikanere, I. |
| Begumabad | Meerut, I. |
| Begumgunje | Bulloah, I. |
| Behar | Bengal. |
| Beharee | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Behla | Poona, I. |
| Behlapoor | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Behrah | Rajpootana, I. |
| Behree | Bundelcund, I. |
| Behur | Bijnour, I. |
| Behut | Gwalior, I. |
| Bejaghurh | Indore, I. |
| Bejigurh | Aligurh, I. |
| Bela | Behar, I. |
| Belah | Etawa, I. |
| Belaspoor | Bampoor, I. |
| Beleegaum | Bhotan, I. |
| Beleen | Pegu, I. |
| Beleriaganj | Azimgurh, I. |
| Belgaum | Bombay, I. |
| ——— | ——— |
| Belha | Oude, I. |
| Belhari | Saugor, I. |
| Belhir | Oude, I. |
| Belhuttee | Sanglee, I. |
| Belise, C. | Belise. |
| Beljooree | India. |
| Bellat Ungady | S. Canara. |
| Bellood | Nagpoor, I. |
| Belloor | Mysore, I. |
| Bellubutti | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bellunda | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Belmarea | Rajeshahye, I. |
| Belowree | Sattara, I. |
| Belowtee | Shahabad, I. |
| Belpur Villa-pooram | S. Arcot, I. |
| Benares | N W. Prov., I. |
| Beneegunj | Oude, I. |
| Bengermow | ——— |
| Bengsollee | Bhotan, I. |
| Benkar | ——— |
| Benkypoor | Mysore, I. |
| Bennoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Berai Gunga | Gurhwal, I. |
| Beranah | Punjab, I |
| Beree | Rohtuk, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Berganwan | Hummerpoor, I. |
| Berhampoor | Nepaul, I. |
| ——— | Ganjam, I. |
| Berlin | W. Canada. |
| Bermya | Dacca, I. |
| Berounda | Bundelcund, I. |
| Berthie | W. Canada. |
| Berthier | E. Canada. |
| Besserah | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Bessona | Macherry, I. |
| Besthar | Bainswara, I. |
| Betaisor | India. |
| Betaul | Nepaul, I. |
| Betawud | Khandeish, I. |
| Bethyan | Cashmere, I. |
| Bettadapoor | Mysore, I. |
| Bettiah | Sarun, I. |
| Bewar | Hummerpoor, I. |
| Bewur | Mynpooree, I. |
| Beyhar | Bengal, I. |
| Beyla | Cutch, I. |
| Beypoor | Malabar, I. |
| Beyreah | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Beyrudoni | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bezora | Madras, I. |
| Bezwara | Masulipatam, I. |
| Bhadarsa | Pachhamrat, I. |
| Bhadinya | Sultanpoor, I. |
| Bhadowra | Gwalior, I. |
| Bhadri | Ahladganj, I. |
| Bhadu | Cashmere, I. |
| Bhagmara | Durrung, I. |
| Bhagulpoor | Bengal, I. |
| Bhagwee | Jujhur, I. |
| Bhairowal | Punjab, I. |
| Bhalkee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bhalod | Guzerat, I. |
| Bhalot | Shekawuttee, I. |
| Bhaltha | Jhalaurez, I. |
| Bhamgurh | Gwalior, I. |
| Bhamoncallee | Jessore, I. |
| Bhanduk | Nagpoor, I. |
| Bhangurh | Alwur, I. |
| Bhanpoor | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Bhanpoora | Indore, I. |
| Bhanpoor Thana | Goruckpoor. |
| Bhanston | Kotah, I. |
| Bhaoon | Boolundshuhur, I. |
| Bharatganj | Allahabad, I. |
| Bharawas | Goorgaon, I. |
| Bharole | Mynpooree, I. |
| Bhaseypoor | Tirhoot, I. |
| Bhatgong, C. | Nepaul, I. |
| Bhaubra | Malwa, I. |
| Bhawl | Khandeish, I. |
| Bhavani Kudal | Madras, I. |
| Bheeamow | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Bheega | Ramghur, I. |
| Bheekungham | Indore, I. |
| Bheelwara | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Bheendah | |
| Bheenmal | Joudpoor, I. |
| Bheenpoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bheer | ——— |
| Bheerjora | Goalpara, I. |
| Bheernagur | Purneah, I. |
| Bheetah | Allahabad, I. |
| Bheutpoor | Pooree, I. |
| Bhetaee | Nepaul, I. |
| Bhewannee | Rohtuck, I. |
| Bhewndy | Tannah, I. |
| Bhikareepoor | Bareilly, I. |
| Bhilket | Kumaon, I. |
| Bhilsa | Gwalior, I. |
| Bhimbur | Punjab, I. |
| Bhind | Gwalior, I. |
| Bhinga | Oude, I. |
| Bhingree | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Bhitarganaw | Bainswara, I. |
| Bhitree | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Bhobanesir | Bengal, I. |
| Bhoelee | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Bhojpoor | Bainswara, I. |
| Bhongaon | Mynpooree, I. |
| Bhonta | Rajpootana, I. |
| Bhontee | Jhansee, I. |
| Bhooj, C. | Cutch, I. |
| Bhoom | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bhoompoora | Gwalior, I. |
| Bhoomuh | Muzuffernugger, I. |
| Bhoon | Gurhwal, I. |
| Bhoonageer | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bhoora | Nagpoor, I. |
| Bhooksee | Patna, I. |
| Bhopaul | Malwa, I. |
| Bhopalpoor | ——— |
| Bhopawar | Gwalior, I. |
| Bhopra | Hyderabad, I |
| Bhoranee | Joudpoor, I. |
| Bhoraso | Gwalior, I. |
| Bhoree | Nagpoor, I. |
| Bhorekpoor | Purruckabad, I. |
| Bhoruh | Goorgaon, I. |
| Bhorunpoor | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Bhotan, C. | Bengal, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Bhowaneepore | Purneah, I. |
| Bhowanipore | Bengal, I. |
| Bhowapar | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Bhowda | Bombay, I. |
| Bhownuggur | Ahmedabad, I. |
| Bhowra | Bhopal, I. |
| Bhowreh | Poona, I. |
| Bhowurgurree | Nagpoor, I. |
| Bhubeeghur | Allyghur, I. |
| Bhuddawur | India. |
| Bhuddur | Sirhind, I. |
| Bhudlee | Kattywar, I. |
| Bhudoee | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Bhudousa | Banda, I. |
| Bhudowlee | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Bhudrnck | Balasore, I. |
| Bhugwanpoor | Bareilly, I. |
| Bhugwunpoor | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Bhuneeana | Joudpoor, I. |
| Bhunoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bhurkhora | Sarun, I. |
| Bhurole | Baroda, I. |
| Bhurtapoor | Oude, I. |
| Bhurtpoor | Tirhoot, I. |
| ——— | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bhurwareh | Tirhoot, I. |
| Bhurwaroo | Hummerpoor, I |
| Bhutneer | Bikanere, I. |
| Bhutteearee | Chittagong, I. |
| Bhyrah | Tirhoot, I. |
| Biana | Bhurtpoor, I. |
| Biccavole | Rajahmundry, I |
| Bicholim | Goa, I. |
| Bickrampoor | S. Cachar, I. |
| Biddree | S. Mahratta, I. |
| Biddulph | W. Canada. |
| Bidhuoo | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Bidoulee | Muzuffernugger, I. |
| Bigahpoor | Bainswara, I. |
| Biganbaree | Mymunsing, I. |
| Bighewra | Purneah, I. |
| Bihar | Oude, I. |
| Bijanagur | Madras, I. |
| Bijayanagar | India. |
| Bigbahar | Cashmere, I. |
| Bijeypoor | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Bijipoor | Gwalior, I. |
| Bijna | Bundelcund, I. |
| Bijnee | Bhotan, I. |
| Bijnour | Oude, I. |
| Bijollee | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Bikarah | Etawa, I. |
| Bikeeakee Syn. | Kumaon, I. |
| Bikoutpoor | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Bikrampoor | Beerbhoom, I |
| Bilaree | Moradabad, I. |
| Bilgy | N. Canara, I. |
| Bilheki | Bareilly, I. |
| Bilhour | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Bilram | Budaon, I. |
| Bilsa | Hindoostan, I. |
| Bilsee | Budaon, I. |
| Bimber | Punjab, I. |
| Bimlipatum | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Bindachal | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Bindkhee Khas | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Bindoor | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Bindour | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Bindraban | Muttra, I. |
| Bindrabund | Bengal, I. |
| Binjolee | Berar, I. |
| Birimdeo | India. |
| Birkoote | Beerbhoom, I. |
| Birmee | Ramghur, I. |
| Birmsir | Jessulmere, I. |
| Birsilpoor | |
| Birsingpoor | Bundelcund, I. |
| Bisala | Joudpoor, I. |
| Bisentaur | Punjab, I. |
| Bishenpoor | Bancooras, I. |
| Bishwur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Biskohur | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Bisnath | Durrung, I. |
| Bisowlee | Budaon, I. |
| Bissee | Berar, I. |
| Bissemcuttack | Jeypoor, I. |
| Bissly | Mysore, I. |
| Bissower | Bhurtpoor, I. |
| Bissunpoor | Bengal, I. |
| Bisuli | Punjab, I. |
| Biswah | Oude, I. |
| Biswuk | Patna, I. |
| Bithoor | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Blanshard | W. Canada. |
| Blenheim | ——— |
| Bluvanugeri | India. |
| Boad | Cuttack, I. |
| Boanuh | Delhi, I. |
| Boheena | Bundelcund, I. |
| Boddon | W. Indies. |
| Bodegaum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Boden | ——— |
| Bodwur | Khandeish, I. |
| Bodynaikenoor | Madura, I. |
| Boenchie | Hooghly, I. |
| Bogarea | Bhagulpoor, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Bogoorah | Bengal, I. |
| Bogsadallee | Bhotan, I. |
| Bogue | Jamaica. |
| Bogwangola | Moorshedabad, I. |
| Bohanry | Broach, I. |
| Bohellah | Berar, I. |
| Bohroopa | Cuttack, I. |
| Boilcoontla | Kurnool, I. |
| Boironee | Ganjam, I. |
| Bojapomah | E. India. |
| Bokerdhun | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bokur | —— |
| Bolacole | Pubna, I. |
| Bolapilly | Cuddapah, I. |
| Bolarum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bolavy | N. Canara. |
| Boleporra | Cuttack, I. |
| Bolima | Cashmere, I. |
| Boll Ghur | Pooree, I. |
| Bombay, C. | India. |
| Bomegutch | Dharwar, I. |
| Bomunpillee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bonicut | Cashmere, I. |
| Boocheykee | Punjab, I. |
| Boodagaon | Nagpoor, I. |
| Boodgowarra | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Boodhanuh | Muzuffernugger, I. |
| Boodygerry | Mysore, I. |
| Boodyhaul | —— |
| Boogodah | Ganjam, I. |
| Bookapatam | Bellary, I. |
| Boolundshuhur | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Boomidairah | Nagpoor, I. |
| Boondee | Rajpootana, I. |
| Boondee Ka Gotra | —— |
| Bongul | Hyderabad, I. |
| Boorai | Midnapoor, I. |
| Booraince | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Booreah | Sirhind, I. |
| Boorhath | Assam, I. |
| Boorhaunpoor | Gwalior, I. |
| Booroo | Ahmedabad, I. |
| Boosnah | Bengal, I. |
| Bootan, C. | N. Hindoostan, I. |
| Boozrook | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bopalputnam | Nagpoor, I. |
| Boplee | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Borara | Kishengurh, I. |
| Bore | S. Mahratta, I. |
| Boree | Nagpoor, I. |
| Boregaum | —— |
| Borenar | Khandeish, I. |
| Borkheree | Joura, I. |
| Boteh | Poona, I. |
| Botton | E. Canada. |
| Bounlee | Jeypoor, I. |
| Bourglouis | E. Canada. |
| Boranikudal | Rewah, I. |
| Bowah | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Bowal | Dacca, I. |
| Bowancegunje | Rajeshahye, I. |
| Bowannee | Punjab, I. |
| Bowara | Tirhoot, I. |
| Bowergurh | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Bowphut | Backergunje, I. |
| Bowur | Gurhwal, I. |
| Brandon | E. Canada. |
| Brantford | W. Canada. |
| Bremahdasum | India |
| Bridgetown | Barbadoes. |
| Brighton, C. | V. Diemen's Ld. |
| Brighton | New Brunswick. |
| Brisbane, C. | New S. Wales. |
| Brome | E. Canada. |
| Bromley | W. Canada. |
| Brompton | E. Canada. |
| Brooke | W. Canada. |
| Broughton | E. Canada. |
| Brummawarra | S. Canara, I. |
| Buberoo | Banda, I. |
| Bubree | Oude, I. |
| Bubrooah | Hindoostan, I. |
| Buchraon | Bainswara, I. |
| Budaon | Rohilcund, I. |
| Budayoon | Bengal, I. |
| Buddapoody | Nellore, I. |
| Buddaum Puhar | Mohurbunge, I. |
| Buddoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Buddruck | Bengal, I. |
| Budeena | Hyderabad, I. |
| Budlapoor | Tannah, I. |
| Budlegoossee | Bograh, I. |
| Budnawur | Malwa, I. |
| Budoercoot | Ganjam, I. |
| Budrawar | Punjab, I. |
| Budurea | Budaon, I. |
| Budvail | Cuddapah, I. |
| Buggelwara | Bhopal, I. |
| Bugghoochek | Punjab, I. |
| Buggreea | Cuttack, I. |
| Buggusra | Kattywar, I. |
| Bugha | Oude, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Bugra | Sirgoojah, I. |
| Bugroh | Jeypoor, I. |
| Bugudyar | Kumaon, I. |
| Bugur | Shekawuttee, I. |
| Bugwa | Bundelcund, I. |
| Bugwah | Rungpoor, I. |
| Bugwara | Surat, I. |
| Buhadoogurh | Meerut, I. |
| Buhadurpoor | Gwalior, I. |
| Buheree | Moradabad, I. |
| Buhirwa | Benares, I. |
| Buhraech | Oude, I. |
| Buhreabad | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Buhul | Hurriana, I. |
| Buhuriabad | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Bujhera | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bujjanna | Guzerat, I. |
| Bujrungurh | Gwalior, I. |
| Bukeywar | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bukhoree | Bengal, I. |
| Bukkur | Punjab, I. |
| Buklahur | Nepaul, I. |
| Bukra | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bulahra | Shekawuttee, I. |
| Bulameen | Punjab, I. |
| Bulbuddurpoor | Bengal, I. |
| —— | |
| Buldeo Mundit | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bulkoonrea | —— |
| Bullary | Madras, I. |
| Bullea | Bengal, I. |
| Bullcea | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bulliah | —— |
| Bulloah | Bengal, I. |
| Bulloms | W. Africa. |
| Bulloorgee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bullumghur | Bengal, I. |
| Buloda | —— |
| Bulogeree | —— |
| Bulrampoor | Nepaul, I. |
| —— | Oude, I. |
| —— | Bengal, I. |
| Bulrummer | —— |
| Bulsar | Bombay, I. |
| Bulsaun | —— |
| Bulthar | Bengal, I. |
| Bulubgurh | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bumrowlee | Bareilly, I. |
| Bunahee | Bengal, I. |
| Bunaisor | Cuttack, I. |
| Bunbassa | Oude, I. |
| Bunchoola | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Bunda | Hyderabad, I. |
| Bundara | Nagpoor, I. |
| Bundarree | Cuttack, I. |
| Bundy Atmacoor | Kurnool, I. |
| Bunehur | Bhopal, I. |
| Buneepara | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Bungala Bul | Cashmere, I. |
| Bunganapilly | Madras, I. |
| Bungay | E. Canada. |
| Bungbo | India. |
| Bungong | Bengal, I. |
| Bunihar | Cashmere, I. |
| Bunkoulee | Gurhwal, I. |
| Bunnee Chowkee | Keonthul, I. |
| Bunowl | India. |
| Bunsheearee | Bengal, I. |
| Buntwalla | Madras, I. |
| Bunut | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Buo | Bengal, I. |
| Buraech | Oude, I. |
| Buraee | Shekawuttee, I |
| Buragaon | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Buragaum | Gwalior, I. |
| Buragong | N.W. Prov., I. |
| | Bundelcund, I. |
| Buraha | Oude, I. |
| Burana | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Burapoora | —— |
| Bura Puhara | Gwalior, I. |
| Burar | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Burarga | Bengal, I. |
| Burasoo | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Burass | —— |
| Burda | Guzerat, I. |
| Burdhee | Rewah, I. |
| Burdwan | Bengal, I. |
| Burford | W. Canada. |
| Burgatchee | Bengal, I. |
| Burgaum | Bombay, I. |
| Burghaut | Bengal, I. |
| Burgoonda | Indore, I. |
| Burgow | Bengal, I. |
| Burgowa | Burdhee, I. |
| Burgudooa | Oude, I. |
| Burgur | Palamow, I. |
| Burhampoor | Moorshedabad, I. |
| Burhampooree | Berar, I. |
| Burhin | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Burhud | Gwalior, I. |
| Burkagurh | Chota Nagpoor, I. |
| Burkele | Bora Samba, I. |
| Burkutuh | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Burleigh | W. Canada. |
| Burmiok | Sikhim, I. |
| Burnah | N.W. Prov., I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Burnawa | Bengal, I. |
| Burnuggur | Guzerat, I. |
| Burod | Gwalior, I. |
| Buroree | —— |
| Burowla | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Burpeta | Bengal, I. |
| Burpoora | Agra, I. |
| Burraboom | Bengal, I. |
| Burragaon | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Burra Gurrawara | |
| ——Lamba | Jeypoor, I. |
| Burrampoor | Madras, I. |
| Burrapudda | Cuttack, I. |
| Burree Mutana | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Burrisol | Bengal, I. |
| Burrod | Kotah, I. |
| Bursana | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Burseah | Gwalior, I |
| Bunj | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Burwah | Bengal, I. |
| Burwalla | Bombay, I. |
| Burwur Sagor | Bundelcund, I. |
| Busai | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Busalee | Punjab, I |
| Busaoo | Shekawuttee, I. |
| Buseej | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Buseenagur | Bengal, I. |
| Bushey | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Buskarie | Oude, I. |
| Bussundar | Nepaul, I. |
| Bussuntpoor | Bengal, I. |
| Bustar | Nagpoor, I. |
| Bustee | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Buswa | Jeypoor, I. |
| Buswunthuggur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Butchithully | Mysore, I. |
| Butchow | Cutch, I. |
| Butool | Bengal, I. |
| Butsura | —— |
| Butteeguam | Berar, I. |
| Buttelly | Bengal, I. |
| Buxar | —— |
| Buxa Dwar | Bhotan, I. |
| Buxee | Bengal, I. |
| Buxeepoor | —— |
| Buxeepore | |
| Buxton | C. of Good Hope. |
| Buxwaho | Punnah, I. |
| Byang | Bengal, I. |
| Byangkhola | Nepaul, I. |
| Bydessur | Cuttack, I. |
| Bydoor | Madras, I. |
| Byeturnee | Orissa, I. |
| Bygonbaree | Bengal, I. |
| Byjooa | —— |
| Bynsont | Bundelcund, I. |
| Bynsrole | Kotah, I. |
| Byraghur | Nagpoor, I. |
| Byrampoor | Bengal, I. |
| Byram Droog | Mysore, I. |
| Byrat | Jeypoor, I. |
| Byree | —— |
| Byrod | Alwur, I. |
| Byronda | Malwa, I. |
| Byrria | Gwalior, I. |
| Bysah | Hyderabad, I. |
| By Town | W. Canada. |
| Byzapoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| CABEGHERRY | Nellore, I. |
| Cachar | E. India. |
| Cacona | E. Canada. |
| Cakaja | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Caksa | Bancoorah, I. |
| Calastry | N. Arcot, I. |
| Calburga | Deccan, I. |
| Calcaud | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Calcutta, C. | Bengal, I. |
| Caledon | C. of Good Hope. |
| Calicote | Madras, I. |
| Caliconlorn | Travancore, I. |
| Calicut | Malabar, I. |
| Calingapatam | India. |
| Callacand | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Callacoil | Madura, I. |
| Callian Droog | Bellary, I. |
| Callianee | Tannah, I. |
| Calliaud | Malabar, I. |
| Callwa | Kurnool, I. |
| Calpannee | Rungpoor, I. |
| Calpee | India. |
| Calpentyn | Ceylon, I. |
| Camapuram | Travancore, I. |
| Cambay | Guzerat, I. |
| Camden | N. S. Wales. |
| Camlapoor | Bellary, I. |
| Campbell | Tasmania. |
| Canacon | Goa, I. |
| Canarac | Cuttack, I. |
| Cancanhully | Mysore, I. |
| Cancao | Camboja, I. |
| Cancoopa | Mysore, I. |
| Candeyan | Mysore, I. |
| Cankjara | Goalpara, I. |
| Cannanore | Malabar, I. |
| Canoon | Bhotan, I. |
| Cantaibarree | Bhotan, I. |
| Canterbury | N. Zealand. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Cap | C. of Good Hope. |
| Cape Coast Castle | W. Africa. |
| Capuz, C. | W. Indies. |
| Captaingunj | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Caragola | Purneah, I. |
| Carangooly | Chingleput, I. |
| Careulla | Canara, I. |
| Carihully | Mysore, I. |
| Caroor | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Carrar | Deccan, I. |
| Carraree | Tirhoot, I. |
| Carrington | S. Australia. |
| Carunapale | Travancore, I. |
| Cashmere, C. | N. India. |
| Casimabad | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Casseahgow | Nepaul, I. |
| Cassergurje | Mymunsing, I. |
| Catchooa | Bengal, I. |
| Caudavin | Nagpoor, I. |
| Caugmary | Mymunsing, I. |
| Causergode | S. Canara, I. |
| Cauveripuram | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Cauverypauk | N. Arcot, I. |
| Cauzee | Silhet, I. |
| Caverypooram | Madras, I. |
| Cawnpoor | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Chachta | Cutch, I. |
| Chachowra | Gwalior, I. |
| Chachur | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Chachye | Rewah, I. |
| Chacki | Mongheer, I. |
| Chah Mah | Assam, I. |
| Chaibassa | Singhbhoom, I. |
| Chail | Allahabad, I |
| Chaksoo | Jeypoor, I. |
| Chala | Sudiya, I. |
| Chalain Mew | Burmah, I. |
| Chale | Ceylon, I. |
| Chamba | Cashmere, I. |
| Chambly | E. Canada. |
| Chamburgoondy | Nassick, I. |
| Champanagur | Bengal, I. |
| Champaneer | Ajmere, I. |
| Champapoor | Bograh, I. |
| Champawut | Kumaon, I. |
| Chamtang | Nepaul, I. |
| Chandah | Nagpoor, I. |
| Chandan | Punjab, I. |
| Chandaos | Allygurh, I. |
| Chandercona | Hooghly, I. |
| Chandergiri | Madras, I. |
| Chandgurh | Gwalior, I. |
| Chandhairee | —— |
| Chandiah | Rewah, I. |
| Chandkowta | Sholapoor, I. |
| Chandna | Joudpoor, I. |
| Chandode | Guzerat, I. |
| Chandore | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Chandpoor | Bijnour, I. |
| —— | Bulloah, I. |
| Chandsuma | Guzerat, I. |
| Chandwar | Malwa, I. |
| Chaneni | Cashmere, I. |
| Changamah | S. Arcot, I. |
| Changrezhing | Bussahir, I. |
| Chanirgurh | Oude, I. |
| Channi Khan-Digot | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Chanpoor | Nepaul, I. |
| Chapaner | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Chapeira | Rajgurh, I. |
| Chapora | Goa, I. |
| Charcollee | Backergunje, I. |
| Charee | Bhotan, I. |
| Chargaon | N.W. Prov., I |
| Charles Town | Jamaica. |
| Charratta | Punjab, I. |
| Charwah | Gwalior, I. |
| Chatari | Allygurh, I. |
| Chateli | Sutlej, I. |
| Chatham | W. Canada. |
| Chatna | Nepaul, I. |
| Chatoor | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Chatro | Cashmere, I. |
| Chatsoo | Bengal, I. |
| Chattra | Nepaul, I. |
| Chattur | Ramgurh, I. |
| Chattwaye | Malabar, I. |
| Chatuh | Muttra, I. |
| Chaundoo | Punjab, I. |
| Chawparrah | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Chawulpata | —— |
| Chayanapoor | Nepaul, I. |
| Cheaput | Scinde, I. |
| Cheboo | Bandah, I. |
| Cheaput | Scinde, I. |
| Cheearah | Midnapoor, I. |
| Cheechawutnee | Punjab, I. |
| Cheehun | Tannah, I. |
| Cheeklee | Surat, I. |
| Cheempa | Bhotan, I. |
| Cheemulga | Sholapoor, I. |
| Cheeraeedoongorree | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Cheeraka | Cutch, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Cheeitrorce | Cutch, I. |
| Cheerung | Bhotan, I. |
| Cheetapoor | Oude, I. |
| Cheetul | Guzerat, I. |
| Chelloor | Rajahmundry, I |
| Chellumbrum | S. Arcot, I. |
| Chemra | Bombra, I. |
| Chendravadah | Hyderabad, I. |
| Chengbang | E. India. |
| Chengoor | Bhotan, I. |
| Chennoor | Cuddapah, I. |
| Chennumpully | Bellary, I. |
| Cheracul | Malabar, I. |
| Cherajolee | Durrung, I. |
| Cherand | Sarun, I. |
| Cherchanpoor | Berar, I. |
| Chercop | Malta. |
| Chergaon | Bussahir, I. |
| Cherpelcherry | Malabar, I. |
| Chesham | E. Canada. |
| Chester | |
| ——— | B. N. America. |
| Chetpoll | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Chettapoor | Ganjam, I. |
| Chettulwano | Joudpoor, I. |
| Chettypolliam | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Chetwa | Malabar, I. |
| Chewleea | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Cheychun | Scinde, I. |
| Cheylar | |
| Chicacole | Ganjam, I. |
| Chicamogloor | Mysore, I. |
| Chichacotta | Bhotan, I. |
| Chicherouly | Sirhind, I. |
| Chicherry | Palamow, I. |
| Chicholee | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Chicka Mallinhully | Mysore, I. |
| Chicklee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Chickmoogloor | |
| Chickna ghully | Mysore, I |
| Chickoory | Hindoostan, I. |
| Chikigurh | Malwa, I. |
| Chikuldie | |
| Chikulwahul | Khandeish, I. |
| Chilaculnerp | Mysore, I. |
| Chilaw | Ceylon, I. |
| Chilkaburpadu | Guntoor, I. |
| Chilkana | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Chilkauree | Guzerat, I. |
| Chilkeea | Moradabad, I. |
| Chilkore | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Chillahtorra | Banda, I. |
| Chillakar | Nellore, I. |
| Chillambaram | India. |
| Chilloo Chungee | Punjab, I. |
| Chilmaree | Rungpoor, I. |
| Chimary | Ahmedabad, I. |
| Chimmapoody | Hyderabad, I. |
| Chimoor | Berar, I. |
| Chinachin | Nepaul, I. |
| Chin Ammapetta | Masulipatam, I. |
| Chinapatam | Mysore, I. |
| Chinchlee | Belgaum, I. |
| Chinchtor | Bombay, I. |
| Chindgoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Chindwara | Nagpoor, I. |
| Chinepoor | Bhopal, I. |
| Chingleput | Madras, I. |
| Chingong | Bundelcund, I |
| Chinini | Punjab, I. |
| Chinna | S. Arcot, I. |
| Chinnoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Chinraian Droog | Mysore, I. |
| Chinraipatam | |
| Chinsura | Bengal, I. |
| Chintalapoody | Masulipatam, I. |
| Chintamun | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Chintapilly | Guntoor, I. |
| Chintoli | Hyderabad, I. |
| Chiutomnipett | Mysore, I. |
| Chiomok | Cashmere, I. |
| Chiploon | Rutnagherry, I. |
| Chipurapillet | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Chirgong | Bundelcund, I. |
| Chirkanwan | Behar, I. |
| Chirkaree | Bundelcund, I. |
| Chirra Poonjee | E. India. |
| Chirtaol | Muzuffernugger, I. |
| Chirwakkum | S. Arcot, I. |
| Chitare | India. |
| Chit | Agra, I. |
| Chitially | Hyderabad, I. |
| Chitor | Cochin. |
| Chitracootam | Jeypoor, I. |
| Chitrakote | Banda, I. |
| Chitral, C. | N. India. |
| Chittagong | Bengal, I. |
| Chittapet | S. Arcot, I. |
| Chittavail | Cuddapah, I. |
| Chittledroog | India. |
| Chittoor | N. Arcot, I. |
| Chittor | Rajpootana, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Chittra | Ramgurh, I. |
| Chobalinga-pooram | Madura, I. |
| Chobana | Punjab, I. |
| Chobee Ke Serai | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Chobipoor | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Chogda | Nuddea, I. |
| Chohagaon | Nepaul, I. |
| Choilna | Guzerat, I. |
| Choka | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Chokeegurh | Hindoostan, I. |
| Chokhun | Kumaon, I. |
| Cholawarum | Masulipatam, I. |
| Chonda | Gwalior, I. |
| Chookaneepara | Assam, I. |
| Choombi | Thibet, I. |
| Chooreea | Chota Nagpoor, I. |
| Choorut | Rewah, I. |
| Chooroo | Bikanere, I. |
| Chopalla | Punjab, I. |
| Chopra | Khandeish, I. |
| Choprakot | Gurhwal, I. |
| Chore | Scinde, I. |
| Chorwaur | Guzerat, I. |
| Chota Bulleah | Mongheer, I. |
| Chota Nagpoor | Berar, I. |
| Chotadekote | Punjab, I. |
| Chota Orampad | Cuddapah, I. |
| Chotee | Punjab, I. |
| Choteyla | Guzerat, I. |
| Chouchuck | Punjab, I. |
| Choudwan | |
| Chougul | Cashmere, I. |
| Choumoob | Jeypoor, I. |
| Chountera | Punjab, I. |
| Chouraghur | Bengal, I. |
| Chourass | Oude, I. |
| Chousalla | Hyderabad, I. |
| Chouthka Burwara | Jeypoor, I. |
| Chowbeesa | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Chowgong | Rajeshahye, I. |
| Chowkaad | Malabar, I. |
| Chowky | Berar, I. |
| Chowrye | |
| Chowsa | Shahabad, I. |
| Chowul | Concan, I. |
| Christianborg | W. Africa. |
| Chryakot | Azimgurh, I. |
| Chuasi | Sukhet, I. |
| Chubramow | Furruckabad, I. |
| Chuck | Scinde, I. |
| Chuckwadee | Ramgurh, I. |
| Chukkowal | Punjab, I. |
| Chuka | Bhotan, I. |
| Chukun | Poonah, I. |
| Chulgully | Sirgoojah, I. |
| Chumatang | Cashmere, I. |
| Chumballa | Arracan, I. |
| Chummoorea | Assam, I. |
| Chumpaneer | Gwalior, I. |
| Chumpapoor | Sarun, I. |
| Chumpawut | Kumaon, I. |
| Chumur | Cashmere, I. |
| Chunahully | Mysore, I. |
| Chunar | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Chunargur | Juanpoor, I. |
| Chunda | Korea, I. |
| ChundaPertabpoor | Oude, I. |
| Chundepoor | Berar, I. |
| Chundergherry | N. Arcot, I. |
| Chunderpoor | Burgun, I. |
| Chunditulla | Hooghly, I. |
| Chundka | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Chundlah | Bundelcund, I. |
| Chundour | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Chundowsee | Moradabad, I. |
| Chundragoonda | Hyderabad, I. |
| Chundrowtee | Benares, I. |
| Chundunnuggur | Cuttack, I. |
| Chundunpoor | Oude, I. |
| Chundurgooty Droog | Mysore, I. |
| Chunnee | Cashmere, I. |
| Chunshulapet | Hyderabad, I. |
| Chupparah | Bengal, I. |
| Chuppra | Malwa, I. |
| Chupra | Sarun, I. |
| Chuproulee | Meerut, I. |
| Churda | Oude, I. |
| Chureedaha | Sarun, I. |
| Chusma | Punjab, I. |
| Chutnahulli | Mysore, I. |
| Chutrail | Jessulmere, I. |
| Chuttrum | Malabar, I. |
| Chuwari | Punjab, I. |
| Chykoa | Assam, I. |
| Chylaral | Oude, I. |
| Chynepoor | Shahabad, I. |
| Circular Head | Tasmania, or V. Diemen's Ld. |
| Cicily | S. Canara, I. |
| Civital | Hyderabad, I. |
| Clair, St. | B. N. America. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Clanwilliam | C. of Good Hope. |
| Clarence | W. Australia |
| ——— | S. Australia. |
| Clarendon | W. Canada. |
| ——— | Jamaica. |
| Clinton | E. Canada. |
| Clomo | Ionian Ids. |
| Closepett | S. India. |
| Coadlypetta | Mysore, I. |
| Cochin | W. India. |
| Codyconda | Bellary, I. |
| Coel | Allygurh, I. |
| Coglass | Seuni, I. |
| Cohur | Sirgoojah, I. |
| Coille | Tirhoot, I. |
| Coimbatoor | Madras, I. |
| Cola Bera | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Colagaul | Madras, I. |
| Colahnelly | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Colar | Mysore, I. |
| Coleapoll | Pooralia, I. |
| Colehan Jaghire | Singhbhoom, I. |
| Coleraine | E. Canada. |
| Colgong | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Colinda | Tiperah, I. |
| Collachul | Travancore, I. |
| Colliseah | Indian Ocean. |
| Colombo | Ceylon, I. |
| Comareallwa | Cuddapah, I. |
| Combakonum | Tanjore, I. |
| Comboocomum | Madras, I. |
| Comercolly | Pubna, I. |
| Comila | Tiperah, I. |
| Conamalle | Ceylon, I. |
| Conarah | Madras, I. |
| Condrapilly | Nagpoor, I. |
| Conjeveram | Chingleput, I. |
| Contai | Hijellee, I. |
| Coodam | Jeypoor, I. |
| Coogdarra | Mymunsing, I. |
| Cooloo | Orissa, I. |
| Coomanda | Kareal, I. |
| Coombacotta | Jeypoor, I. |
| Coombarree | Hyderabad, I. |
| Coombla | S. Canara, I. |
| Coomsee | Mysore, I. |
| Coomta | N. Canara, I. |
| Coomty | Nagpoor, I. |
| Coondapoor | N. Canara, I. |
| Coonnagoody | Madura, I. |
| Coonygul | Mysore, I. |
| Coorla | Ganjam, I. |
| Cootcottah | Hyderabad, I. |
| Cootul | |
| Cootulpore | Burdwan, I. |
| Coppa Droog | Mysore, I. |
| Copul | Hyderabad, I. |
| Corada | Ganjam, I. |
| Corallea | Tiperah, I. |
| Corfu | Ionian Isds. |
| Coringa | Rajahmundry, I. |
| Corlam | Ganjam, I. |
| Cornwall | W. Canada. |
| ——— | B. N. America. |
| Cortagerry | Mysore, I. |
| Cortapaleyan | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Corygaum | W. India. |
| Cossimbazar | Moorshedabad, I. |
| Cossipore | Calcutta, I. |
| Cotoor | Cuddapah, I. |
| Courmi | Malta. |
| Courtallum | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Covelong | Chingleput, I. |
| Covilputty | Tinnevelly, I |
| Cowishar | Nepaul, I. |
| Cowlapoor | Nagpoor, I. |
| Cosce Bazar | Chittagong, I. |
| Coyelboodah | Berar, I. |
| Cradock | C. of Good Hope |
| Cranganere | Malabar, I. |
| Crendi | Malta. |
| Crown | E. Canada. |
| Cudampilly | Hyderabad, I. |
| Cuddaba | Mysore, I. |
| Cuddabal | Bellary, I. |
| Cuddalore | S. Arcot, I. |
| Cuddapah | Madras, I. |
| Cuddpurrum | Travancore, I. |
| Cuddeaputnum | |
| Cuddoor | Mysore, I. |
| Cudduturittee | Travancore, I. |
| Cudjeegong | Australia. |
| Cuhmur | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Cukkolum | Travancore, I. |
| Culdindy | Masulipatam, I. |
| Cullatoor | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Culloor | Nagpoor, I. |
| Culna | Jessore, I. |
| Culpee | Bengal, I. |
| Culpetta | Malabar, I. |
| Cumberland | Australia. |
| Cumbum | Madura, I. |
| Cumby | Canara, I. |
| Cummada | Nagpoor, I. |
| Cummum | Cuddapah, I. |
| Cummumait | Hyderabad, I. |

| Name of Town | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Cunchakacherla | Masulipatam, I. |
| Cunchincull Droog | Mysore, I. |
| Cundoor | Cuddapah, I. |
| Cundwah | Hindoostan, I. |
| Cundykaira | Mysore, I. |
| Curibum | Orissa, I. |
| Currabaguddy | Beliary, I. |
| Curreegong | Rungpoor, I. |
| Currode | Bombay, I. |
| Currybarry Zemindary | Bengal, I. |
| Cutch | W. India. |
| Cuttack | |
| Cuttub | |
| Cutwa | Burdwan, I. |
| Dabla | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Dabul | Concan, I. |
| Dacca, C. | Bengal, I. |
| Dachen | Sikhim, I. |
| Dadawaigpolham | Mysore, I. |
| Dadecallee | Barasut, I. |
| Dadree | Boolundshuhur, I. |
| Daigloor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Dailwoura | Guzerat, I. |
| Dajeepoor | Kolapoor, I. |
| Dajel | Punjab, I. |
| Dalamow, C. | Oude, I. |
| Dalhousie | N. Brunswick. |
| ——— | W. Canada. |
| Dallah | Pegu, I. |
| Dalpatpoor | Oude, I. |
| Dalmacherry | India. |
| Damaka | Assam, I. |
| Damdama | Kotah, I. |
| Dampoor | Bengal, I. |
| Damungaum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Dana | Nepaul, I. |
| Danayakkan Kottel | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Danderphul | Bombay, I. |
| Dangaur | Sirgoojah, I. |
| Dangkhar | Punjab, I. |
| Dangurthul | Jeypoor, I. |
| Danoo | Allygurh, I |
| Dantoon | Midnapoor, I. |
| Daood Kayle | Punjab, I. |
| Daoodnugur | Behar, I. |
| Dapoolee | Rutnagherry, I. |
| Dapooree | Poonah, I. |
| Daranugur | Bijnour, I. |
| Darapooram | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Darbee | Bhotan, I. |
| Darickee | Cuttack, I. |
| Darishe | Nellore, I. |
| Darlington | W. Canada. |
| Darmapur | Salem, I. |
| Darmoodar | Nepaul, I. |
| Darrah | Bhaugulpoor, I. |
| Darshanganj | Oude, I. |
| Dasnuh | Meerut, I. |
| Dasoree | Joudpoor, I. |
| Daspore | Midnapoor, I. |
| Datchapully | Guntoor, I. |
| Daudpoor | Orissa, I. |
| Daukore | Kaira, I. |
| Daunabad | Punjab, I. |
| Daudia Khera | Oude, I. |
| Daunta | Guzerat, I. |
| Davagoodoo | India. |
| Davaroy Droog | Mysore, I. |
| Daverconda | Hyderabad, I. |
| Daverhully | Mysore, I. |
| Davulghaut | Hyderabad, I. |
| Dawn | W. Canada. |
| Deamah | Sultanpoor, I. |
| Deary | Hyderabad, I. |
| Deatpore | Malda, I. |
| Debalpoor | Punjab, I. |
| Debra | Midnapoor, I. |
| Deccan, C. | S. India. |
| Deecuchee | India. |
| Deemla | Rungpoor, I. |
| Deenanugur | Punjab, I. |
| Deengurh | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Deenhutl | India. |
| Deepla | |
| Deesa | Guzerat, I. |
| Deesoore | Godwasi, I. |
| Degaon | Bhopal, I. |
| Dehgong | Guzerat, I. |
| Dehpoor | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Dehra | India. |
| Dehwaree | Sattara, I. |
| Deijbara | Broach, I. |
| Dendrah | Cashmere, I. |
| Denkanicotta | Salem, I. |
| Deobund | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Deochunpoor | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Deogur | Nagpoor, I. |
| Deolee | |
| Deoleea | Ajmeer, I. |
| Deonelly | Mysore, I. |
| Deoor | Sattara, I. |
| Deoralio | Nepaul, I. |
| Deoree | Behar, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Deotan | Baitool, I. |
| Depalpoor | Indore, I. |
| Dera | Punjab, I. |
| Derby | W. Canada. |
| Deriabad | Oude, I |
| Derry | W. Canada. |
| Desnok | India. |
| Dessoor | ——— |
| Detroit | W. Canada. |
| Deunpalli | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Devaprayaga | Gurhwal, I. |
| Devikotta | Tanjore, I. |
| Dewan | Moorshedabad, I. |
| Dewangari | Bhotan, I. |
| Dewangunje | Purneah, I. |
| Dewas | Rewah, I. |
| Dewle | Rutnagherry, I. |
| Dewra | Bundelcund, I. |
| Dewulle | Mohurbunge, I. |
| Dewulmurree | Berar, I. |
| Dhaba | Nagpoor, I. |
| Dhabaddy | Hyderabad, I. |
| Dhadree | Dhar, I. |
| Dhalgaon | Neemj, I. |
| Dhama | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Dhamoni | India. |
| Dhampoor | Bijnour, I. |
| Dhana | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Dhanapoor | Ghazeepoor, I |
| Dhar | Hyderabad, I. |
| Dharmda | ——— |
| Dharmkot | India. |
| Dharmsaleh | Nepaul, I. |
| Dharwar | Bombay, I. |
| Dheeburoa | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Dheegwas | Oude, I. |
| Dheeismaelpoor | Midnapoor, I. |
| Dheepa | Singhbhoom, I. |
| Dhergaum | Akraunee, I. |
| Dhi | Holkar, I. |
| Dhinisa | Nepaul, I. |
| Dhoa | Gwalior, I. |
| Dhobhung | Nepaul, I. |
| Dhoda | Punjab, I. |
| Dhoki | Hyderabad, I. |
| Dholarra | Guzerat, I. |
| Dholatghat | Nepaul, I. |
| Dholpoor | India. |
| Dhoolia | Khandeish, I. |
| Dhooliat | Gwalior, I. |
| Dhoom | Nepaul, I. |
| Dhooma | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Dhoondgul | Hyderabad, I. |
| Dhoor | Cuddapah, I. |
| Dhooreeapoor | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Dhor | Punjab, I. |
| Dhorajee | Guzerat, I. |
| Dhourera | Oude, I. |
| Dhowlutnugur | Punjab, I. |
| Dhubboee | Guzerat, I. |
| Dhumda | Nagpoor, I. |
| Dhumrah | Cuttack, I. |
| Dhumterry | Nagpoor, I. |
| Dhumtour | Punjab, I. |
| Dhunchi | Nepaul, I. |
| Dhungawan | Sohagpoor, I. |
| Dhungoee | Sarun, I. |
| Dhungurhee | Oude, I. |
| Dhunwa | Jessulmere, I. |
| Dhurampore | Nepaul, I. |
| Dhurkot | ——— |
| Dhurumpooree | Malwa, I. |
| Dibing | Cashmere, I. |
| Digar | ——— |
| Diggee | Jeypoor, I. |
| Dignuggur | Burdwan, I. |
| Dinareh | Shahabad, I. |
| Dindary | Berar, I. |
| Dindigul | Madura, I. |
| Dindooree | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Dipal | Nepaul, I. |
| Dipalpoor | Punjab, I. |
| Ditton | E. Canada. |
| Diu | Guzerat, I. |
| Diwarnuggur | Silhet, I. |
| Dobdur Haut | Assam, I. |
| Doda | Gwalior, I. |
| Dodaballa | Mysore, I. |
| Dodairee | ——— |
| Doesah | Chota Nagpoor, I |
| Dohud | Gwalior, I. |
| Dolanuh | Meerut, I. |
| Dolehkun | Concan, I. |
| Dolla | Sudiya, I. |
| Domeparra | Pooree, I. |
| Domri | Furruckabad, I. |
| Domus | Surat, I. |
| Donabue | Pegu, I. |
| Dongurpoor | Rajpootana, I. |
| Dongurthal | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Doobar | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Doobdi | Sikhim, I. |
| Doobulhattee | Rajeshahye, I. |
| Doodgaon | Sanglee, I. |
| Doodgaum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Doodboo | Jeypoor, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Doodyalee | Joudpoor, I. |
| Doogaree | Boondee, I. |
| Dookoo | India. |
| Doolabaree | Rajeshahye, I. |
| Doolalgunje | Purneah, I. |
| Doolooria | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Doomah | ——— |
| Doo Mahan | Nepaul, I. |
| Doomkot | Gurhwal, I. |
| Doona Giree | Kumaon, I. |
| Doonara | Joudpoor, I. |
| Doonda | Hyderabad, I. |
| Doopund | Cuddapah, I. |
| Dooramow | Oude, I. |
| Dooreha | Punnah, I. |
| Doorgadas | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Doorhatta | Hooghly, I. |
| Doostpoor | Oude, I. |
| Doovah | Masulipatam, I. |
| Doraha | Bhopal, I |
| Doraveid | Hyderabad, I. |
| Dorenall | Cuddapah, I. |
| Dorset | E Canada. |
| Doudcandee | Tiperah, I. |
| Doudpoor | Beerbhoom, I. |
| Douglas | E. Canada |
| Doulaug | Amherst, I. |
| Doundeeakeira | Oude, I. |
| Dowdund | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Dowlaserum | Rajahmundry, I. |
| Dowlutabad | Hyderabad, I. |
| Dowlutgurh | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Dowlutpoor | Scinde, I. |
| ——— | Malwa, I. |
| Downa | Nagpoor, I. |
| Drakenberg | Natal. |
| Draupa | Guzerat, I. |
| Droog | Berar, I. |
| Dubaree | Goolpara, I. |
| Duboka | Nowgong, I. |
| Dubwallee | Bhuttiana, I. |
| Dubba | N. S. Wales. |
| Ducho | Nepaul, I. |
| Duddian Walla | Punjab, I. |
| Duddur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Dudkunda | Nepaul I. |
| Dug | Jhallawur, I. |
| Dugdugee | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Duhlee | Etawah, I |
| Duhleea | Furruckabad, I. |
| Dulchipoor | Boondela, I. |
| Duleelugunj | Oude, I. |
| Dulgano | Durrung, I. |
| Dulsing Serai | Tirhoot, I. |
| Dumduha | Purneah, I. |
| Dumdumma | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Dumdumineah | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Dumja | Nepaul, I. |
| Dummow | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Dumoutier | E. Canada. |
| Dumpa | Bhotan, I. |
| Dumul | Dharwar, I. |
| Dundee | E. Canada. |
| Dundooka | Ahmedabad, I. |
| Dunfriest | W. Canada. |
| Dungava | Nagpoor, I. |
| Dungkot | Nepaul, I. |
| Dunham | E. Canada. |
| Dunhora | Nagpoor, I. |
| Dunkour | Bolundshuhur, |
| Duntola | Purneah, I. |
| Dunwar | Shahabad, I. |
| Dunwich | W. Canada. |
| Dura | Agra, I. |
| Durabund | India. |
| Durbuh | Bhuttiana, I. |
| Durbunga | Tirhoot, I |
| Dureeagunj | Furruckabad, I. |
| Dureeba | Jeypoor, I. |
| Durgapoor | Mymensing, I. |
| Durguk | Cashmere, I. |
| Durmahpoor | Oude, I. |
| Durmawaram | Bellary, I. |
| Durraugdra | Guzerat, I. |
| Durroor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Durrung | Assam, I. |
| Dursendah | India. |
| Duruk | Oude, I. |
| Dusgaon | Burdwan, I. |
| Dusnuggur | Silhet, I. |
| Dussara | Guzerat, I. |
| Duti | Nepaul, I. |
| Duttaeebood | Orissa, I. |
| Dutteah | Bundelcund, I. |
| Duttodah | Indore, I. |
| Duwarka | Sultanpoor, I. |
| Dwarka | Guzerat, I. |
| Dyhynwolee | Concan, I. |
| Eardley | W. Canada. |
| Ecdallah | India. |
| Ecricok | Guinea. |
| Edward | E. Canada. |
| Eectena | India. |
| Eckairee | ——— |
| Eesoulee | ——— |
| Egripo | Mauritius. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Egutpoora | Ionian Islands. |
| Ekdulla Khass | India. |
| Ekhumba | ——— |
| Ektate | ——— |
| Ekfrid | W. Canada. |
| Elizabeth | E. Canada. |
| Ellice | W. Canada. |
| Ellichpoor | India |
| Elmina | W. Africa. |
| Elmsley | W. Canada. |
| Embomma | Guinea. |
| Emenabad | India. |
| Emly | W. Canada. |
| Enarea, C. | Africa |
| Ende | E. Archipelago. |
| Enniskillen | New Canada. |
| Eramosa | W. Canada. |
| Erin | ——— |
| Erinpoora | India. |
| Erriode | ——— |
| Erruckpoor | ——— |
| Erundole | ——— |
| Esauuggur | ——— |
| Esee | ——— |
| Essa | W. Canada. |
| Esurda | India. |
| Etawah | ——— |
| Falkland | S. Atlantic. |
| Falmouth | Jamaica. |
| Falour | Punjab, I. |
| Farah | Agra, I. |
| Farnham | E. Canada. |
| Fattehgad | India. |
| Fausanhault | E. Canada. |
| Fazilpoor | Punjab, I. |
| Feramosa | Ionian Islands. |
| Ferozepoor | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Ferozpoor | ——— |
| Ferozpore | Cis-Sutlej, I. |
| Filor | Punjab, I. |
| Finch | W. Canada. |
| Florina | Malta. |
| Fraserpet | Coorg, I. |
| Frederickton | N. Brunswick. |
| Fulta | Bengal, I. |
| Furedabad | Bolubgurh, I. |
| Fureedpoor | Bengal, I. |
| Fureeduh | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Furra | Gwalior, I. |
| Furruckabad | N.W. Prov., I. |
| | Maldah, I. |
| Furuknugur | Meerut, I. |
| Futehgunge (W.) | Bareilly, I. |
| ——— (E.) | |
| Futehpoor | Punjab, I. |
| Futhabad | Agra, I. |
| Futickcherry | Chittagong, I. |
| Futeabad | Gwalior, I. |
| Futtegurh | Kishengurh, I. |
| Futtehabad | Hurriana, I. |
| Futtehgurh | Bhuttiana, I. |
| Futtehjung | Punjab, I. |
| Futtehpoor | Mymunsing, I. |
| ——— | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Futtihpoor | Punjab, I. |
| Futtooha | Patna, I. |
| Futtygunge | Oude, I. |
| Futtygurh | India. |
| Futtypoor | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Fyzabad | Oude, I. |
| Fyzepoor | Khandeish, I. |
| Galkot | Nepaul, I. |
| Galle | Ceylon, I. |
| Ganbooga | New S. Wales. |
| Gandapoor | Bombay, I. |
| Gandaracottah | Tanjore, I. |
| Gandaree | Hyderabad, I. |
| Gandicotta | Madras, I. |
| Ganerow | Godwar, I. |
| Ganespoor | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Gangarowl | Allyhgur, I. |
| Gangooroo | Gurhwal, I. |
| Ganjam | Madras, I. |
| Garahung | Nepaul, I. |
| Garaspoor | Gwalior, I. |
| Gariadhar | Kattywar, I. |
| Garobia | Nepaul, I. |
| Garotha | Bundelcund, I. |
| Garree | Hyderabad, I. |
| Gaspe | E. Canada. |
| Gaur, C. | Maldah, I. |
| Gaura | Nepaul, I. |
| Gawilgurh | Hyderabad, I. |
| Gawler | S Australia |
| Gayah | Behar, I. |
| Gazepoor Khass | India. |
| Geedwas | Purneah, I. |
| Geelatullee | Silhet, I. |
| Geelong | Victoria. |
| Geesgurh | Jeypoor, I. |
| George | C. of Good Hope. |
| | E. Canada. |
| Georgetown | V. Diemen's Ld. |
| ———, C. | B. Guayana. |
| Gerapoorum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Gerola | Bengal, I. |
| Geroli | Bundelcund, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Ghaikool | Nagpoor, I. |
| Ghara | Scinde, I. |
| Ghatampoor | Bainswara, I. |
| Ghatpilly | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ghatta | Jeypoor, I. |
| Ghazeepore | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Ghazika Thanna | Ulwar, I, |
| Ghendi | Nepaul, I. |
| Ghergong | Seebpoor, I. |
| Gheriah | S. Concan, I. |
| Ghirdee | Sattara, I. |
| Ghiswa | Joudpoor, I. |
| Ghogeea | Sarun, I. |
| Ghoraghaut | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Ghorawul | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Ghosea | Azimgurh, I. |
| Ghosgurh | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Ghospoor | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Ghotal | Hooghly, I. |
| Ghote | Nagpoor, I. |
| Ghulla | Wusravee, I. |
| Ghunnapoora | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ghuriala | Bikanere, I. |
| Ghurparrah | Saugor, I. |
| Gibraltar | Gibraltar. |
| Giddaloor | Cuddapah, I. |
| Gihror | Mynpoorie, I. |
| Gilgit, C. | Hindoo-Koosh, I. |
| Gingee | S. Arcot, I. |
| Girajsir | Jessulmere, I. |
| Giraree | Sohagpoor, I. |
| Girhur | Nagpoor, I. |
| Givaroi | Hyderabad, I. |
| Glenelg | S. Australia. |
| ——— | W. Canada. |
| Gnasanqua | Bhotan, I. |
| Goa | India. |
| Goalgunge | Bundelcund, I. |
| Goas | Moorshedabad, I. |
| Gobienugur | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Gobindgunj | Sarun, I. |
| Gobria | Malwa, I. |
| Gocurnum | N. Canara, I. |
| Godagari | Rajeshahye, I. |
| Godhul | Hyderabad, I. |
| Godmanchester | E. Canada. |
| Godra | Guzerat, I. |
| Gogi | Hyderabad, I. |
| Gogo | Ahmedabad, I. |
| Gogoolpully | N. S. Wales. |
| Goh | Behar, I. |
| Gohala | Shekawuttee, I. |
| Gohanah | Rohtuk, I. |
| Gohun | Jaloun, I. |
| Gokak | Belgaum, I. |
| Gokul | Muttra, I. |
| Gola | Ramghur, I. |
| Golden Grove | W. Canada. |
| Golugonda | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Golygaira | Mysore, I. |
| Gonda | Sohagpoor, I. |
| Gondaghaon | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Gondarville | E. Canada. |
| Gondwana | S. India. |
| Gondwara | Purneah, I. |
| Gon Myoo | Amherst, I. |
| Goodalus | Malabar, I. |
| Goodha | Jeypoor, I. |
| Goodicotta | Bellary, I. |
| Goodywada | Masulipatam, I. |
| Googul | Malwa, I. |
| Goojah | Scinde, I. |
| Goojunggur | Cuttack, I. |
| Gooleum | Bellary, I. |
| Goolwa | S. Australia. |
| Gooma | Ramghur, I. |
| Goomanoor | Bellary, I. |
| Goomgawn | Bhotan, I. |
| Goomgong | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Goomla | Singhbhoom, I. |
| Goomsoor | Ganjam, I. |
| Goonda | Hindoostan, I. |
| Goondee | Cashmere, I. |
| Goondoonaree | Nagpoor, I. |
| Gooneer | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Goonje | Hyderabad, I. |
| Goonuour | Budaon, I. |
| Goonra | Oude, I. |
| Goorethuh | Budaon, I. |
| Goorgaon | Goorgaon, I. |
| Goorgaut | Guzerat, I. |
| Gooroo | Kurrachee, I. |
| Goorouruh | Goorgaon, I. |
| Gooreraie | Jaloun, I. |
| Goorsukgunge | Furruckabad, I. |
| Goowallah | Punjab, I. |
| Goosur | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Goothnee | Sarun, I. |
| Goolul | Dharwar, I. |
| Gooty | Bellary, I. |
| Gopalgunje | Jessore, I. |
| Gopalgurh | Bhurtpoor, I. |
| Gopalpoor | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Gopapoor | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Gopaman | Oude, I. |
| Gopaulpoor | Gwalior, I. |
| Gopeagunj | Etawah, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Gopiganj | Benares, I. |
| Gora | Concan, I. |
| Goragot | Bograh, I. |
| Gorboonjee | Calahandy, I. |
| Gore | W. Canada. |
| Goreyee | Allyghur, I. |
| Gorkha | Nepaul, I. |
| Gorpoore | Assam, I. |
| Goruh | Meerut, I. |
| Gosarly | Hindoostan, I. |
| Gosfield | W. Canada. |
| Goteb | S. Mahratta, I. |
| Gotkee | Scinde, I. |
| Gotra | Gwalior, I. |
| Goudarville | E. Canada. |
| Gouhanee | Banda, I. |
| Goulburn | W. Canada. |
| ——— | Australia. |
| ——— | New Zealand. |
| Gourjeanuh | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Govardangerry | N. Canara, I. |
| Goverdhun | Muttra, I. |
| Govindapooran | Rajahmundry, I. |
| Gow Ghat | Allahabad, I. |
| Gowha | Nagpoor, I. |
| Gowhatty | Camroop, I. |
| Gowndul | Guzerat, I. |
| Gowra | Goruckpoor, I. |
| ——— | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Graham's Town | C. of Good Hope. |
| Gram | Mysore, I. |
| Grandpre | E. Canada. |
| Grantham | ——— |
| Granville | ——— |
| ——— | B. N. America. |
| Grondines | E. Canada. |
| Grand Porte | Mauritius. |
| Grenadines | West Indies. |
| Guanaboa | Jamaica. |
| Guardia | Malta. |
| Gudia | ——— |
| Gumpapool | Bhotan, I. |
| Gunaisgurh | Bikanere, I. |
| Gundevee | Broach, I. |
| Gundlapetta | Mysore, I. |
| Gungapersad | Purneah, I. |
| Gungapoora | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Gungaurittee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Gunge | Cuttack, I. |
| Gungeeree | Allyghur, I. |
| Gongoh | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Gungurar | Jhalawar, I. |
| Gunjooly | Hyderabad, I. |
| Gunjunsir | Cutch, I. |
| Gunnairz | Hyderabad, I. |
| Gunnapoor | Oude, I. |
| Gunnupwarrum | Rajahmundry, I |
| Guntoor | Madras, I. |
| Guochnaut | Guzerat, I |
| Gurang | Punjab, I. |
| Gurdangerry | Mysore, I. |
| Gurdega | Bamra, I. |
| Gurgurree | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Gurguzgur | Nagpoor, I. |
| Gurhea | Beerbhoom, I. |
| Gurhoree | Nagpoor, I. |
| Gurkboocea | Oude, I. |
| Gurmuktesar | Meerut, I. |
| Gurnaddee | Backergunge, I. |
| Gurnudy | Bengal, I. |
| Gurrah | Kumaon, I. |
| Gurr Kohooree | Ganjam, I. |
| —— Koospulla | Pooree, I. |
| —— Tapping | ——— |
| Gurrumarea | Maldah, I. |
| Gurrusgoan | Hyderabad, I. |
| Gurwah | Palamow, I. |
| Gurwar | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Gulni | Oude, I. |
| Gwydir | N.S. Wales. |
| Gya | Cashmere, I. |
| Gyder Khail | Punjab, I |
| HACKNITWARA | Hyderabad, I. |
| Hadjypoor | Thibet, I. |
| Hafizgoruj | Bareilly, I. |
| Haglewaddy | Mysore, I. |
| Hajeegunje | Tiperah, I. |
| Hajeepoor | Punjab, I. |
| ——— | Tirhoot, I. |
| Hajigunje | Fureedpoor, I. |
| Hajypoor | Bahar, I. |
| Halabak | Cashmere, I. |
| Haldubary | Bengal, I. |
| Haleeshur | Baraset, I. |
| Halifax, C. | B. N. America. |
| Halifax | E. Canada. |
| Halla | Scinde, I. |
| Hallowal | Punjab, I. |
| Hallway | Bellary, I. |
| Ham amtolle | Ceylon, I. |
| Hameergurh | Ceylon, I. |
| Hamilton | W. Canada. |
| ——— | V. Diemen's Ld. |
| Hameergurh | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Hampstead | New Brunswick. |
| Hanaghat | India. |
| Hank | Ceylon, I. |
| Hansee | Hurreeanah, I. |
| Hansoot | Bombay, I. |
| Harcount | New Brunswick. |
| Haribarpoor | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Haripoor | Punjab, I. |
| Harnhully | N. S. Wales. |
| Harpoonelly | ——— |
| Harwick | W. Canada. |
| Hashtnuggur | Punjab, I. |
| Hassan | Mysore, I. |
| ——— Abdal | Punjab, I. |
| ——— Ke | Shikarpoor, I. |
| Hatcoul | Sarun, I. |
| Hatee | Baghelcund, I. |
| ——— Oostee | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Hatiya | Nepaul, I. |
| Hatras | Allyghur, I. |
| Hattod | Indore, I. |
| Hattuh | Nagpoor, I. |
| Haump | Guzerat, I. |
| Haunsee | Punjab, I. |
| Haupur | ——— |
| Hawksbury | N. S. Wales. |
| Hawulbagh | Kumaon, I. |
| Hay | W. Canada. |
| Hazareebagh | India. |
| Hazoo | Camroop, I. |
| Hazrutgunj | Furruckabad, I. |
| Heepurgeh | Sholapoor, I. |
| Heerapore | Bundelcund, I. |
| Heerioor | Mysore, I. |
| Heggadvencotta | ——— |
| Helwank | Sattara, I. |
| Hemingford | E. Canada. |
| Hemmaudy | S. Canara, I. |
| Hemtabad | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Henzada | E. Canada. |
| Herdose | S. Mahratta, I. |
| Herioor | Mysore, I. |
| Herrinkairn | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Herweekier | Hyderabad, I. |
| Hewerkair | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Hidjellee | Bengal, I. |
| Hillaya | Scinde, I. |
| Hillsboro' | W. Indies. |
| Hillsborough | W. Indies. |
| Hilsah | Patna, I. |
| Himutgarh | Gwalior, I. |
| Hindia | ——— |
| Hindolee | Boondee, I. |
| Hindoon | Hindoostan, I. |
| Hindown | Jeypoor, I. |
| Hingmee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Hingnah | Nagpoor, I. |
| Hingolee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Hingunghat | Nagpoor, I. |
| Hirdoee | Jaloun, I. |
| Hirnee | Tirhoot, I. |
| Hissampoor | Oude, I. |
| Hissuloor | N. Canara, I. |
| Hobarton, C. | V. Diemen's Ld |
| Hobigunje | Dacca Jelalpoor, I. |
| Hobra | Baraset, I. |
| Hodul | Goorgaon, I. |
| Hokye | N. Cachar, I. |
| Holla Honoor | Mysore, I. |
| Hollal | Dharwar, I. |
| Hollalgoondy | Bellary, I. |
| Hollalkaira | Mysore, I. |
| Honahwar | N. Canara, I. |
| Honbully | Mysore, I. |
| Honwar | Belgaum, I. |
| Hooblee | Dharwar, I. |
| Hoodesara | Assam, I. |
| Hooghly | Bengal, I. |
| Hookeree | Belgaum, I. |
| Hooleh | Punjab, I. |
| Hooligeyn | Hyderabad, I. |
| Hooliordroog | Mysore, I. |
| Hooloogorce Nugur | Assam, I. |
| Hoolsoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Hoomnobad | |
| Hoonsoor | Mysore, I. |
| Hoonugoonda | Belgaum, I. |
| Hoosainpoor | Furruckabad, I. |
| Hoosunabad | Hyderabad, I. |
| Hooteechenee | Cashmere, I. |
| Hoovin Hud-dagully | Bellary, I. |
| Hope Town | B. Guayana. |
| Hopewell | N. Brunswick. |
| Horona | Ceylon, I. |
| Hortee | Sattara, I. |
| Horton | W. Canada. |
| Hoshiarpur | Punjab, I. |
| Hoshungabatt | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Hoskote | Mysore, I. |
| Hospet | Bellary, I. |
| Hossanpoor | Mysore, I. |
| Hossdurg | S. Canara, I. |
| Hottentot Hold. | C. of Good Hope. |
| Houghton | W. Canada. |
| Howard | |
| Howra | Bengal, I. |
| Hubbeeguje | Silhet, I. |
| Hubra | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Huldour | Bijnour, I. |
| Huldypookree | Pooralia, I. |
| Hulhalli | Mysore, I. |
| Hulkaut | Agra, I. |
| Hullagoor | Mysore, I. |
| Hullee | Nagpoor, I. |
| Hullea | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Hullebnoh | Bhurtpoor, I. |
| Hullial | N. Canara, I. |
| Hullole | Guzerat, I. |
| Hulsungee | Sattara, I. |
| Hulwud | Guzerat, I. |
| Humapukbur | Nepaul, I. |
| Humeerpoor | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Humpasagra | Bellary, I. |
| Hundia | Allahabad, I. |
| Hundour | Oude, I. |
| Hundy Anantpoor | Bellary, I. |
| Hangoo | Punjab, I. |
| Hunters | E. Canada. |
| Huragaon | Gwalior, I. |
| Hurah | Oude, I. |
| Hurawul | Sirhind, I. |
| Hurda | Gwalior, I. |
| Hurdagur | Nagpoor, I. |
| Hurdoee | Oude, I |
| Hurdooagunj | Allyghur, I. |
| Hurdwar | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Hureerampoor | Dacca Jelalpoor, I. |
| Hurnal | Punjab, I. |
| Huroor | Salem, I. |
| Hurrah | Nuddea, I. |
| Hurreehurpoor | Nepaul, I. |
| Hurrial | Bengal, I. |
| Hurrickpoogur | Cuttack, I. |
| Hurriorpoor | Sirgoojah, I. |
| Hurripaul | Bengal, I. |
| Hurrisunkra | Nuddea, I. |
| Hurryal | Pubna, I. |
| Hurrye | Nagpoor, I. |
| Hurryhur | Mysore, I. |
| Hursanee | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Hursole | Kaira, I. |
| Hursolee | Ulwar, I. |
| Hursool | Bombay, I. |
| Hursur | Nagpoor, I. |
| Hushnuggur | Peshawur, I. |
| Husseinpoor | Bengal, I. |
| Hussingabad | ——— |
| Hussungurh | Allyghur, I. |
| Hussunpoor | Moradabad, I. |
| Hussunpoora | Sarun, I. |
| Hustinassore | Meerut, I. |
| Hustinapoor | Cuddapah, I. |
| Huswa | Behar, I. |
| Huteout | Nepaul, I. |
| Hutgaon | India. |
| Hutnee | Belgaum, I. |
| Hutnoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Huttalee | Punjab, I. |
| Huttang | India. |
| Hutteen | Goorgaon, I. |
| Hutwa | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Hyatnuggur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Hyderabad, C | S. India. |
| Hydergurh | Oude, I. |
| Hydernuggur | Behar, I. |
| Hydrabad | Scinde, I. |
| IBRAMPUTNA | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ichawur | Hindoostan, I. |
| Idulabad | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ieej | ——— |
| Ignace, St. | Canada. |
| Ihubbher | Punjab, I. |
| Ihung | |
| Ikouna | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Illpoor | Madura, I. |
| Imjong | Assam, I. |
| Imrutpoor | India. |
| Indapoor | Poonah, I. |
| Indarum | Nagpoor, I. |
| Indee | Sholapoor, I. |
| Indergarh | Furruckabad, I. |
| Indergurh | Bundelcund, I. |
| Indgurh | Sirhind, I. |
| Indoorty | Hyderabad, I. |
| Indore | Wn. India. |
| Indos | Burdwan, I. |
| Indral | Hyderabad, I. |
| Indree | Sirhind, I. |
| Indurgurh | Boondee, I. |
| Ingemoor | Nellore, I. |
| Ingleghee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Inhowna | Oude, I. |
| Injilly | Ganjam, I. |
| Innycotta | India. |
| Ipsa | Ionian Ids. |
| Iradulnuggur | India. |
| Ireland | E. Canada. |
| ——— | Bermudas. |
| Irwin | W. Australia. |
| Iskardoh | Bultistan, I. |
| Islamabad | Cashmere, I. |
| Islamnuggur | Budaon, I. |
| Islampoor | Dacca, I. |
| Ismaelbad | Hindoostan, I. |
| Itapalli | Cochin, I. |
| Itchapoor | Madras, I. |
| Itkhapoor | Ganjam, I. |
| Iviker | Travancore, I. |
| Iyloor | Madura, I. |
| JABBALPOOR | Bengal, I. |
| Jabooah | Malwa, I. |
| Jaesa | Bhotan, I. |
| Jafarganj | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Jafferabad | Hyderabad, I. |
| Jaffiergunge | Fureedpoor, I. |
| Jaffnapatam | Ceylon, I. |
| Jafurabad | Bijnour, I. |
| Jagan | Punjab, I. |
| Jagepettah | Hyderabad, I. |
| Jaggee | Nowgong, I. |
| Jagnor | Agra, I. |
| Jahantoo | Chota Nagpoor, I. |
| Jairula | Punjab, I. |
| Jaitannu | |
| Jaitpoor | Guzerat, I. |
| Jajarcote | Nepaul, I. |
| Jajmow | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Jakan | Cutch, I. |
| Jala | Kumaon, I. |
| Jalaluddinnagar | Aldeman, I. |
| Jaleea | Belgaum, I. |
| Jalhotree | Oude, I. |
| Jalhpoor | Benares, I. |
| Jalihal | Hyderabad, I. |
| Jallor | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Jalna | Khandeish, I. |
| Jaloun | Bundelcund, I. |
| Jam | Hyderabad, I. |
| Jamalgarh | Punjab, I. |
| Jamallabad | S. Canara, I. |
| Jambotee | Belgaum, I. |
| Jamerapal | Midnapoor, I. |
| James | St. Helena. |
| Jamganm | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Jamgong | Nagpoor, I. |
| Jamgurh | Malwa, I. |
| Jamgoongga | Bhotan, I. |
| Jamka | Hurrachee, I. |
| Jamkheir | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Jamneir | Khandeish, I. |
| Jamoo | Punjab, I. |
| Janjowla | Deccan, I. |
| Janjpat | Tirhoot, I. |
| Jansuth | Muzuffernugger, I. |
| Jaoli | |
| Jaraillah | Jessulmere, I. |
| Jaresang | Nepaul, I. |
| Jar Khas | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Jarpurrah | Cuttack, I. |
| Jarrah | Nagpoor, I. |
| Jasiota | India. |
| Jateea Deebee | |
| Jaulda | Bengal, I. |
| Jaulna | Hyderabad, I. |
| Jaumgong | Bombay, I. |
| Jaumnier | Gwalior, I. |
| Jaunjmeer | Guzerat, I. |
| Jawud | Gwalior, I. |
| Jaybhoom | Goalpara, I. |
| Jayghur | India. |
| Jeeagaon | Gwalior, I. |
| Jeelaike | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Jeengunee | Gwalior, I. |
| Jeera | Guzerat, I. |
| Jeerun | Gwalior, I. |
| Jeetee | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Jehanabad | Shahabad, I. |
| Jehangeepoor | Gwalior, I. |
| Jehangeeruh | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Jehaujpoor | Cuttack, I. |
| Jehwoor | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Jeilpore | Bundelcund, I. |
| Jejurry | Bombay, I. |
| Jelalabad | Oude, I. |
| Jelalpoor | Jounpoor, I. |
| Jelgoon | Malwa, I. |
| Jellasore | Midnapoor, I. |
| Jellingby | Bengal, I. |
| Jellinghee | Moorshedabad, I |
| Jelly Putty | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Jelpigoree | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Jelply Aumnair | Gwalior, I. |
| Jemanlabad | Canara, I. |
| Jemdah | Jessore, I. |
| Jemlah | Nepaul, I. |
| Jenjapoor | Tirhoot, I. |
| Jeoruha | Jaloun, I. |
| Jeraulee | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Jerramulla | Bellary, I. |
| Jerrode | Guzerat, I. |
| Jesara | Gurhwal, I. |
| Jesool | Punjab, I. |
| Jessore | Bengal, I. |
| Jessulmere | Rajpootana, I. |
| Jettoe | Punjab, I. |
| Jewur | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Jeypoor | Assam, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Jeyt | Muttra, I. |
| Jeytpoor | Sohagpoor, I. |
| Jhajpoor | Mewar, I. |
| Jhallode | Scinde, I. |
| Jhallore | India. |
| Jhaloo | Bijnour, I. |
| Jhalra Patun | Rajpootana, I |
| Jhansi | Bundelcund, I. |
| Jhari | Nepaul, I. |
| Jharowlee | Seerooee, I. |
| Jharsuh | Goorgaon, I. |
| Jhinjanuh | Muzuffernugger, I. |
| Jhirree | Gwalior, I. |
| Jhonkhur | Rajpootana, I. |
| Jhoonjhnoo | Shekawuttee, I |
| Jhoorh | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Jhoosee | India. |
| Jhorega | Khandeish, I. |
| Jhowlye | Jeypoor, I. |
| Jhugerpoor | Rygurh, I. |
| Jhuggee | Scinde, I. |
| Jhullaee | Jeypoor, I. |
| Jhupuhao | Tirhoot, I. |
| Jhusdum | Guzerat, I. |
| Jignee | Bundelcund, I. |
| Jilling Sirring | ChotaNagpoor, I. |
| Jindala | Punjab, I. |
| Jingerchatchea | Jessore, I. |
| Jinjincalla | Jessulmere, I. |
| Jinkipudda | Mohurbunge, I. |
| Jintea | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Jintoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Jitharee | Malwa, I. |
| Joa | Punjab, I. |
| Joagur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Joar | Allyghur, I. |
| Jooneer | Jeypoor, I. |
| Jobut | Malwa, I. |
| Jogigopa | Goalpara, I. |
| Jogi Ridau | Punjab, I. |
| Joglio | Bikanere, I. |
| Joghanabad | Gwalior, I. |
| John's, St. | New Brunswick. |
| ——— | Newfoundland. |
| Jombee | Jeypoor, I. |
| Jonzar | Bhotan, I. |
| Jonkur | Gwalior, I. |
| Jooalapoor | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Joogdea | Tiperah, I. |
| Joogul | S. Mahratta, I. |
| Joolkapoor | Midnapoor, I. |
| Joonaghur | Guzerat, I. |
| Jooneer | Poonah, I. |
| Joongar | Nowagudda, I. |
| Joongoowarat | Guzerat, I |
| Joonnagudda | Calahandy, I. |
| Joonunghee | Cutch, I. |
| Joorhath | Assam, I. |
| Jooria | Guzerat, I. |
| Jootah | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Joshimath | Kumaon, I. |
| Jotepoor | Cuttack, I. |
| Joudpoor | Bundelcund, I. |
| Joudpore | Jessulmere, I. |
| Jounpoor | India. |
| Jourasee | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Jowaur | Concan, I. |
| Jowla | Hyderabad, I. |
| Jowra | Malwa, I. |
| Joynuggur | Dacca Jelalpoor, I |
| Jualdinne | Nellore, I. |
| Jubboogaum | Bombay, I. |
| Jubbulpoor | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Juberara | Bengal, I. |
| Jubling | Nepaul, I. |
| Juckoo | Cutch, I. |
| Juddengy | Rajahmundry, I. |
| Jufferguuje | Bengal, I. |
| Jugadree | Sirhind, I. |
| Jugdeespoor | Shahabad, I. |
| Jugdulapoor | Nagpoor, I. |
| Juggana | Jeypoor, I. |
| Juggernath Diggy | Bulloah, I. |
| Juggotee | Gwalior, I. |
| Juggurnauth | Cuttack, I. |
| Jugraon | Sirhind, I. |
| Jugur | Bhotan, I. |
| Jugarnathpoor | Behar, I. |
| Jugutpoor | Oude, I. |
| Juhanabad | Bijnour, I. |
| | Allahabad, I. |
| Juhangirabad | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Juhangirpur | ——— |
| Jujja | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Juklial | Hyderabad, I. |
| Julalabad | Furruckabad, I. |
| Julalee | India. |
| Julalpoor | Punjab, I. |
| Juldroog | Hyderabad, I. |
| Juleysur | Muttra, I. |
| Julgaum | Khandeish, I. |
| JulinderDooab, C. | India. |
| Julinder | Punjab, I. |
| Jullah | Punjab, I. |
| Jullalpoor | Banda, I. |
| Jullaree | Punjab, I. |
| Jullmoor | Ganjam, I. |
| Julupgurh | Muzuffernugger, I |
| Jumalgurh | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Jumalpoor | Allyghur, I. |
| Jumarra | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Jumboo | Bhotan, I. |
| Jumboseer | Broach, I. |
| Jumkundee | Jumkundee, I. |
| Jumlah | Guzerat, I. |
| Jummulmudgo | Cuddapah, I. |
| Jumunee Bhojpoor | Oude, I. |
| Junanabad | Behar, I. |
| Jungrowlee | Bareilly, I. |
| Jungumcotta | Mysore, I. |
| Junjeera | Rutnageriah, I. |
| Junoh | ChotaNagpoor, I. |
| Jupha | Nepaul, I. |
| Jupla | Behar, I. |
| Jurajpoor | Oude, I. |
| Jurounda | Nagpoor, I. |
| Jurrah | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Jurruk | Scinde, I. |
| Jushpoor | Jushpoor, I. |
| Jusol | Joudpoor, I. |
| Juspoor | Moradabad, I. |
| Josso | Bundelcund, I. |
| Justwuntnuggur | Etawah, I. |
| Jutpool | Hyderabad, I. |
| Jutt | Jutt, I. |
| Jwittee | Jeypoor, I. |
| Jygurh | Rutnagherry, I. |
| Jynteeahpore | Jyntea, I. |
| Jynugur | Tirhoot, I. |
| Jyrung | E. India. |
| Jysinuggur | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Jyto | Cis-Sutlej, I. |
| Kabo | Bengal, I. |
| Kachaura | Agra, I. |
| Kadloor | Hyderabad (Scinde) |
| Kadurgunge | N.W. Prov., I |
| Kair | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kaira | Bombay, I. |
| Kaisla | N W. Prov., I. |
| Kaithaula | Oude, I. |
| Kaiti | Benares, I. |
| Kaitri | Gwalior, I. |
| Kakeenada | Madras, I. |
| Kakhundkee | Sattara, I. |
| Kakita | Madras, I. |
| Kakrajeet | Calcutta, I. |
| Kaktee | Bombay, I. |
| Kala Bagh | Punjab, I. |
| Kaladar | W. Canada. |
| Kaleegunje | Bengal, I. |
| Kalee Oung | Tenasserim, I. |
| Kalkapore | Bengal, I. |
| Kallinger | Bundelcund, I. |
| Kally Bheel | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kaloo | Joudpoor, I. |
| Kalsamree | Bengal, I. |
| Kama | Bhurtpoor, I. |
| Kambacho | Nepaul, I. |
| Kamgaum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kammah | Pegu, I. |
| Kamonah | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kamra | Moorshedabad, I. |
| Kamroij | Bombay, I. |
| Kamtaol | |
| Kanacgerri | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kanadkaid | ——— |
| Kanar | Gwalior, I. |
| Kanda | Cashmere, I. |
| Kandcutte | Bengal, I. |
| Kandy | Ceylon, I. |
| Kaneeree | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kanewara | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kangaon | Berar, I. |
| Kangerankeny | Ceylon, I. |
| Kanhoor | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Kanika | Cashmere, I. |
| Kanjole | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Kankrauli | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Kanode | Jessulmere, I. |
| Kanoond | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kanuwah | Punjab, I. |
| Kaolair | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kapoorthella | Punjab, I. |
| Kapunda | S. Australia. |
| Kapurra | Boondi, I. |
| Karano | Berar, I. |
| Kareaus | Tenasserim, I. |
| Karenlur | Malabar, I. |
| Kareputtun | Bombay, I. |
| Karian | Punjab, I. |
| Karical | Tanjore, I. |
| Karinja | Berar, I. |
| Karoorah | ——— |
| Karran | Bombay, I. |
| Karub | Patna, I. |
| Kaseenuggur | Tiperah, I |
| Kasegaon | Sattara, I. |
| Kashpoor | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kasimpoor | Allyghur, I. |
| Kasin | Mundote, I. |
| Kasnikota | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Kasnu | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kassehgaon | Sattara, I. |
| Kassye Gopang | Scinde, I. |
| Katelee | Bengal, I. |
| Katnuggur | ——— |
| Kattragam | Ceylon, I. |
| Kaulari | Agra, I. |
| Kaza | Guntoor, I. |
| Keder | Midnapoor, I. |
| Keekairy | Mysore, I |
| Keeleepulee | Orissa, I. |
| Keel Kundah | Malabar, I. |
| Keim | Sholapoor, I. |
| Keirnah | Orissa, I. |
| Kelzur | Berar, I. |
| Keraon | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Kerowlee | Rajpootana, I. |
| Kerycaud | Travancore, I. |
| Keyrauloo | Guzerat, I. |
| Khairah | Muttra, I. |
| Khalizanpoor | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Khalsee | Jaunsar, I. |
| Khanapoor | Sattara, I. |
| Khunger | Scinde, I. |
| Khangurh | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Khanpoor | Punjab, I. |
| Khappoh | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kharrah | Joudpoor, I. |
| Khasgunje | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Khatah | Bareilly, I. |
| Khatmandoo | Nepaul, I. |
| Kheeree | Oude, I. |
| Kheerwa | Joudpoor, I. |
| Kheir | Guzerat, I. |
| Khelcheepoor | Gwalior, I. |
| Khemla | Jeypoor, I. |
| Khengunpoor | Punjab, I. |
| Kher | Bombay, I. |
| Kheree | Agra, I. |
| Khersiong | Bengal, I. |
| Khetree | Rajpootana, I. |
| Kheyra | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Khiragarh | Agra, I. |
| Khiron | Oude, I. |
| Khiti | Scinde, I. |
| Khodabad | Scinde, I. |
| Khodaganj | Furruckabad, I. |
| Khojaphul | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Khoordah | Cuttack, I. |
| Khoorja | Doab, I. |
| Khooshalpoor | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Khopa | Allahabad, I. |
| Khujura | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Khundela | Rajpootana, I. |
| Khundowli | Agra, I. |
| Khur | Sirhind, I. |
| Khurchla | N W. Prov., I. |
| Khurkhouda | Rohtuk, I. |
| Khurtapoor | Oude, I. |
| Khusa | Nepaul, I. |
| Khutaro | Sattara, I. |
| Khutowlee | Muzuffernugger, I. |
| Khyr | Allyghur, I. |
| Khyrabad | Oude, I. |
| Khyreegur | ——— |
| Khyrgaon | Scinde, I. |
| Khyrpoor | Shahjehanpoor, I |
| Kildare | W. Canada. |
| Kilkenny | E. Canada. |
| Kineyree | Punjab, I. |
| Kingscote | S. Australia. |
| Kingsey | E. Canada. |
| Kingstow | |
| Kiowoong | Bengal, I. |
| Kirreanuggur | Cutch, I. |
| Kirstnapatam | Vellore, I. |
| Kishengunje | Purneah, I. |
| Kishengurh | Alwur, I. |
| Kishennuggur | Bengal, I. |
| Kishenpoor | Nagpoor, I. |
| Kishnugur | Nuddea, I. |
| Kishtawar | Cashmere, I. |
| Kishungur | Jeypoor, I. |
| Kising | Nepaul, I. |
| Kisry | Guzerat, I. |
| Kissengurh | Bundelcund, I. |
| Kistnagerry | Madras, I. |
| Kistnapoor | Arcot, I. |
| Kistnarajpoor | Mysore, I. |
| Kitky | W. Canada. |
| Kivaloor | Tanjore, I. |
| Koatpully | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kobelaspoor | Silhet, I. |
| Kocherlacotah | Nellore, I. |
| Kodamunglum | Travancore, I. |
| Kodumudy | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Koelaor | Oude, I. |
| Kogoon | Pegu, I. |
| Kohat | N. India. |
| Koilcondah | Hyderabad, I. |
| Koilkoontla | Cuddapah, I. |
| Kokreet | Tenasserim, I. |
| Kokutnoor | Sholapoor, I. |
| Kolachee | Punjab, I. |
| Kolangodu | Malabar, I. |
| Kolar | Sattara, I. |
| Kolaras | Gwalior, I. |
| Kolashagarapuram | Travancore, I. |
| Komarpoor | Purneah, I. |
| Komta | Berar, I. |
| Konadah | Vizagapatam, I |
| Konadoon | Hyderabad, I. |
| Konkier | Berar, I. |
| Konkly | Orissa, I. |
| Konnaverum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Konnoor | Sholapoor, I. |
| Kooathuree | Kumaon, I. |
| Kooch Behar | Bengal, I. |
| Koochut | Burdwan, I. |
| Koodal | Sattara, I. |
| Koodlighee | Madras, I. |
| Koodwul | Bhurtpoor, I. |
| Koodya | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Koohie | Deccan, I. |
| Koojoodoo | Assam, I. |
| Kookresur | Indore, I. |
| Kooksee | Malwa, I. |
| Kookunoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kookurmooda | Khandeish, I. |
| Koolburga | Hyderabad, I. |
| Koomb | Scinde, I. |
| Koonch | Jaloun, I. |
| Koondah | Ramghur, I. |
| Koondallee | Deccan, I. |
| Koondally | Travancore, I. |
| Ko nderkee | Moradabad, I. |
| Koondgul | S. India |
| Koondla | Guzerat, I. |
| Koonga | Patna, I. |
| Koonree | Oude, I. |
| Koopoong | Arracan, I. |
| Koorabur | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Koorah | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kooreegaum | Berar, I. |
| Kooreejampa | Bhotan, I. |
| Kooreepoor | Oude, I. |
| Koorkullo | Hyderabad, I. |
| Koormail | ——— |
| Koorool | |
| Kooroothanee | ——— |
| Koorsee | Oude, I. |
| Koorsunduh | Muttra, I. |
| Koorthul | Meerut, I. |
| Koorty | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kooruntadi | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kootoor | Jeypoor, I. |
| Kootree | Hyderabad, I. |
| Koowanjee | Kotah, I. |
| Koreehola | Orissa, I. |
| Korehgaon | Sattara, I. |
| Korhaleh | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Kornegale | Ceylon, I. |
| Kornra | Joudpoor, I. |
| Kororatika | New Zealand. |
| Koround | Oude, I. |
| Kosemura | N W. Prov., I. |
| Kosy | Muttra, I. |
| Kotagheer | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kotagoodem | |
| Kotah | Rajpootana, I. |
| | Rewah, I. |
| Kotanuh | Meerut, I. |
| Kotaoor | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Kotary | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kote | Ahmedabad, I |
| Kotee | Bundelcund, I. |
| Kot Kassim | N.W. Prov., I. |
| —— Kipar | Nagpoor, I. |
| —— Kumalia | Punjab, I. |
| Kotkuppoora | Sirhind, I. |
| Kotree | Scinde .. |
| Kottaum | Madras, I. |
| Kottoroh | Joudpoor, I. |
| Kotyana | Guzerat, I. |
| Kouka | Central Africa. |
| Koung-gooah | Pegu, I. |
| Kowlas | Indore, I. |
| Kowlass | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kowpoom | E. India. |
| Kowrah | Cutch, I. |
| Kowtall | Madras, I. |
| Koyer | Hyderabad, I. |
| Koylath | Bikanere, I. |
| Kuchouna | Oude, I. |
| Kuchrawad | Malwa, I. |
| Kuchuwa (Kutchwa) | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Kuddun | Scinde, I. |
| Kujeenaad | Travancore, I. |
| Kujwa | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kukkor | Jeypoor, I. |
| Kukraluh | Budaon, I. |
| Kulalpoor | Punjab, I. |
| Kuligam | Cashmere, I. |
| Kullus | Poonah, I. |
| Kulpee (Calpee) | Bengal, I. |
| Kulwah | Sirhind, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Kumalpoor | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kumanpilly | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kumaon | N. India. |
| Kumarara | Pooralia, I. |
| Kumbur | Scinde, I. |
| Kummummett | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kummur | Punjab, I. |
| Kundala | Poonah, I. |
| Kundavellee | Rajahmundry, I. |
| Kundie | Nagpoor, I. |
| Kungull | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kunjpoora | Sirhind, I. |
| Kunkhul | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Kunkunwareo | Bombay, I. |
| Kunnaugoody | Madras, I. |
| Kunneijra | Cutch, I. |
| Kunnouj (Canouj) | Furruckabad, I. |
| Kunnvata | Jeypoor, I. |
| Kunnur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kunraja | Bengal, I. |
| Kunsa | Oude, I. |
| Kuntil | Mirzapoor, I |
| Kunwara | Jeypoor, I. |
| Kunwye Larkam | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kuppili | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Kurai | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kuralee | Allahabad, I. |
| Kuraoo | Joudpoor, I. |
| Kurara | Bundelcund, I |
| Kuraya | Gwalior, I. |
| Kurcumbad | Deccan, I. |
| Kurdlah | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Kurgoon | Indore, I. |
| Kurhul | N W. Prov., I. |
| Kurhus | —— |
| Kurieta | Agra, I. |
| Kuringa | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kurkumb | Sholapoor, I. |
| Kurkunnee | Joudpoor, I. |
| Kurmoda | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kurnal | Paniput, I. |
| Kurnolee | Punjab, I. |
| Kurnool | Kurnool, I. |
| Kurrachee | Scinde, I. |
| Kurradikul | Hyderabad, I. |
| Kurrah | Central India. |
| Kurree | Guzerat, I. |
| Kurrichanet | S. Africa. |
| Kurruckpoor | Oude, I. |
| Kurrumbila | Orissa, I. |
| Kurrung | Assam, I. |
| Kursod | Gwalior, I. |
| Kurunrumma | Bengal, I. |
| Kurupam | Madras, I. |
| Kuryah | Nepaul, I. |
| Kushah | Purneah, I. |
| Kusmir | Bengal, I. |
| Kusowleah | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kusraon | Punjab, I. |
| Kussoor | —— |
| Kutchouda | Malwa, I. |
| Kutlungee | N W. Prov., I. |
| Kutollee | Kotah, I |
| Kutsuhee | Balasore, I. |
| Kutteegeeree | Belgaum, I. |
| Kuttree | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Kuttungee | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kutubugga | Bengal, I. |
| Kutumbo | Ulwar, I. |
| Kuvoy | Malabar, I. |
| Kuwa | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Kyl | Punjab, I. |
| Kylee | Benares, I. |
| Kyoukdwain | Tenasserim, I. |
| Kyouk Phyoo | Ramree Isd. |
| Kyrabad | Kotah, I. |
| Kyragurh | Deccan, I. |
| Kyranuh | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Kyree Gurree | Scinde, I. |
| Kythul | Sirhind, I. |
| Labuan | E.I.Archipelago. |
| Laby | W. Africa. |
| Lacaracoonda | Beerbhoom, I. |
| Laccadive | Indian Ocean. |
| Lachoong | Sikhim, I. |
| Lackreegong | Allahabad, I. |
| Ladakh, C. | Cashmere, I. |
| Ladno | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Laenadown | N. W. Prov., I. |
| Lahar | Gwalior, I. |
| Laidah | Ramghur, I. |
| Lakwadwa | Arracan, I. |
| Lakhajinnagari | Nepaul, I. |
| Lalgunj | Oude, I. |
| Lalila Patun | India. |
| Lallee | —— |
| Lallpore | —— |
| Lalpoor | —— |
| Lanark | W. Canada. |
| Landour | N. India. |
| Landoura | India |
| Langkong | —— |
| Lanje | —— |
| Lansdowne, C. | W. Australia |
| Laour | India. |
| Largh | —— |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Lathee | India. |
| Lattakoo | S. Africa. |
| Laulgoody | India. |
| Launceston | V. Diemen's Ld. |
| Laut | India. |
| Lauzan | E. Canada. |
| Lawad | —— |
| Laygeah | India. |
| Leelma | —— |
| Leia | Punjab, I. |
| Leschenault | W. Australia. |
| Leyraghur | Keunjur, I. |
| Lhonaur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ligor | India. |
| Lilka | Oude, I. |
| Limra | Guzerat, I. |
| Limree | India. |
| Lincoln | V. Diemen's Ld. |
| Lingagerry | India. |
| Lingo | Sikhim, I. |
| Lingwick | E. Canada. |
| Liverpool | Australia, New South Wales. |
| —— | New Brunswick. |
| —— | Nova Scotia. |
| Lixuri | Ionian Ids. |
| Loanar | Hyderabad, I. |
| Loar | Guzerat, I. |
| Logaon | India. |
| Lohagurre | Jessore, I. |
| Lohara | Khandeish, I. |
| Loharapallee | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Loharee | Beerbhoom, I. |
| Loharsing | Darjeeling, I. |
| Lohjana | Kattywar, I. |
| Lohsul | Shekawuttee, I. |
| Lollara | Hindoostan, I. |
| Loll Bazar | Bogra, I. |
| Lomne | W. Canada. |
| London | —— |
| Lonee | Meerut, I. |
| Lonjeegoora | India. |
| Loodiana | Sirhind, I. |
| Looughee | Burmah, I. |
| Lorapelly | Orissa, I. |
| Loroo | Jushpoor, I. |
| Lotowtee | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Louis, St. | Canada. |
| —— Port | Mauritius. |
| Louisberg | Cape Breton Id. |
| Lourta | India. |
| Lowri | —— |
| Lowun | Deccan, I. |
| Lucenda | S. Africa. |
| Luchmungurh | Alwur, I. |
| Lucia, St. | W. Indies. |
| Luckeepoor | S. Cachar, I. |
| Lucki Dwar | Bhotan, I. |
| Lucknow | Oude, I. |
| Ludhona | Gwalior, I. |
| Luka | Punjab, I. |
| Lukhnau | Etawah, I. |
| Lukkee (N.) | Scinde, I. |
| —— (S.) | —— |
| Lukkhoki | Punjab, I. |
| Luktur | Guzerat, I. |
| Lulowlee | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Lumbree | Osimlee, I. |
| Lunawaura | Guzerat, I. |
| Luneburg | Nova Scotia. |
| Lungtung | Jynteah, I. |
| Lunmee | Ramghur, I. |
| Lurroo | Cashmere, I. |
| Luttaula | Sirhind, I. |
| Luttummur | Punjab, I. |
| Lyne | Pegu, I. |
| Maat | Muttra, I. |
| Macarthy | W. Africa. |
| Macclesfield | S. Australia. |
| Machurla | Guntoor, I. |
| Macowal | India. |
| Macquarie | Australia. |
| Madageesy | India. |
| Madapoor | Mysore, I. |
| Madaro Myo | Burmah, I. |
| Madigole | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Madjerydroog | S. India. |
| Madjhajrajpoor | Hindoostan, I. |
| Madoc | W. Canada. |
| Madooroo | Masulipatam, I. |
| Madpollam | Madras, I. |
| Madrupore | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Madura | Madras, I. |
| Maduthoor | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Magdalen | E. Canada. |
| Magnee | E. India. |
| Mahabalipoor | Behar, I. |
| Mahabuleshwar | Bombay, I. |
| Mahadepoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mahagaon | Deccan, I. |
| Mahagaum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Maharajgunj | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Maharajpoor | N. India. |
| Mahattie | Arracan, I. |
| Mahe | Malabar, I. |
| —— | Seychelles Ids. |
| Mahewa | Bundelcund, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Mahgway | Burmah, I. |
| Mahim | Bombay, I. |
| Mahmudpoor | Moradabad, I. |
| Mahoba | Bundelcund, I. |
| Mahomedabad | Oude, I. |
| Mahomedpoor | Indore, I. |
| Mahona | Oude, I. |
| Mahony | Baghelcund, I. |
| Mahoul | Azimghur, I. |
| Mahumudpore | India. |
| Mahur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mahuyadabar | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Maidoor Gat | Masulipatam, I. |
| Maiker | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mailcotta | Mysore, I. |
| Mailsir | Bikanere, I. |
| Maina | Bhopal, I. |
| Maindoo | Pegu, I. |
| Mairpoor | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Maisely | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Maitwara | Malwa, I. |
| Majinda | Scinde, I. |
| Majogoya | Assam, I. |
| Majoora | Concan, I. |
| Majumba | Guinea. |
| Makava | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Maklor | India. |
| Makowal | Kukloor, I. |
| Makraha | Oude, I. |
| Malacca | Malacca Str, I. |
| Malagarh | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Malativo | Ceylon, I. |
| Malaun | Oude, I. |
| Malavelly | Mysore, I. |
| Malda | Bengal, I. |
| Maldah | —— |
| Malebum | Nepaul, I. |
| Maleepara | Nuddea, I. |
| Malekra | Punjab, I. |
| Malingapoor | S. Mahratta, I. |
| Malkah | Nepaul, I. |
| Mallia | Guzerat, I. |
| Malhapooram | Malabar, I. |
| Malligaum | Khandeish, I. |
| Malliwara | Deccan, I. |
| Mallung | Silhet, I. |
| Malod | Sirhind, I. |
| Maloon | Burmah, I. |
| Maloor | Madura, I. |
| Maloron | N. India. |
| Maloud | Orissa, I. |
| Malpoora | Hindoostan, I. |
| Malpura | Agra, I. |
| Maltown | Hindoostan, I. |
| Malwa, C. | —— |
| Malwan | Bombay, I. |
| Mamkpoonj | V. Diemen's Ld. |
| Mana | Kumaon, I. |
| Manamalegudi | Tanjore, I. |
| Manantawaddy | Malabar, I. |
| Manapar | Madura, I. |
| Manapara | —— |
| Manargoody | Tanjore, I. |
| Mandale | Burmah, I. |
| Mandavie | Cutch, I. |
| Mandawa | Jeypoor, I. |
| Mandgaon | Nagpoor, I. |
| Mandingo, C. | W. Africa. |
| Mandouthee | Rohtuk, I. |
| Mandowla | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Mandrel | Gwalior, I. |
| Mandulgurh | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Mandwa | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mandwella | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Manegumba | Nepaul, I. |
| Mangalpett | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mangalore | S. Canara, I. |
| Manganui | New Zealand. |
| Mangloor | Saharunpoor, I |
| Mangmutcha | Tenasserim, I. |
| Mangrol | Guzerat, I. |
| Mangurh | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Manica | S. E. Africa. |
| Manickdrook | Hyderabad, I. |
| Manimajra | Punjab, I. |
| Maniokpoor | Hindoostan, I. |
| Manjee | Sarun, I. |
| Mankah | Palamow, I. |
| Mankore | Burdwan, I. |
| Mankot | Cashmere, I. |
| Manning | N. S. Wales. |
| Manoor | N. S. Wales. |
| Mansood | N. W. Prov., I. |
| Manthalighot | B. N. America. |
| Marandahallic | Malta. |
| Maree | —— |
| Marhwas | Baghelcund, I. |
| Mariquita | W. Indies. |
| Marjaow | India. |
| Markapoor | Cuddapah, I. |
| Markari | Malabar, I. |
| Marout | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Marot | Bhutteeana, I. |
| Marowra | Bundelcund, I. |
| Martaban | Pegu, I. |
| Martha Brea | Jamaica. |
| Marudgee | India. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Massey | Oude, I. |
| Mastee | Mysore, I. |
| Masulipatam | Madras, I. |
| Matane | E. Canada. |
| Matchuacal | Tiperah, I. |
| Mategaon | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Mathingumbo | Nepaul, I. |
| Mathura | Bengal, I. |
| Matta Buraile | Malwa, I. |
| Matura | Ceylon, I. |
| Mauckpoor | Indian Ocean. |
| Maugry | Mysore, I. |
| Maulmaseer | Oude, I. |
| Maulpoor | Guzerat, I. |
| Maumdoor | N. Arcot, I. |
| Maundee | Burraboom, I. |
| Maundpoor | Sirgoojah, I. |
| Maunkaira | Punjab, I. |
| Maunpoor | Hindoostan, I. |
| Maunsa | —— |
| Mauvinhola | Mysore, I. |
| Mayakot | Nepaul, I |
| Mayapoor | Palamow, I. |
| Mayensung | Pegu, I. |
| Mayomba | Guinea. |
| Mazagong | Bombay, I. |
| Meaday | Pegu, I. |
| Meahgunge | Oude, I. |
| Meahsoo | Punjab, I. |
| Meanee | Scinde, I. |
| Meawalleh | Punjab, I. |
| Medduck | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mediryen Coata | India. |
| Meeahgunj | Oude, I. |
| Meeanee | Guzerat, I. |
| Meembah | Burmah, I. |
| Meena | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Meenuj | Sholapoor, I. |
| Meeranpoor Kutra | Shahjehanpoor, I |
| Meeree | Punjab, I. |
| Meergunge | Goruckpoor, I |
| Meergunje | Rajeshahye, I. |
| Meergurh | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Meerkhan Sana | Scinde, I. |
| Meerpoor | Cashmere, I. |
| Meerujaon | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Meerunglooa | Arracan, I. |
| Meerut | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Meerzapoor | Scinde, I. |
| Meetheepoor | Etawah, I. |
| Meettee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Meetyala | Guzerat, I. |
| Meganee | Punjab, I. |
| Mehdoora | India. |
| Mehedpoor | Indore, I. |
| Mehindergurje | Mymunsing, I. |
| Mehmoodabad | Kaira, I. |
| Mehoonbara | Khandeish, I. |
| Mehum | Rohtuk, I. |
| Meil Ghaut | Hyderabad, I. |
| Meinheoung | Burmah, I. |
| Mekraime | Pegu, I. |
| Melakeri | Alwur, I. |
| Melbourne | Victoria. |
| Mellypore | India. |
| Menboo | Assam, I. |
| Mendat | Tavoy, I. |
| Mendurda | Guzerat, I. |
| Mendy-ghaut | Bengal, I. |
| Menril | N. Arcot, I. |
| Merbidery | Canara, I. |
| Mercara | Koorg, I. |
| Mergui | Mergui, I. |
| Meriahdo | Bundelcund, I. |
| Merkava | Coorg, I. |
| Meruj | S. Mahratta, I |
| Mesurata | N. Africa. |
| Metamio | Tavoy, I. |
| Metanee | Guzerat, I. |
| Mettoor | N. Arcot, I. |
| Metza | Amherst, I. |
| Meuhown | —— |
| Meysana | Guzerat, I. |
| Meywasa | India. |
| Mhar | Concan, I. |
| Mhendawul | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Mhendeegunj | Purtabgurh, I. |
| Mheysur | Hindoostan, I. |
| Mhool | Deccan, I. |
| Mhow | Azimghur, I. |
| —— | Allyghur, I. |
| Mhur | Poonah, I. |
| Mhusla | Bombay, I. |
| Mhuswur | Sattara, I. |
| Miabiba | Malta. |
| Mianee | Punjab, I. |
| Midnapore | India. |
| Milapoor | Chingleput, I. |
| Milchia | Nepaul, I. |
| Milum | Kumaon, I. |
| Mindawar | Muttra, I. |
| Mindpoora | Malwa, I. |
| Mintu | W. Canada. |
| Mirhakoor | Agra, I. |
| Mirpoor | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Mirta | Jodhpoor, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Mirun Ke Serai | India. |
| Miryagunje | Backergunje, I. |
| Mirzanaghur | Jessore, I. |
| Mirzapoor | Cuttack, I. |
| ——— | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Mirzi | N. Canara, I. |
| Misreekota | Dharwar, I. |
| Misreepoor | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Missrik | Oude, I. |
| Mitchell | Victoria. |
| Miteegoorem | India. |
| Mitpully | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mittauee | Punjab, I. |
| Mitteetokur | Oude, I. |
| Mobee | Burmah, I. |
| Modari | Ionian Islands |
| Modhorajpoora | Jeypoor, I. |
| Modibeni | Nepaul, I. |
| Modoopoor | Ramghur, I. |
| Moeletrooe | Ceylon, I. |
| Moelmyne | India. |
| Mogoni | W. Indies. |
| Mogoung Myo | India. |
| Mogulpoor | Oude, I. |
| Mogul Serai | Benares, I. |
| Mogul Surye | Malwa, I. |
| Mohan | Oude, I. |
| Mohanah | Paniput, I. |
| Moharee | Deccan, I. |
| Mohgaon | ——— |
| Mohim | Bengal, I. |
| Mohoda | Belise, I. |
| Mohol | Sholapoor, I. |
| Moholi | Oude, I. |
| Mohona | Gwalior, I. |
| Mohumdabad | Azimghur, I. |
| Mohumdee | Oude, I. |
| Mohun | Guzerat, I. |
| Mohungunje | Pubna, I. |
| Mohun Kote | Scinde, I. |
| Mohunpoor | Gwalior, I. |
| Mojgurh | Hindoostan, I. |
| Mojpoor | Alwur, I. |
| Mokameh | Patna, I. |
| Mokaura | Concan, I. |
| Mokerian | Punjab, I. |
| Mokheir | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Mokmai | Burmah, I. |
| Mokumpad | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mokundurra | Rajpootana, I. |
| Mollung | Rungpoor, I. |
| Molour | Molour, I. |
| Momeil Myo | Burmah, I. |
| Mominabad | Hyderabad, I. |
| Monapaleyam | N. Arcot, I. |
| Monassa | Indore, I. |
| Monay | Burmah, I. |
| Monda | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Moneah | Bahar, I. |
| Moner | Patna, I. |
| Monfoo | Burmah, I. |
| Mongulhat | Rungpoor, I. |
| Monjpoor | Hindoostan, I. |
| Mondhur Thana | India. |
| Montego | Jamaica. |
| Montreal | Canada. |
| Moobarekpoor | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Moochuri | Etawah, I. |
| Moodapoor | Mymunsing, I. |
| Moodebeehal | Sholapoor, I. |
| Moodgul | India. |
| Moodhull | S. Mahratta, I. |
| Moodkee | Cis-Sutlej, I. |
| Moodkhaid | Hyderabad, I. |
| Moodnaikanhully | Bellary, I. |
| Moodong | Amherst, I. |
| Mooftung | E. India. |
| Moogetala | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mooglemary | Mysore, I. |
| Moohumdabad | Furruckabad, I. |
| Moojabad | Hindoostan, I. |
| Mookhwah | Muttra, I. |
| Mooksi | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mookutpoor | Ramghur, I. |
| Mooleir | Khandeish, I. |
| Moolgoond | Dharwar, I. |
| Moolky | Canara, I. |
| Mooloopatta | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Mooltan | Malwa, I. |
| Moolwagle | Mysore, I. |
| Moonagalah | Masulipatam, I. |
| Moonagul | Hyderabad, I. |
| Moondagam | Deccan, I. |
| Moondage | Jeypoor, I. |
| Moondagoor | N. Canara, I. |
| Moondal | Kaira, I. |
| Moondee | Gwalior, I. |
| Moondlapaud | Cuddapah, I. |
| Moondra | Cutch, I. |
| Moondree | Malwa, I. |
| Moondurgee | Dharwar, I. |
| Moondypollum | S. India. |
| Moongee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Moonghom | Burmah, I. |
| Moongrool | Hyderabad, I. |
| Moonjpoor | Guzerat, I. |
| Moora | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Mooraudabad | Oude, I. |
| Moorbaur | Concan, I. |
| Moorgoor | Kolapoor, I. |
| Moorhilly | Hyderabad, I. |
| Moorigoorum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Moorjapett | India. |
| Moorlee | Nepaul, I. |
| Moorley | Bengal, I. |
| Mooroomgaum | Nagpoor, I. |
| Moorsaum | India. |
| Moorshedabad | Bengal, I. |
| Moorsungong | Bhotan, I. |
| Moortauzpoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Moorud | Concan, I. |
| Moorvee | Guzerat, I. |
| Moosery | India. |
| Moosiwalleh | Punjab, I. |
| Moosla | Indore, I. |
| Moosleemuddoo | Kurnool, I. |
| Mootaee | Baitool, I. |
| Mootourkhas | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Mootupetta | Madura, I. |
| Mooyanlakhoolel | Muneepoor, I. |
| Mopea | Osimlee, I. |
| Mopoon | Amherst, I. |
| Moracco | B. Guayana. |
| Moradabad | Rohilcund, I. |
| Moradnagar | Meerut, I. |
| Morant | Jamaica. |
| Morassa | Kaira, I. |
| Moreishwar | Bombay, I. |
| Moroom | India. |
| Morumbidgee | Australia. |
| Moseh | Poonah, I. |
| Mosulukul | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mote | Jaloun, I. |
| Moteye | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Motoora | India. |
| Moutapilly | Madras, I. |
| Mouttshohomyo | Burmah, I. |
| Mow | Allyghur, I. |
| Mowa | Jeypoor, I. |
| Mowah | Tirhoot, I. |
| Mowgunge | Rewah, I. |
| Mozabad | Jeypoor, I. |
| Mozuffurnuggur | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Mubarakpoor | Bijnour, I. |
| Muchleeshehur | Jounpoor, I. |
| Muckrana | Hindoostan, I. |
| Muckungunge | Ramghur, I. |
| Muckunpoor | Rewah, I. |
| Mudbuni | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Muddeera | Hyderabad, I. |
| Muddoar | Mysore, I. |
| Mudduck Sera | Bellary, I. |
| Muddum | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Muddumpully | Cuddapah, I. |
| Muddunpoor | Calahandy, I. |
| Mudhbunee | Sarun, I. |
| Mudhun | India. |
| Mudnoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mudoopore | Mymunsing, I. |
| Mudsan | Allyghur, I. |
| Mudukootee | Barasut, I. |
| Multiganj | Jounpoor, I. |
| Mughur | India. |
| Mugribee | Scinde, I. |
| ——— | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mugronce | Gwalior, I. |
| Muhabun | Muttra, I. |
| Muhadewah | Oude, I. |
| Muhair | Behar, I. |
| Muhaisree | Mongheer, I. |
| Muhamy-aing | Burmah, I. |
| Muhar | Punjab, I. |
| Muhesur | Indore, I. |
| Muhila | Tirhoot, I. |
| Muhooaree | Benares, I. |
| Muhoobunee | Tirhoot, I. |
| Muhudwanee | Ramghur, I. |
| Muical | Malabar, I. |
| Muikelung | Amherst, I. |
| Mujahun | Bikanere, I. |
| Mujeenwan | Behar, I. |
| Mujgaon | Furruckabad, I. |
| Mujhowlee | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Mujhwar | Benares, I. |
| Mujjul | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Mukarary | Malabar, I. |
| Mukeer | Sarun, I. |
| Mukko | Cis-Sutlej, I. |
| Mukkud | Punjab, I. |
| Mukree | India. |
| Mukrumgurh | Sattara, I. |
| Muksoondnuggur | Gwalior, I. |
| Muktull | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mukunpoor | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Mulair Kotelah | Sirhind, I. |
| Mulanuh | Umballah, I. |
| Mulcaulghery | Nagpoor, I. |
| Mulghat | Oude, I. |
| Mulhara | Bundelcund, I. |
| Mulhargurh | Indore, I. |
| Mulheeabad | Oude, I. |
| Mulhepoor | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Mulikpoor | Bolundshuhur, I |
| Mulinath Ka Than | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Mulka | Punjab, I. |
| Mulkair | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mulkapoor | Kolapoor, I. |
| Mulkopa | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Mullangoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mullaow | Guzerat, I. |
| Mullapoor | Oude, I. |
| Mullickbag | Baraset, I |
| Mulligaum | Khandeish, I. |
| Mulloundh | Banda, I. |
| Mullye | Sarun, I. |
| Mulmula | Nepaul, I. |
| Multown | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Mulugi | Dharwar, I. |
| Mumoreebustee | Punjab, I. |
| Munahpaud | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Munara | Scinde, I. |
| Munassa | Hindoostan, I. |
| Muncurray | Malabar, I. |
| Mundalor | Gwalior, I. |
| Mundana | India. |
| Mundawul | Jowra, I. |
| Mundawur | Bijnour, I. |
| Mundeah | Cutch, I. |
| Mundesi | Muttra, I. |
| Mundesor | Gwalior, I. |
| Mundewata | ——— |
| Mundlah | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Mundlaisor | Indore, I. |
| Mundor | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Mundrela | Shekawuttee, I. |
| Mundroop | Sholapoor, I. |
| Mundul | Ahmedabad, I. |
| Mundun | Alwur, I. |
| Muneemajra | Sirhind, I. |
| Muneepoor | E. India. |
| Muneer | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Muneree | Sawuntwaree, I. |
| Mungaon | Allahabad, I. |
| Mungari | ——— |
| Mungdoo | Arracan, I. |
| Munghur | Hindoostan, I. |
| Munglah | Cashmere, I. |
| Mungloor | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Mungowa | Rewah, I. |
| Mungrotuh | Punjab, I. |
| Mungroulee | Gwalior, I. |
| Mungulcote | Burdwan, I. |
| Mungulhaut | Bengal, I. |
| Mungulpoor | Orissa, I. |
| Mungulvera | S. Mahratta, I. |
| Mungulwara | Sattara, I. |
| Munjaishwar | Canara, I. |
| Munj-ary | Malabar, I. |
| Munjh | Etawah, I. |
| Munkapoor | Oude, I. |
| Munnargoody | S. Arcot, I. |
| Munnearee | Purneah, I. |
| Munnoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Munohurpoor | Jeypoor, I. |
| Munolee | Belgaum, I. |
| Munora | Behar, I |
| Munpora | Baghelcund, I. |
| Munsoorgunj | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Munsorla | Hyderabad, I. |
| Munsurpoor | Sirhind, I. |
| Muntareddy | Ganjam, I. |
| Muntim | Hyderabad, I. |
| Muramkhoolet | Muneepoor, I. |
| Muramkhoorao | ——— |
| Murang | Bussahir, I. |
| Murchagunje | Mymunsing, I. |
| Murdana | Mundlasir, I. |
| Murdee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Mureahoo | Jounpoor, I. |
| Murgaya | Hummerpoor, I. |
| Murharuh | Allyghur, I. |
| Murowree | Bareilly, I. |
| Murpooreh | Furruckabad, I. |
| Murrownee | Gwalior, I. |
| Murrungaupoony | India. |
| Murryvamla | Cuddapah, I. |
| Musanagar | India. |
| Musela | Agra, I. |
| Muso | N. Granada. |
| Musooda | Ajmere, I. |
| Musoor | Sattara, I. |
| Musquash | N. Brunswick. |
| Mussala | W. Africa. |
| Mussoulee | Oude, I. |
| Mussowrah | Patna, I. |
| Musta | Malta. |
| Mustafabad | India. |
| Mustufabad | Mynpoory, I. |
| Muswah | Khandeish, I. |
| Mutheeara | Oude, I. |
| Mutoodou | Mysore, I. |
| Mutsee | Punjab, I. |
| Mutteearee | Purneah, I. |
| Muttia | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Muttoad | Mysore, I. |
| Muttune | Peshawur, I. |
| Mutwaur | Malwa, I. |
| Muxoodpore | Bengal, I. |
| Muzufurabad | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Muzuffurgurh | Punjab, I. |
| Myaconda | Mysore, I. |
| Myadung Myo | Burmah, I. |
| Myaveram | Tanjore, I. |
| Myhir | Saugor and Nerbudda, I. |
| Myhsee | Sarun, I. |
| Myle | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Mymutgurh | Rutnagherry, I. |
| Mynah | India. |
| Mynpooree | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Mynuwar | Oude, I. |
| Myrabpoor | Scinde, I. |
| Myrwa | Sarun, I. |
| Mysore | S. India. |
| Myteela | Burmah, I. |
| Mywa Goola | Nepaul, I. |
| Nabobgunje | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Nachna | Jessulmere, I. |
| Nadaun | Hindoostan, I |
| Naga Haut | Assam, I. |
| Nagamangalum | Mysore, I. |
| Naganeinpole | Hyderabad, I. |
| Naganoor | N. Canara, I. |
| Nagar | Kullu, I. |
| Nagaranow | Bainswara, I. |
| Nagaria | Furruckabad, I. |
| Nagawaram | Rajahmundry, I. |
| Naggery | N. Arcot, I. |
| Nagheer | Deccan, I. |
| Nagmunghum | Mysore, I. |
| Nagoolpad | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nagorbussy | Tirhoot, I. |
| Nagore | Tanjore, I. |
| Nagotama | Concan, I. |
| Nagotna | ——— |
| Nagound | Oocheyra, I. |
| Nagour | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Nagpoor | Gurhwal, I. |
| Nagpore | S. India. |
| Naguldinny | Bellary, I. |
| Nagulpully | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nagurbussee | Tirhoot, I. |
| Nagursoga | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nahan | Gurhwal, I. |
| Nahany | Chota Nagpoor, I |
| Nahapara | Beerbhoom, I. |
| Nahargurh | Kotah, I. |
| Nahudeea | Serohee, I. |
| Nahrwalleh | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Nahul | Shahjehanpoor, I |
| Nahun | Sirmor, I. |
| Nahurnudee | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Nain | India. |
| Nair | Deccan, I. |
| Naisree | Bombay, I. |
| Najafgarh | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Najafgurh | Delhi, I. |
| Najreh | Sattara, I. |
| Nakarikablu | Guntoor, I. |
| Nakodur | Punjab, I. |
| Nakunaod | Coorg, I. |
| Nalcha | Malwa, I. |
| Naldroog | Deccan, I. |
| Nalgonda | Hindoostan, I. |
| Nallande | Ceylon, I. |
| Nalutwar | India. |
| Nalwar | ——— |
| Namaqua, C. | S. Africa. |
| Namcool | Madura, I. |
| Nameul Droog | India. |
| Namding | Assam, I. |
| Namgoh | Sikhim, I. |
| Namjung | Nepaul, I. |
| Namookee | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Nanah | Godwar, I. |
| Nandair | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nandaoli | Allyghur, I. |
| Nandapoor | Hyderabad,*I. |
| Nandere | ——— |
| Nandgaon | Concan, I. |
| Nandgaum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nandode | Deccan, I. |
| Nandodra | Ahmedabad, I. |
| Nandun | Agra, I. |
| Nandunuj | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nanoon | Meerut, I. |
| Nanoutuh | Saharunpoor, I |
| Nanparah | Oude, I. |
| Nanthe | Burmah, I. |
| Nanto | Kotah, I. |
| Nanukmutha | Bareilly, I. |
| Naputa | C. of Good Hope. |
| Naraingunje | Dacca, I. |
| Naraingurh | Midnapoor, I. |
| Naraiukhaid | Hyderabad, I. |
| Narajole | Midnapoor, I. |
| Narasiavapeta | Guntoor, I. |
| Narasingabilla | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Naraul | Ahladganj, I. |
| Narbah | Sirhind, I. |
| Narganhali | Mysore, I. |
| Nargurh | Gwalior, I. |
| Narki | Agra, I. |
| Narnaveram | N. Arcot, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Narnol | Jujhur, I. |
| Narnoul | Hindoostan, I. |
| Narnound | Hurreeana, I. |
| Naronoe | Hyderabad, I. |
| Naroo | Scinde, I. |
| Narrampoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Narrampatnum | Jeypoor, I. |
| Narramsir | Cutch, I. |
| Narrayungaum | Poonah, I. |
| Narrookole | Guzerat, I. |
| Narsingah | Orissa, I. |
| Narsingnugur | Tiperah, I. |
| Narsingur | Pooralia, I. |
| Narsipoor | Mysore, I. |
| Narwar | Gwalior, I. |
| Nasairah | Punjab, I. |
| Nasciaro | Malta. |
| Nassirabad | Salon, I. |
| Nassreda | Jeypoor, I. |
| Nata | N. Granada. |
| Natal | S. Africa. |
| Natchewgnon | Nagpoor, I. |
| Nathdwara | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Nathpore | Purneah, I. |
| Natoopalwun | Butnageriah, I. |
| Nattore | Rajeshahye, I. |
| Nauchtegaon | Silhet, I. |
| Naugaulonchary | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Naugulwarree | Malwa, I. |
| Naugumpilly | Rajahmundry, I. |
| Naugutwara | Malwa, I. |
| Naun | Nagpoor, I. |
| Naundode | Guzerat, I. |
| Naundoor | Khandeish, I. |
| Naungaon | Nagpoor, I. |
| Nautpoor | Chota Nagpoor, I. |
| Navoycolum | Travancore, I. |
| Nawabgary | Allahabad, I. |
| Nawaubgunge | Oude, I. |
| Nayakot | India. |
| Neckley | Mymunsing, I. |
| Neddamungalum | Madras, I. |
| Neelguddir | W. Falkland Ids. |
| Neelon | Punjab, I. |
| Neelunga | Hyderabad, I. |
| Neemaj | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Neemranee | Alwur, I. |
| Neemuch | Gwalior, I. |
| Neepanee | Belgaum, I. |
| Neepatoor | S. Arcot, I. |
| Neft | N. Africa. |
| Negapatam | Tanjore, I. |
| Negohee | Shahjehanpoor, I |
| Negombo | Ceylon, I. |
| Negoog | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Nehtour | Bijnour, I. |
| Neir | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nelgoondah | ——— |
| Nelgoondla | ——— |
| Nellacottah | Madura, I. |
| Nellamunghun | Mysore, I. |
| Nelliah | Cutch, I. |
| Nelliliam | Malabar, I. |
| Nellore | Madras, I. |
| Nelson | New Zealand. |
| Nemaur | W. India. |
| Nerbud | India. |
| Neriad | Kaira, I. |
| Nerowlee | Jeypoor, I. |
| Nerrona | Cutch, I. |
| Neverdeepoor | Salon, I. |
| Newa Shaher | India. |
| Newcastle | N. Brunswick. |
| ——— | N. S. Wales. |
| New Halla | India |
| Newport | E. Canada. |
| Newtee | S Concan, I. |
| Newulgurh | India. |
| Neyh | Cutch, I. |
| Neypaar | Kaira, I. |
| Neyva | N. Granada. |
| Nha | India. |
| Nhoon | Punjab, I |
| Nichloul | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Nichol | W. Canada. |
| Nickrye | Cuttack, I. |
| Nidaon | Punjab, I. |
| Niddagoonda | Hyderabad, I. |
| Niddevole | Masulipatam, I |
| Nidguli | Mysore, I. |
| Nidigull | ——— |
| Nidjigul | ——— |
| Nilab | India. |
| Nilkantha | ——— |
| Nillehgaon | Sattara, I. |
| Nimbeh | India. |
| Nimbera | Rajpootana, I. |
| Nimbsor | Sattara, I. |
| Nimkhar | Khairabad, I. |
| Ningroo | Sudiya, I. |
| Ninnul | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nitterkonah | Mymunsing, I. |
| Niwans | Ramghur, I. |
| Nizamabad | India. |
| Nizampatam | Guntoor, I. |
| Nizampoor | Concan, I. |
| Noacolly | India. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Noacote | Nepaul, I. |
| Noagong | Orissa, I. |
| Noelgunj | Oude, I. |
| Noewala | Punjab, I. |
| Nokeela | Bogra, I. |
| Nokur | Bikanere, I. |
| Nolbaree | Assam, I. |
| Nolye | Gwalior, I. |
| Nonore | Shahabad, I. |
| Noogyhully | Mysore, I. |
| Nooh | Allyghur, I. |
| Nookhur | Bengal, I. |
| Noonee | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Noongsaee | E India. |
| Noorabad | Gwalior, I. |
| Noornagur | Tiperah, I. |
| Noornugur | Muzuffernugger, I. |
| Noorooden Surraee | Punjab, I. |
| Noorpoor | Oude I. |
| Noorpore | Bengal, I. |
| Noorpur | Bijnour, I. |
| Norfolk (New) | Tasmania. |
| Norwich | W. Canada. |
| Norriwalleh | India. |
| Nosaree | Surat, I. |
| Nosoom | Cuddapah, I. |
| Noubutpoor | India. |
| Nougaon | Moradabad, I. |
| Nourunga | Behar, I. |
| Nourungabad | Oude, I. |
| Noushara | Punjab, I. |
| Nouvarungapoor | Nagpoor, I. |
| Novita | N. Granada. |
| Nowada | Moorshedabad, I. |
| Nowaee | Jeypoor, I. |
| Nowagham | Orissa, I |
| Nowagudda | Bengal, I. |
| Nowagur | Palamow, I. |
| Nowagurh | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Nowakote | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nowanuggur | Guzerat, I. |
| Nowarry | Nagpoor, I. |
| Nowbutpoor | Patna, I. |
| Nowgong | Assam, I. |
| Nowgurh | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Nowlgoond | Dharwar, I. |
| Nowpanda | Ganjam, I. |
| Nowpoor | Khandeish, I. |
| Nowshara | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Nubbeegury | Mynpooree, I |
| Nubbeesir | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nubbenugur | Behar, I. |
| Nuddea | Burdwan, I. |
| Nuddyagong | Dutteea, I. |
| Nugeenah | Bijnour, I. |
| Nuggeree | Nagpoor, I. |
| Nuggra | Malwa, I. |
| Nuggur | Dholpoor, I. |
| Nuggurnaur | Nagpoor, I. |
| Nuggur Parkur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nugla | Pilleebheet, I. |
| Nugleea | Moradabad, I. |
| Nugra | Azimghur, I. |
| Nugulsur | Cuttack, I. |
| Nugurberra | Assam, I. |
| Nughur Khas | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Nujeebabad | Bijnour, I. |
| Nukoor | Saharunpoor, I |
| Nulchera | Backergunje, I. |
| Nuldingah | Jessore, I. |
| Nuldroog | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nulhattee | Beerbhoom, I. |
| Nulkar | Bhotan, I. |
| Nullacherla | Masulipatam, I. |
| Nulling | Khandeish, I. |
| Numbalgerry | Bellary, I. |
| Nummul | Punjab, I. |
| Nundanawonum | Nellore, I. |
| Nundaporum | Jeypoor, I. |
| Nundiallumpett | Cuddapah, I. |
| Nundoorbar | Khandeish, I. |
| Nundpoor | Nagpoor, I. |
| Nundra Khail | Punjab, I. |
| Nundwa | N. W. Prov., I. |
| Nundyal | Kurnool, I. |
| Nundyganah | Masulipatam, I. |
| Nuncoo | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Nungavelly | Salem, I. |
| Nungsagooma | Bhotan, I. |
| Nungur | Bhurtpoor, I. |
| Nunjangode | Mysore, I. |
| Nunklow | Osimlee, I. |
| Nunula | Sirhind, I |
| Nurgoond | S. Mahratta, I. |
| Nurhee | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Nurhun | Sarun, I. |
| Nurkeir | Berar, I. |
| Nurkoda | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nurnulla | ——— |
| Nurpoor | Punjab, I. |
| Nurrah | Nagpoor, I. |
| Nurralah | Calahandy, I. |
| Nurrodie | Nagpoor, I. |
| Nursapoor | Concan, I |
| Nursingpettah | Hyderabad, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Nursingpoor Gurh | Orissa, I. |
| Nursingurh | Bengal, I. |
| Nurwul | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Nurwur | Malwa, I. |
| Nuryoob | Punjab, I. |
| Nusruthpoor | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Nusseerabad | Mymunsing, I. |
| Nussurpoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Nutoota | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Nutwabara | Ramghur, I. |
| Nuwabgunj | Allahabad, I. |
| Nuwulgurh | Shekawuttee, I. |
| Nyagaon | Bundelcund, I. |
| Nyagong | Banda, I. |
| Nyagurh | Baghelcund, I. |
| Nyamina | W. Africa. |
| yanuggur | India. |
| Nya Shuhur | Jeypoor, I. |
| —— Surye | Gwalior, I. |
| Nyerak | Cashmere, I. |
| Nyima | ——— |
| Nykool | Bombra, I. |
| Nynee Tal | Kumaon, I. |
| Nynwah | Rajpootana, I. |
| Nyoungbentha | Burmah, I. |
| OATLANDS | V. Diemen's Ld. |
| Ocliseer | Broach, I. |
| Odeipore | Hazarebaugh, I |
| Ohind | Punjab, I. |
| Oin | Cashmere, I. |
| Okerah | Bancoorah, I. |
| Oliapore | Rungpoor, I. |
| Ollavaconda | Cuddapah, I. |
| Omargurh | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Omedunda | ChotaNagpoor, I. |
| Omercote | Scinde, I. |
| Omer Kayl | Punjab, I. |
| Omerkote | ——— |
| Ometa | Kaira, I. |
| Onagong | Bhotan, I. |
| Onail | Gwalior, I. |
| Ondoo | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Ongol | Nellore, I. |
| Ontario | E. Canada. |
| Ontimitta | New Zealand. |
| Ooch | Punjab, I. |
| Oodagherry | Nellore, I. |
| Oodapee | S. Canara, I. |
| Oodeepoor | Shekawuttee, I. |
| Oodepoor | Guzerat, I. |
| Ooderpee Droog | Bellary, I. |
| Oodeypoor | Rajpootana, I. |
| Oodeypoora | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Oodgheer | Hyderabad, I. |
| Oodipoor | Bikanere, I. |
| Oojeanee | Etawah, I. |
| Oojhanee | Budaon, I. |
| Ooklee | Sholapoor, I. |
| Oolah | Hyderabad, I. |
| Oolaul | S. Canara, I. |
| Ooloor | Travancore, I. |
| Oolpar | Surat, I. |
| Oomdee | Sattara, I. |
| Oomnee | Oude, I. |
| Oomrair | Nagpoor, I. |
| Oomrait | ——— |
| Oomrawuttee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Oomreet | Bombay, I. |
| Oomurgurh | Muttra, I. |
| Oomurkeir | Hyderabad, I. |
| Oona | Kattywar, I. |
| Oonchadeh | Allahabad, I. |
| Oonchod | Gwalior, I. |
| Oonda | Bengal, I. |
| Oondracondah | Hyderabad, I. |
| Oondurgaon | Sholapoor, I. |
| Ooniara | Jeypoor, I. |
| Oontaree | Bengal, I. |
| Oopin Ungady | S. Canara, I |
| Ooplana | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ooraghum | Cochin, I. |
| Ooralwada | Cuddapah, I. |
| Oorcha | Bundelcund, I. |
| Ooroolee | Poonah, I. |
| Oorun | Tannah, I. |
| Ooseith | Budaon, I. |
| Oossoor | Salem, I. |
| Ootakamund | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Ootaloor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ootampolliam | Madura, I. |
| Ooterpara | Bengal, I. |
| Ootgir (or Deogurh) | Kerowly, I. |
| Ootra Droog | Mysore, I. |
| Ootuncurray | Madras, I. |
| Opah | Bengal, I. |
| Operai | India. |
| Operbunda | Beerbhoom, I. |
| Orai | Bundelcund, I. |
| Oraye | Balasore, I. |
| Oreala | B. Guayana, I. |
| Orps | W. Canada. |
| Osprey | ——— |
| Ottapundarum | ——— |
| Oude | Oude, I. |
| Oudunpoor | ——— |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Our | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Ourad | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ourahee | Oude, I. |
| Ourlagonda | Hyderabad, I. |
| Owluha Khass | Sarun, I. |
| Ownchuh | Mynpooree, I. |
| Owsa | Hyderabad, I. |
| Oyster Bay | Tasmania. |
| PAAREE | Rajpootana, I. |
| Paarl | C. of Good Hope. |
| Pabul | Poonah, I. |
| Pachete | Pachete, I. |
| Pachiponta | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Pactna | Kumaon, I. |
| Padra | Guzerat, I. |
| Padroo | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Padshahpoor | Belgaum, I. |
| Padur | Coimbatoor, I |
| Pahargurh | Gwalior, I. |
| Paharpoor | Punjab, I. |
| Pahlunpore | Pahlunpore, I. |
| Pahtun | Sattara, I. |
| Pai | Tenasserim, I. |
| Paiga | Punjab, I. |
| Paik Isoung | Tenasserim, I |
| Pakohya | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Palakee | Punjab, I. |
| Palamow | Palamow, I. |
| Palaverum | Chingleput, I. |
| Palee | Goorgaon, I. |
| Palhanpoor | Guzerat, I. |
| Pali | Sandi, I. |
| Paliconda | Arcot, I. |
| Palkote | ChotaNagpoor, I. |
| Palla | Khandeish, I. |
| Pallakonda | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Pallamcottah | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Pallaswarra | Khandeish, I. |
| Pallawur | N W. Prov., I. |
| Pallaygaum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Pallee | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Pallyad | Guzerat, I. |
| Palpoor | Gwalior, I. |
| Palum | Delhi, I. |
| Pambar | Cashmere, I. |
| Pampur | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Panchora | Khandeish, I. |
| Pandehwara | Guzerat, I. |
| Pandoorna | Nagpoor, I. |
| Pandree | Baitool, I. |
| Pandure | Hyderabad, I. |
| Paneegong | Assam, I. |
| Paneeput | Paneeput, I. |
| Paneith | Guzerat, I. |
| Pangree | Sholapoor, I. |
| Pangtoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Pangull | ——— |
| Pannalagurh | Gwalior, I. |
| Pansaval | Tanjore, I. |
| Panwara | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Panwell | Sannah, I. |
| Paparghat | Sultanpoor, I. |
| Paradanga | Rungpoor, I. |
| Parambalore | Trichinopoly, I. |
| Paramutty | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Pardumpoor | Phooljer, I. |
| Pargong | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Parimbaucum | Chingleput, I. |
| Parneir | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Paro | ChotaNagpoor, I. |
| Parsideypoor | Salon, I. |
| Parungaloor | Poodoocottah, I. |
| Parupunada | Madras, I. |
| Parvuttipuram | Vizagapatam, I |
| Paryur | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Pashyum | Cashmere, I. |
| Paslee | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Pata | Cashmere, I. |
| Patchmarree | Nagpoor, I. |
| Patchwaree | Beerbhoom, I. |
| Pateeta | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Patgaon | Kolapoor, I. |
| Patgong | Rungpoor, I. |
| Patiar | Punjab, I. |
| Patna | Patna, I. |
| ——— | Belgaum, I. |
| Patodee | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Paton | Kumaon, I. |
| Patree | Guzerat, I. |
| Patrood | Hyderabad, I. |
| Patun | Boondee, I. |
| Patunsaongee | Nagpoor, I. |
| Patus | Poonah, I. |
| Paudurkaora | Hyderabad, I. |
| Pauk Putten | Punjab, I. |
| Pauly | Jeypoor, I. |
| Paulytanna | Kattywar, I. |
| Paumanee | Nagpoor, I. |
| Paumbaum | Madras, I. |
| Paumoor | Nellore, I. |
| Pavanasi | Tanjore, I. |
| Pawgur | Mysore, I. |
| Peddapully | Hyderabad, I. |
| Peel | W. Australia. |
| Peelkuchla | Jounpoor, I. |
| Peepar | India. |
| Peepchoo | Jodhpoor, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Peepleod | Gwalior, I. |
| Peepley | Balasore, I. |
| Peepra | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Peepraich (E.) | ——— |
| ——— (W.) | ——— |
| Peepry | Kattywar, I. |
| Peepulthoo | Malwa, I. |
| Peerao | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Peergunje | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Peer Pointee | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Peerporee | Nuddea, I. |
| Peesungun | Ajmere, I. |
| Peetumpoor | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Pehona | Nagpoor, I. |
| Peigraum | Ahmednuggur, I |
| Peitapoor | Guzerat, I. |
| Peithan | Nepaul, I. |
| Peiwlullah | Hoosungabad, I. |
| Pella | C. of Good Hope. |
| Pellur | Nellore, I. |
| Pen | India. |
| Pengra Bayar | Assam, I. |
| Pengugurram | Salem, I. |
| Pennaconda | Bellary, I. |
| Pennagur | Chingleput, I. |
| Pent | Rutnageriah, I. |
| Pepergaon | Furruckabad, I. |
| Peranturei | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Peri | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Periapatam | Mysore, I |
| Perikhalee | Soonderbunds, I |
| Perimbire | Chingleput, I. |
| Peripolliam | India. |
| Permacoil | S Arcot, I. |
| Pertabpore | Midnapoor, I. |
| Perth | V Diemen's Ld. |
| ——— | W. Australia. |
| Peshawur | India. |
| Petrabar | Ramghur, I. |
| Pett | Guzerat, I. |
| Pettah | Masulipatam, I. |
| Pette | Punjab, I. |
| Pettei | S. Arcot, I. |
| Peyhanee | Oude, I. |
| Peytahn | Nepaul, I. |
| Phageh | Burmah, I. |
| Phaggee | Jeypour, I. |
| Phajudee | Bhotan, I. |
| Phaliah | Punjab, I. |
| Phajamow | Allahabad, I. |
| Phenchoogunje | Silhet, I. |
| Phillour | Punjab, I. |
| Phirandee | Cutch, I. |
| Phoah | Umballa, I. |
| Phobooto | Amherst, I. |
| Phokanuh | India. |
| Phool | Sirhind, I. |
| Phoolmurry | Hyderabad, I. |
| Phoolpoor | Allahabad, I. |
| Phoolthamba | Ahmednuggur, I |
| Phooltula | Jessore, I. |
| Phoolwaree | Patna, I. |
| Phoonda | Kolapoor, I. |
| Phugwara | Punjab, I. |
| Phulowdee | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Phulsoond | ——— |
| Phultun | Phultun, I. |
| Phulung | Bhotan, I. |
| Phumara | Scinde, I. |
| Phursabaha | Jushpoor, I. |
| Phyria | Nepaul, I. |
| Pichaouree | India. |
| Pichore | Gwalior, I. |
| Pickalow | Cuttack, I. |
| Pilleebheet | Bareilly, I. |
| Pillitch | India. |
| Pilowda | Jeypoor, I. |
| Pimpulgaum | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Pimpulnier | Khandeish, I. |
| Pinahit | Agra, I. |
| Pinaya | Cashmere, I. |
| Pindee Puthan | Punjab, I. |
| Pindraee | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Pinjor | Sirhind, I. |
| Pipcha | Cashmere, I. |
| Pipera | Bundelcund, I. |
| Piperenda | Banda, I. |
| Piplaye | Jeypoor, I. |
| Piprah | Sultanpoor, I. |
| Pirkee | Sohagpoor, I. |
| Piseeny | Hyderabad, I. |
| Pitland | Indore, I. |
| Pitoria | Saugor, I. |
| Plassey | Purneah, I. |
| Plassy | Nuddea, I. |
| Plympton | W. Canada. |
| Podychaid | Hyderabad, I. |
| Pogulapully | |
| Pohonee | Nagpoor, I |
| Pohur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Pokhurn | India. |
| Pokur | Ajmere, I. |
| Polachy | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Polair | Jeypoor, I. |
| Polawurum | Rajahmundry, I. |
| Pole | Guzerat, I. |
| Polekul | Bellary, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Polenshaw | Hyderabad, I. |
| Pollasurra | India. |
| Polliam | Hyderabad, I. |
| Polloor | N. Arcot, I. |
| Poly | Victoria. |
| Pomoorna | Nagpoor, I. |
| Ponany | Malabar, I. |
| Ponda | Goa, I. |
| Pondaluria | Nagpoor, I. |
| Pondicherry | S. Arcot, I. |
| Pondua | Silhet, I. |
| Ponga | Rungpoor, I. |
| Ponputta | India. |
| Ponwar | Shahabad, I. |
| Poobthul | Burdwan, I. |
| Poodoocottah, C. | India. |
| Poogy Sawur | Bombay, I. |
| Pookhraen | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Poolalcherroo | Cuddapah, I. |
| Poolavlarindla | ——— |
| Poolbady | Jeypoor, I. |
| Poonahanah | Goorgaon, I. |
| Poonakullo | Hyderabad, I. |
| Poonamallee | Chingleput, I. |
| Poonassa | Gwalior, I. |
| Poong | Amherst, I. |
| Poonitu | Travancore, I. |
| Poonoo | Scinde, I. |
| Poopree | Tirhoot, I. |
| Poor | Muzuffernug-ger, I. |
| Poorah | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Pooraiouh | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Pooranda | Purneah, I. |
| Pooranum | Punjab, I. |
| Poorbunder | Guzerat, I. |
| Poormah | Nagpoor, I. |
| Poorogaon | N. Cachar, I. |
| Poorsa | India. |
| Poorungurh | Rutnageriah, I. |
| Pooruapoor | Shahjehanpoor, I |
| Poorwa | Bundelcund, I. |
| Poorwah | Oude, I. |
| Poosa | Tirhoot, I. |
| Poot | Tavoy, I. |
| Pooth | Meerut, I. |
| Pootlee | Ulwar, I. |
| Pootoray | Travancore, I. |
| Poottoor | India. |
| Poporyn | Ceylon, I. |
| Porakady | Malabar, I. |
| Porenaumla | Cuddapah, I. |
| Porka | Travancore, I. |
| Porto Novo | India. |
| Potal | ——— |
| Potalputtoo | N. Arcot, I. |
| Poudellah | Nellore, I. |
| Pounnaly | India. |
| Powaeen | Shahjehanpoor, I. |
| Powangurh | Guzerat, I. |
| Powar | Poonah, I. |
| Pownar | Nagpoor, I. |
| Powree | Gwalior, I. |
| Powti | Bijnour, I. |
| Powungurh | Kolapoor, I. |
| Praigpoor | Jeypoor, I. |
| Preston | W. Canada. |
| Prome | Pegu, I. |
| Promna | Amherst, I. |
| Pruchitgurh | Sawuntwarree, I. |
| Pubna | Bengal, I. |
| Puccole | Mymunsing, I. |
| Puchbudra | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Puchewar | Jeypoor, I. |
| Puckerpoor | Oude, I. |
| Puckha Bhoota | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Pudapaddy | Malabar, I. |
| Puddooa | Hooghly, I. |
| Puddow | Tavoy, I |
| Pudree | Scinde, I. |
| Pudrownan | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Puggur | Ramghur, I. |
| Pughrookhee | Behar, I. |
| Puhasoo | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Puhpoond | Etawah, I. |
| Pukhura | Nepaul, I. |
| Pulana | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Pulanti | Nepaul, I. |
| Pulicat | Chingleput, I. |
| Pulladum | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Pullagoo | Tavoy, I. |
| Pullamputti | Trichinopoly, I. |
| Pullanamairee | N. Arcot, I. |
| Pullea | Oude, I. |
| Pulleapooram | Travancore, I. |
| Pullee | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Pullchra | Tehree, I. |
| Pullipatti | Salem, I. |
| Pullok | Tavoy, I. |
| Pullow | Mergui, I. |
| Pullusghur | Nagpoor, I. |
| Pullycoot | Malabar, I. |
| Pulney | Madura, I. |
| Pulusgaon | N. Arcot, I. |
| Pulwul | Goorgaon, I. |
| Punakha | Bhotan, I. |
| Punamurthcotah | Malabar, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Punassa | Allahabad, I. |
| Punch | Punjab, I. |
| Punderpoor | Bombay, I. |
| Pundookesur | Gurhwal, I. |
| Punganore | Cuddapah, I. |
| Puniar | Gwalior I. |
| Punkeemath | Gurhwal, I. |
| Punnaghur | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Punnah | Bundelcund, I. |
| Punnecoil | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Punneeala | Punjab, I. |
| Punnoh | Bhurtpoor, I. |
| Punta Deyra | Scinde, I. |
| Punwar | Jeypoor, I. |
| Punwaree | Humeerpoor, I. |
| Purai | Oude, I. |
| Purbanee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Purgy | ——— |
| Purkundee | Gurhwal, I. |
| Purlah Kemedy | Orissa, I. |
| Purley | Hyderabad, I. |
| Purmutty | Salem, I. |
| Purneah | Bengal, I. |
| Purrainder | Hyderabad, I. |
| Purrauntaje | Kaira, I. |
| Purraur | Travancore, I. |
| Purrooa | Maldah, I. |
| Pursa | Sarun, I. |
| Pursoee | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Pursur | Guzerat, I |
| Portabghur | India. |
| ——— | Oude, I. |
| Purtoor | Hyderabad, I |
| Purtyall | Guntoor, I. |
| Purusgaon | Berar, I. |
| Pusgaw | Oude, I. |
| Putchpahar | Jhalawar, I. |
| Putehur | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Puthona | Allahabad, I. |
| Puthurria | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Putjirwa | Sarun, I. |
| Putneetola | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Putpurgunj | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Putra | Berar, I. |
| Putruhut | Sohawul, I. |
| Putseen | Rajeshahye, I. |
| Puttacotte | Tanjore, I. |
| Putta Hat | Bulloah, I. |
| Puttanaparam | Travancore, I. |
| Puttary | Rewah, I. |
| Putteeala | Sirhind, I. |
| Putteealee | Furruckabad, I. |
| Putteeram | Bengal, I. |
| Puttun | Guzerat, I. |
| Puttuncheroo | Hyderabad, I. |
| Puwye | Punnah, I. |
| Pyena | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Pyga | Moradabad, I. |
| Pykhia | Mergui, I |
| Pykowlee | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Pylady | N. Arcot, I. |
| Pylanee | Banda, I. |
| Pyng | Burmah, I. |
| Pytow | Hyderabad, I. |
| QUABUR SHAKWALA | N. W. Prov., I. |
| Quebec, C. | E. Canada. |
| Queensbury | New Brunswick. |
| Quilon | India. |
| ——— | Travancore, I. |
| RAAT | Humeerpoor, I. |
| Rabatto | Gozo, I. |
| Racherry | Hyderabad, I. |
| Rachol | Goa, I. |
| Rachur | Guntoor, I. |
| Rackee | Punjab, I. |
| Rackling | Sikhim, I. |
| Radhunpoor | Guzerat, I. |
| Raeebag | Belgaum, I. |
| Raeganj | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Raekote | Sirhind, I. |
| Raepoor | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Ragavapooram | Masulipatam, I. |
| Ragoughur | Gwalior, I. |
| Ragoonauthpoor | |
| Raha | Nowgong, I. |
| Rahatab | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Rahlai | Agra, I. |
| Rahooree | Ahmednuggur, I |
| Rahun | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Rahygauw | Nepaul, I. |
| Raichao | Jhalawar, I. |
| Raichoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Raidroog | Bellary, I. |
| Raidu | Chota Nagpoor, I. |
| Raipoor | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Rajabeta | Beerbhoom, I. |
| Rajahat | Bengal, I. |
| Rajah Bell | Punjab, I. |
| Rajahmundry | N. Canara, I. |
| ——— | Madras, I. |
| Rajahpolliam | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Rajahpoor | Oude, I. |
| Rajakhaira | Dholpoor, I. |
| Rajam | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Rajaori | Punjab, I. |
| Rajapoor | Bombay, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Rajapore | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Rajarampore | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Rajaura | Agra, I. |
| Rajbarree | Cuttack, I. |
| Rajepoorah | Sirhind, I. |
| Rajgeer | Behar, I. |
| Rajghur | Guzerat, I. |
| Rajgur | Baghelcund, I. |
| Rajgurh | Alwar, I. |
| ——— | Bikanere, I. |
| Rajhpoor | Alwar, I. |
| Rajkote | Guzerat, I. |
| Rajmahal | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Rajnuggur | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Rajnugur | Bundelcund, I. |
| Rajookonddu | Hyderabad, I. |
| Rajoora | |
| Rajoorg | ——— |
| Rajpeepla | Guzerat, I. |
| Rajpeeta | Pachete, I. |
| Rajpoor | Malwa, I. |
| Rajpoora | Bikanere, I. |
| Rajula | Guzerat, I. |
| Rajuldesur | Bikanere, I. |
| Rajumpett | Hyderabad, I. |
| Rajunpour | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Rajur | India. |
| Rakba | Nepaul, I. |
| Rakishboon | Hyderabad, I. |
| Rala | Arracan, I. |
| Raleigaon | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ralhoopoor | Benares, I. |
| Rama | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Ramagiri | Mysore, I. |
| Rambudrapoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ramdoorg | Bombay, I. |
| Ramghat | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Ramgherry | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ramgunje | Bulloah, I. |
| Ramgur | Nagpoor, I. |
| Ramgurh | Bengal, I. |
| Ramgurrah | Bundelcund, I. |
| Ramjundah | Palamow, I. |
| Ramkola | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Rammagherry | Madura, I. |
| Rammesswur | Pooree, I. |
| Ramnad | Madura, I. |
| Ramnaghur | Oude, I. |
| Ramnagur | Nuddea, I. |
| Ramneghur | Punjab, I. |
| Ramnuggur | Cashmere, I. |
| ——— | Sarun, I. |
| Ramnugur | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Ramoo | Chittagong, I. |
| ——— Serai | Cashmere, I. |
| Rampoor | Saharunpoor, I. |
| ——— | Muttra, I. |
| ——— | Saharunpoor, I. |
| ——— | Rohilcund, I. |
| Rampoora | Indore, I. |
| ——— | Rajpootana, I. |
| ——— | India |
| Rampooree | Bijnour, I. |
| Rampora | Gwalior, I. |
| Rampore | Jounpoor, I. |
| Ramree | Arracan, I. |
| Ramsahgaon | Assam, I. |
| Ramteak | Nagpoor, I. |
| Ramureddypet | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ranausun | Guzerat, I. |
| Ranee Godown | Assam, I. |
| Raneegunge | Bancoora, I. |
| Raneepoor | Azimghur, I. |
| Raneesuoker | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Raneh Bednore | Dharwar, I. |
| Rangamuttee | Chittagong, I. |
| Rangna | Sawuntwarre, I. |
| Rangoon | Pegu, I. |
| Rangouttee | Bengal, I. |
| Ranigat | Punjab, I. |
| Ranighat | Nuddea, I. |
| Ranjitpura | Bainswara, I. |
| Ranjungaum | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Ranka | Palamow, I. |
| Ranmutsh | Nepaul, I. |
| Ranod | Gwalior, I. |
| Ranskandy | S. Cachar, I. |
| Raomaka Bazar | Hyderabad, I. |
| Raotsir | India. |
| Raseen | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Rashmee | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Rasoory | Hyderabad, I. |
| Ratgurh | India. |
| Ratnapoora | Ceylon, I. |
| Raucheria | Madras, I. |
| Raujgurh | Kotah, I. |
| Raunpoor | Ahmedabad, I. |
| ——— | Guzerat, I. |
| Raurah | Nepaul, I. |
| Raus | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Raushpooram | Salem, I. |
| Raver | Khandeish, I. |
| Ravoor | Nellore, I. |
| Ravypaud | Cuddapah, I. |
| Rawah | Gwalior, I. |
| Rawdon | W. Canada. |
| Rawducoonda | India. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Rawul Pinde | Punjab, I. |
| Rawutsir | Hyderabad, I. |
| Rayuh | Muttra, I. |
| Redanoh | India. |
| Reean | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Reega | Assam, I. |
| Regowlee | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Regulavalasa | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Rehelu | Punjab, I. |
| Rehli | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Rehly | Oude, I. |
| Reinwal | Jeypoor, I. |
| Relli | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Remrah | Phooljer, I. |
| Renee | Bikanere, I. |
| Rentichota | Ganjam, I. |
| Reotee | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Reoteepoor | —— |
| Repalle | Guntoor, I. |
| Rerighat | B. N. America. |
| Revelgunje | Sarun, I. |
| Rewah, C. | India. |
| —— | —— |
| Rewaree | Goorgaon, I. |
| Riasi | Cashmere, I. |
| Richah | Pilleebheet, I. |
| Ringnod | Malwa, I. |
| Rinjakhar | India. |
| Risborough | E. Canada. |
| Rixi | Palamow, I. |
| Robkrie | India. |
| Roh | Behar, I. |
| Roha | Cutch, I. |
| Rohera | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Rohtuk | Delhi, I. |
| Rohunpore | Rajeshahye, I. |
| Roir Bazar | Pooree, I. |
| Rojan | Shikarpoor, I. |
| Rolagaon | Malwa, I. |
| Rolpah | Nepaul, I. |
| Roodhamow | Oude, I. |
| Roodrar | Cuddapah, I. |
| Roodurpoor | ChotaNagpoor, I. |
| Roopgunge | Dacca, I. |
| Roopgurh | Jeypoor, I. |
| Roopnugur | Kishengurh, I. |
| Roopsee | Jessulmere I. |
| Roorkee | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Ropur | B. N. America. |
| Roree | Guernsey. |
| —— Neer Shah | —— |
| Rosean | W. Indies. |
| Roshunabad | S. Australia. |
| Rotas | Punjab, I. |
| Rowrah | Ahmednuggur, I |
| Rowsura | Tirhoot, I. |
| Roxakandee | Jessore, I. |
| Royacottah | Salem, I. |
| Roy Bareilly | Bainswara, I. |
| Roybugga | Gangpoor, I. |
| Roychanga | Cooch Behar, I. |
| Ruatan | Central America |
| Ruboopoora | Bolundshuhur, I |
| Rudauli | Oude, I. |
| Rudlegunj | Rungpoor, I. |
| Rudowlee | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Rugonathgurh | Jeypoor, I. |
| Ruheempoor | Goorgaon, I. |
| Rujla | Malwa, I. |
| Rujora | Dholpoor, I. |
| Rumaluh | Meerut, I. |
| Rumyeepoor | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Runeea | —— |
| Rungagoora | Muttuck, I. |
| Rungamuttee | Goalpara, I. |
| Rungapoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Rungasamoodra | Cuddapah, I. |
| Rungelpoor | Punjab, I. |
| Rungpoor | Bengal, I. |
| Runjan | Chittagong, I. |
| Rupbas | Bhurtpoor, I. |
| Rusareh | Ghazeepore, I. |
| Ruskoond | Midnapoor, I. |
| Rusoolabad | Furruckabad, I. |
| Russareh | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Russelkondah | Ganjam, I. |
| Russellawala | Punjab, I. |
| Russoolabad | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Russoolpoor | Behar, I. |
| Rutbhanpoor | Mynpooree, I. |
| Ruthowruh | Meerut, I. |
| Rutlam | Malwa, I. |
| Rutnagherry | Bombay, I. |
| Rutser | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Rutteca | Hurriana, I. |
| Ruttungunje | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Ruttunpoor | Oude, I. |
| Ruttursaw | Purneah, I. |
| Rutungurh | Bikanere, I. |
| Rutunjun | Sholapoor, I. |
| Rutwul | Sarun, I. |
| Ruxam | Goalpara, I. |
| Ryaguddah | Jeypoor, I. |
| Ryalpettah | Cuddapah, I. |
| Byepoor | Nagpoor, I. |
| Rykwara | Oocheyra, I. |
| Rypoor | Baghelcund, I. |
| Rypora | Bundelcund, I. |
| Saawan | Gwalior, I. |
| Sabalgurh | —— |
| Sabar | Dacca, I. |
| Sabbayea | Burmah, I. |
| Sackekameng | Muneepoor, I. |
| Sacrapatam | Mysore, I. |
| Sacun | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Sadeepoor | Banda, I. |
| Sadoolapoor | Rungpoor, I. |
| Sadras | Chingleput, I. |
| Sael | Nagpoor, I. |
| Saenugurh | Bundelcund, I. |
| Safapoor | Cashmere, I. |
| Saftibaree | Rungpoor, I. |
| Sagor | Indore, I. |
| Sahangurra | Nagpoor, I. |
| Sahduree | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Saheb Gunj | Tirhoot, I. |
| Saheewal | Punjab, I. |
| Sahganj | Oude, I. |
| Sahjadpur | Aldeman, I. |
| Sah Khas | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Sahlaydan | Pegu, I. |
| Sahunpoor | Bijnour, I. |
| Sahuspoor | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Saidabad | Muttra, I. |
| Saint Thome | Chingleput, I. |
| Saipoor | Rewah, I. |
| Sajapoor | Bundelcund, I. |
| Sakkeymoun | Pegu, I. |
| Sakoon | Jeypoor, I. |
| Sakoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Sakum | Punjab, I. |
| Salagram | Mysore, I. |
| Salaon | Salaon, I. |
| Salby | Gwalior, I. |
| Saleehatta | Bengal, I. |
| Salem | Madras, I. |
| Salhana | Shikarpoor, I. |
| Sallymaun | India. |
| SalmooraKapalee | Nepaul, I. |
| Salpee Ghat | Sattara, I. |
| Salsee | Rutnageriah, I. |
| Salsette | Bombay, I. |
| Salur | Vizagapatam, I |
| Samana | Sirhind, I. |
| Samanugur | Silhet, I. |
| Sambham | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Samhrani | N. Canara, I. |
| Sambul | Cashmere, I. |
| Samer | Gwalior, I. |
| Samot | Jeypore, I. |
| Samra | Agra, I. |
| Samulcottah | Rajahmundry, I. |
| Sanah | Mongheir, I. |
| Sandah | Patna, I. |
| Sandaira | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Sandi | Oude, I. |
| Sandoway | Arracan, I. |
| Sandwa | Bikanere, I. |
| Sandwich | W. Canada. |
| Sangamoolasa | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Sanganeer | Oodeypoor, I. |
| —— | Jeypoor, I. |
| Sangawara | Bainswara, I. |
| Sangim | Goa, I. |
| Sangod | Kotah, I. |
| Sangola | Sattara, I. |
| Sangolee | Belgaum, I. |
| Sangrool | Kolapoor, I. |
| Sanichara | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Sankerry Droog | Salem, I. |
| Santipore | India. |
| Santoo | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Saonkeira | Guzerat, I. |
| Sape | Bhotan, I. |
| Sarahun | India. |
| Sarangpoor | Aldeman, I. |
| Saraoon | Bhutteeana, I. |
| Sarawah | Pegu, I. |
| Sarendi | Oude, I. |
| Sargaum | Concan, I. |
| Sarh | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Sarhat | Beerbhoom, I. |
| Sarhindi | Agra, I. |
| Sarhull | Jhalawar, I. |
| Sarserree | Belgaum, I. |
| Sarunghur | Sarunghur, I. |
| Sarungkot | Punjab, I. |
| Sarungpoor | Malwa, I. |
| Sarwapalli | Nellore, I. |
| Sarwur | Sattara, I. |
| Sasookha | Bhotan, I. |
| Sasoorahully | Mysore, I. |
| Saspanee | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Sasran | Gwalior, I. |
| Sasseram | Shahabad, I. |
| Sassoor | Poonah, I. |
| Sasunee | Allyghur, I. |
| Satahung | Nepaul, I. |
| Satak | Cashmere, I. |
| Satheeka | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Sathwaly | Hyderabad, I. |
| Satighat | Nepaul, I. |
| Satkoonea | Chittagong, I. |
| Satpoora | Indore, I. |
| Sattara | Bombay, I. |
| Sattavade | India. |
| Sattenapatti | Guntoor, I. |
| Sattigamongalam | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Sauckra | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Sauderveil | Bombay, I. |
| Saueela | Guzerat, I. |
| Saugor | India. |
| Saumund | Ahmedabad, I. |
| Saungi | Sultanpoor, I. |
| Sautnair | Baitool, I. |
| Sauturra | Nagpoor, I. |
| Savanoor | Dharwar, I. |
| Savantancutta | Mysore, I. |
| Sawa | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Sawarj | Ajmere, I. |
| Sawnair | Nagpoor, I. |
| Sawottee | Burmah, I. |
| Sawuntgurh | Boondee, I. |
| Sawuntwarree | Bombay, I. |
| Sawurde | Rutnageriah, I. |
| Sawurgaum | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Saygewun | Hyderabad, I. |
| Scripero | Ionian Islands. |
| Sealkote | Punjab, I. |
| Seatakoond | Sarun, I. |
| Seba | B. Guayana. |
| Sebbean | Burmah, I. |
| Secrole | Benares, I. |
| Secundera | Jeypoor, I. |
| Secunderabad | Hyderabad, I. |
| Secunderpoor | Azimghur, I. |
| Sedashevaghur | N. Canara, I. |
| Seealpunt | Kumaon, I. |
| Seeanuh | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Seebgunje | Bengal, I. |
| Seebpoor | Midnapoor, I. |
| Seebsagur | Assam, I. |
| Seedum | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Seeinghou | Burmah, I. |
| Seekar | Shekawuttee, I. |
| Seekree | Budaon, I. |
| Seeldhurumpore | Assam, I. |
| Seepah | Sarun, I. |
| Seepow | Dholpoor, I. |
| Seerampoor | Orissa, I. |
| Seerhuttee | Sanglee, I. |
| Seermow | Bhopal, I. |
| Seerpahdee | Mohurbunge, I. |
| Seerpoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Seerpore | Bengal, I. |
| Seersoondee | Nagpoor, I. |
| Seetabubdee | |
| Seeta Mow | Malwa, I. |
| Seewana | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Segaon | Nagpoor, I. |
| Segor Gunge | Rampoor, I. |
| Segowlee | Sarun, I. |
| Sehar | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Sehmbill | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Sehoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Sehore | Ahmedabad, I. |
| Sehra | Cashmere, I. |
| Sehuree | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Sehwan | Scinde, I. |
| Seilgomna | Korea, I. |
| Seirsa | Midnapoor, I |
| Sekaygahdo | Burmah, I. |
| Sekkaybeen | Pegu, I. |
| Seksura | Nepaul, I. |
| Sekundra | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Selimabad | Burdwan, I. |
| Selleegoree | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Selon | Oude, I. |
| Semara | Nepaul, I. |
| Semarreea | Nagpoor, I. |
| Sembew Ghewn | Burmah, I. |
| Semkur | E. India. |
| Semowlee | Gwalior, I. |
| Semulbaree | Purneah, I. |
| Sendhat | Burmah, I. |
| Senee | Bhotan, I. |
| Sentalgurh | Jeypoor, I. |
| Seogurh | Oude, I. |
| Seohara | Bijnour, I. |
| Seonda | Banda, I. |
| Seondara | Moradabad, I. |
| Sera | Mysore, I. |
| Seraeen | Cuttack, I. |
| Seral | Bundelcund, I. |
| Serampore | Hooghly, I. |
| Seran | Koonawur, I. |
| Serao | Gurhwal, I. |
| Sergoong | Bhotan, I. |
| Seriekala | Singbhoom, I. |
| Seringham | India. |
| Serohee | Rajpootana, I. |
| Seroncha | Hyderabad, I. |
| Seroor | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Serowlee | Bareilly, I. |
| Serraw | Guzerat, I. |
| Serruvial | Madura, I. |
| Serryah | Guzerat, I |
| Serumogay | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Serwa | Bundelcund, I. |
| Sessaruh | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Setapoor | Oude, I. |
| Seuni | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Sevur | India. |
| Sewar | Sarun, I. |
| Sewarra | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Sewehut | Allahabad, I. |
| Sewna | Poonah, I. |
| Sewnee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Sewungaon | —— |
| Sewunwarrah | Nagpoor, I. |
| Seyloo | —— |
| Seyrah | Guzerat, I. |
| Shadautpoor | Scinde, I. |
| Shadeeabad | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Shadipoor | Cashmere, I. |
| Shadowra | Gwalior, I. |
| Shagurh | W. Falkland. |
| Shahabad | Cashmere, I. |
| —— | Jhallowa, I. |
| Shah Alum | Punjab, I. |
| Shahapoor | Poonah, I. |
| Shahbazar | India. |
| Shahbazgarhi | Punjab, I. |
| Shahderah | Meerut, I. |
| Shahee | Bareilly, I. |
| Shahgarh | |
| Shahghur | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Shah Gunj | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Shahgurh | Bareilly, I. |
| Shahjehanpoor | Gwalior, I. |
| —— | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Shah Jumaul | Punjab, I. |
| Shahpoor | Allahabad, I. |
| —— | Belgaum, I. |
| Shahpoora | Jeypoor, I. |
| Shahpoorah | Ramghur, I. |
| Shahpoor Kubra | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Shahruh | Gwalior, I. |
| Shailgaon | Hyderabad, I. |
| Shairmadavy | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Shakapore | Scinde, I. |
| Shamghur | Mairwara, I. |
| Shamlee | Muzuffernugger, I. |
| Shandamangalum | Salem, I. |
| Shaporah | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Shara | Cashmere, I. |
| Shargoda | Ganjam, I. |
| Shawcotta | Madura, I. |
| Shawpoor | Concan, I. |
| Shayak | Cashmere, I. |
| Shaylode | Malabar, I. |
| Shazadapoor | Allahabad, I. |
| Shazadpore | Oude, I. |
| Sheally | Tanjore, I. |
| Sheankra | Malwa, I. |
| Sheelganwa | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Sheemoga | Mysore, I. |
| Sheergurh | Muttra, I. |
| Sheerwul | Sattara, I. |
| Sheesgurh | Bareilly, I. |
| Sheikhbudeen | Punjab, I. |
| Sheikpoora | Mongheir, I |
| Shekoabad | Mynpooree, I. |
| Shekul | Madura, I. |
| Shencotta | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Sheo | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Sheogangunje | Jounpoor, I. |
| Sheopoor | Benares, I. |
| —— Dear | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Sheopore | Benares, I. |
| Sheorajpoor | India |
| Sheradone | W. Africa. |
| Sherecote | Bijnour, I. |
| Sheregurh | Bareilly, I. |
| Sherghotty | Behar, I. |
| Shergurh | Jeypoor, I. |
| Shettykaira | Mysore, I. |
| Shevagunga | Madura, I. |
| Shevly | Hyderabad, I |
| Shewe Zuto | Burmah, I. |
| Shewhur | Sarun, I. |
| Shewlie | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Shikarpoor | Mysore, I. |
| Shinge | N. Brunswick. |
| Shipkee | —— |
| Shiptool | W. Canada. |
| Shittabgurh | —— |
| Shivilputur | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Shoedown | Pegu, I. |
| Sholanghur | N. Arcot, I. |
| Sholapadi | Salem, I. |
| Sholapore | Bombay, I. |
| Sholavandan | Madura, I. |
| Shoogoong | E. India. |
| Shoojul | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Shook | India. |
| Shookrabad | Cashmere, I. |
| Shore Kote | Punjab, I. |
| Shoron | Muzuffernugger, I. |
| Shoylagoody | Madura, I. |
| Shuhernagherry | Orissa, I. |
| Shubkudir | Punjab, I. |
| Shuhur | Jeypoor, I. |
| Shujaganj | Oude, I. |
| Shujanpoor | Punjab, I. |

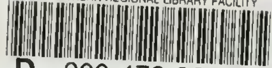
| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Shukurpoor | Meerut, I. |
| Shumsabad | Gwalior, I. |
| Shumsgurh | Malwa, I. |
| Shumshabad | Furruckabad, I. |
| Shumshur Nuggur | Behar, I. |
| Shunkernacoil | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Shuntapa | ——— |
| Shupien | Cashmere, I. |
| Shureeare | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Shushabad | Agra, I. |
| Shwaygeen | Pegu, I. |
| Sianeygua | Tavoy, I. |
| Siapri | Nepaul, I. |
| Sickindrabad | India. |
| Siddapoor | N. Canara, I. |
| Sidham | Sirhind, I. |
| Sidhout | Cuddapah, I. |
| Sidhpoor | Guzerat, I. |
| Sidowra | Sirhind, I. |
| Sierra Leone | W. Africa. |
| Sikbur | India. |
| Siklebun | Nepaul, I. |
| Sikree | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Sikreegulee | Purneah, I. |
| Sikri | Goorgaon, I. |
| Sikunderpoor | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Sikundrabad | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Sikundrarow | Allyghur, I. |
| Sikwadaroa | Nepaul, I |
| Silchar | S. Cachar, I. |
| Sildah | India. |
| Silhet | Bengal, I. |
| Sillay Mew | Burmah, I. |
| Sillee | Chota Nagpoor, I. |
| Simbolong | E. India. |
| Simbra | India. |
| Simireeah | Rewah, I. |
| Simonbong | Darjeeling, I. |
| Simond's Bay Tn. | C. of Good Hope. |
| Simong | E India. |
| Simongelpoor | Silhet, I. |
| Simoolbaria | India. |
| Simownee | Banda, I. |
| Simrabas | Nepaul, I. |
| Simrauta | Salon, I. |
| Simraw | Nepaul, I. |
| Simree | Behar, I. |
| Simtoka | Bhotan, I. |
| Simulea | Dacca, I. |
| Sinawud | Indore, I. |
| Sindoornee | Kandeish, I. |
| Sindrapa | Bengal, I. |
| Sindree | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Sindunoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Sindwah | N. W. Prov., I. |
| Singapore | Jeypoor, I. |
| Singareny | Hyderabad, I. |
| Singarpoor | Sarun, I. |
| Singarupatti | Salem, I. |
| Singawala | Sirhind, I. |
| Singgah | Tirhoot, I. |
| Singha | Shahjehanpoor, I |
| Singhana | Shekawuttee, I. |
| Singheasur | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Singhpoor | Sohagpoor, I, |
| Singinaree | Goalpara, I. |
| Singon | Indore, I. |
| Singora | Phooljer, I. |
| Singowlee | Oodeypoor, I. |
| Singpoor | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Singramow | Jounpoor, I. |
| Singrour | Allahabad, I. |
| Singrowlee, C. | Rewah, I. |
| Singwaruh | Sohagpoor, I. |
| Singy | Oude, I. |
| Sinkhaid | Hyderabad, I. |
| Sinmur | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Siparia | W Indies. |
| Sippree | Gwalior, I. |
| Sira | Punjab, I. |
| Sirawur | Meerut, I. |
| Sirci | N Canara, I. |
| Sirdhana | Meerut, I. |
| Sirdhurpoor | Oude, I. |
| Sirdilla | Behar, I. |
| Sireenuggur | Gurhwal, I. |
| Sireenugur | Ajmere, I. |
| Sirey | Allahabad, I. |
| Sirgoojahraj | India. |
| Sirhind | Patiala, I. |
| Sirinagur | Cashmere, I. |
| Sirkun Fort | Gurhwal, I. |
| Sironj | Malwa, I. |
| Sirote | Jeypoor, I. |
| Sirpoor | Kandeish, I. |
| Sirpooruk | Mynpooree, I. |
| Sirrinuggur | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Sirsalla | Hyderabad, I. |
| Sirsawa | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Sirsee | Moradabad, I. |
| Sirseeah | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Sirsoo | ——— |
| Sirsoul | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Sirsza | Agra, I. |
| Sissandy | Oude, I. |
| Sissery | Bainswara, I. |
| Sitlah | Bancoora, I. |
| Sitoonda | Hyderabad, I. |
| Sittang | Burmah, I. |
| Sivaganga | Mysore, I. |
| Siwanee | Hissar, I. |
| Slickeealee | Punjab, I. |
| Soamwarpett | Coorg, I. |
| Soangier | Khandeish, I. |
| Sobadah | N. Cachar, I. |
| Soborah | Scinde, I. |
| Sofahun | Cashmere, I. |
| Sogam | ——— |
| Sohagpoor | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Sohawul | ——— |
| Sohola | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Sohroh | Cuttack, I. |
| Sohureea | Sarun, I. |
| Solagerry | Salem, I. |
| Solegong | Hyderabad, I. |
| Somanhully | Mysore, I. |
| Somawarrum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Someesir | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Somieegool | Muneepoor, I. |
| Somnagary | Allyghur, I. |
| Somnath Pattan | Guzerat, I. |
| Somura | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Sonadah | Nuddea, I. |
| Sonaee | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Sonahaut | Chota Nagpoor, I. |
| Sonakhoda | Purneah, I. |
| Sonamgunje | Silhet, I. |
| Sonapusse | Mohurbunge, I. |
| Sonara | Indore, I. |
| Sonegee | Muttra, I. |
| Sonegurh | Guzerat, I. |
| Sonepoor | Bengal, I. |
| Soneyra | Gwalior, I. |
| Songdee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Sonhat | Bengal, I. |
| Sonk | India. |
| Sonkutch | Gwalior, I. |
| Sonnel | ——— |
| Sonoree | Bundelcund, I. |
| Sonuh | Goorgaon, I. |
| Sonund | Sattara, I. |
| Soobhagdesur | Bikanere, I. |
| Soobramunny | S. Canara, I. |
| Sooganhully | Bellary, I. |
| Soojabad | Punjab, I. |
| Sookly | Hyderabad, I. |
| Sooksagur | Bengal, I. |
| Sooleeay | S. Canara, I. |
| Soolgauna | India. |
| Sooloon | Mysore, I. |
| Soolpan Mahadeo | Khandeish, I. |
| Sooltanpoor | ——— |
| Soomairpoor | Humeerpoor, I. |
| Soonamookee | Bancoora, I. |
| Soona Mudan | Nepaul, I. |
| Soonda | N. Canara, I. |
| Soonderpoor | Silhet, I. |
| Soondicoopa | Mysore, I. |
| Soondra | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Soondrapandy-patam | Madura, I. |
| Soondursee | Malwa, I. |
| Soondy | Nellore, I. |
| Sooput | Paniput, I. |
| Soopa | N. Canara, I. |
| Soopehj | Poonah, I. |
| Soopole | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Sooradah | Ganjam, I. |
| Soorajgung | Mymunsing, I. |
| Soorajgurh | Mongheir, I. |
| Soorauna | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Sooroodongur | Nagpoor, I. |
| Soorow | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Soorsah | Oude, I. |
| Soorujgurh | Hindoor, I. |
| Soorujpoore | Bundelcund, I. |
| Soorutgurh | India. |
| Soosneer | Gwalior, I. |
| Sootee | Moorshedabad, I. |
| Sooupour | Nagpoor, I. |
| Sopur | Cashmere, I. |
| Soraon | Allahabad, I. |
| Sorawn | ——— |
| Soron | Budaon, I. |
| Soruba | Mysore, I. |
| Sosilla. | |
| Soteh | Muneepoor, I. |
| Soudapully | Cuddapah, I. |
| Sounda | Bundelcund, I. |
| Soundoor | Bellary, I. |
| Sourujpoor | Nepaul, I. |
| Sousa | Muttra, I. |
| Sowda | Khandeish, I. |
| Sowleegurh | N.W. Prov., I |
| Sownee | ——— |
| Sowrick | Furruckabad, I. |
| Spanzeek | Burmah, I. |
| Srigarth | Punjab, I. |
| Srinugur | Bundelcund, I. |
| Sriramapuram | Vizagapatam, I |
| Streemuntgurh | Sanglee, I. |
| StreevyGoondum | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Strimustrum | S. Arcot, I. |
| Subbulgarh | Bijnour, I. |
| Subulka Saraee | Delhi, I. |
| Subzulcote | Bhawulpoor, I. |
| Suchana | Guzerat, I. |
| Sucheen | Bombay, I. |
| Suchendee | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Suddasheepet | Hyderabad, I. |
| Sudiya | Assam, I. |
| Sudjun | Concan, I. |
| Sufdarganj | Oude, I. |
| Suffeedun | Sirhind, I. |
| Sugen | Bamra, I. |
| Suggur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Sugree | Azimghur, I. |
| Suhar | Muttra, I. |
| Suharunpore | N. W. Prov., I. |
| Suhawar | Mynpooree, I. |
| Suheela | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Suhespoor | Bijnour, I. |
| Suhespoora | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Suhpoo | Muttra, I. |
| Suhuswan | Budaon, I. |
| Sukeet | Mynpooree, I. |
| Sukkund | Hyderabad, I. |
| Sukkur | Scinde, I. |
| Sukraneh | Furruckabad, I. |
| Sukreea | Shahabad, I. |
| Sukrouduh | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Sukuldeah | Benares, I. |
| Sukutpoor | Furruckabad, I. |
| Sulana | Indore, I. |
| Sule | Cashmere, I. |
| Sulempoor | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Suleympoor | Budaon, I. |
| Sullan | Punjab, I. |
| Suloombur | Mewar, I. |
| Sultangunj | Oude, I. |
| Sultankhanwala | Sirhind, I. |
| Sultanpoor | Oude, I. |
| ——Sivala | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Sultanpore | India. |
| Sultanwah Gam | Jussulmere, I. |
| Sumbalkah | Paniput, I. |
| Sumbhul | Moradabad, I. |
| Sumbulheruh | Muzuffernuggur, I. |
| Sumbulpoor | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Sumdun | Furruckabad, I. |
| Sumjok | Burmah, I. |
| Summahu | ——— |
| Summee | Guzerat, I. |
| Summei-Koum | Burmah, I. |
| Sumnapoor | Nagpoor, I. |
| Sumoduttee | Belgaum, I. |
| Sunassee Cottah | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Sundella | Oude, I. |
| Sunderbunds, C. | Bengal, I. |
| Sundlee | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Sundleepoor | Indore, I. |
| Suneh | Salon, I. |
| Suneerampoor | Tiperah, I. |
| Sungla | Koonawar, I. |
| Sungnum | Bussahir, I. |
| Sungum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Sungumeshwar | Rutnageriah, I. |
| Sungumneir | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Sunja | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Sunjait | Malwa, I. |
| Sunjulee | Purneah, I. |
| Sunout | Behar, I. |
| Sunpoor | Ramghur, I. |
| Sunta | Sirhind, I. |
| Suntour Gurh | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Sunwarra | ——— |
| Supuhee | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Suragong | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Suraja | Punjab, I. |
| Surajpoor | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Surandee | Sarun, I. |
| Suranee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Surat | Bombay, I. |
| Surda | Rajishahye, I. |
| Surdhaur | Guzerat, I. |
| Surgong | Nagpoor, I. |
| Surgoor | Mysore, I. |
| Surhucheea | Tirhoot, I. |
| Surhud | Scinde, I. |
| Surkunda | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Surmalu | Nepaul, I. |
| Surmote | Cashmere, I. |
| Surrey Koudah | Hyderabad, I. |
| Surrool | Bheerbhoom, I. |
| Surrukpoor | Punjab, I. |
| Sursawa | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Surseea | Bengal, I. |
| Sursoda | Balasore, I. |
| Surtoona | Guzerat, I. |
| Surumnagar | Oude, I. |
| Surwannee Surae | Benares, I. |
| Surwar | Kishengurh, I. |
| Surwun | Malwa, I. |
| Susolar | Humeerpoor, I. |
| Susral | Punjab, I. |
| Suti | Cashmere, I. |
| Sutjora | Sarun, I. |
| Sutnas | Gwalior, I. |
| Suttai | Bundelcund, I. |
| Suttaluree | Backergunje, I. |
| Suttehgeeree | Belgaum, I. |
| Sutticul | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Sutulanu | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Sutwarah | Indore, I. |
| Swali | Surat, I. |
| Syara | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Sydabad | Allahabad, I. |
| Sydapoorum | Nellore, I. |
| Sydney | N. S. Wales. |
| Sydopre | B. N. America. |
| Syjerah | Punjab, I. |
| Symbramkum | Chingleput, I. |
| Syriam | Pegu, I. |
| Taakly | Hyderabad, I. |
| Tabulam | N. S. Wales. |
| Tahnoot | Kareal, I. |
| Tajpoor | Gwalior, I. |
| Tajul | Scinde, I. |
| Tak | Punjab, I. |
| Takal | ——— |
| Takally | Nagpoor, I. |
| Takam | Nepaul, I. |
| Takea | Silhet, I. |
| Takmhall | Hyderabad, I. |
| Takwarah | Punjab, I. |
| Talak | Arracan, I. |
| Talamanchi | Nellore, I. |
| Talcheer | Cuttack, I. |
| Talgram | Furruckabad, I. |
| Talikote | Sholapoor, I. |
| Talka Konee | Mirzapoor, I. |
| Talkhair | Hyderabad, I. |
| Talkonah | India. |
| Talkoondee | Bengal, I. |
| Tall | Malwa, I. |
| Tallaja | Guzerat, I. |
| Tallakad | Malabar, I. |
| Tallamalla | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Tallapoola | Cuddapah, I. |
| Talmonda | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Tamba | Sholapoor, I. |
| Tamoilah | Burraboom, I. |
| Tampee | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Tamsa | Hyderabad, I. |
| Tamworth | N. S. Wales. |
| Taubengoong | Burmah, I. |
| Taudauli | Aldeman. I. |
| Tandenky | Masulipatam, I. |
| Tandoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Tangalle | Ceylon, I. |
| Tangan | Bainswara, I. |
| Tangreah | Keunjur, I. |
| Tanjore | Madras, I. |
| Tanktsee | Cashmere, I. |
| Tanlady | Amherst, I. |
| Tannoor | Malabar, I. |
| Taooroo | Goorgaon, I. |
| Tapoo | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Taragurh | Punjab, I. |
| Tarakote | Cuttack, I. |
| Tarapoor | Concan, I. |
| Tarecher | Bundelcund, I. |
| Targaon | Sattara, I. |
| Tarkaghat | Nepaul, I. |
| Tarla | Sattara, I. |
| Taroli | Jhansee, I. |
| Taroor | India. |
| Tarsa | ——— |
| Tasgaon | Belgaum, I. |
| Tassangsee | Bhotan, I, |
| Tassisuden | |
| Tatta | Scinde, I. |
| Taudamurry | Bellary, I. |
| Taudapurtee | ——— |
| Taundia | Malwa, I. |
| Taungine | Amherst, I. |
| Taursa | India. |
| Tausrah | Kaira, I. |
| Tavoy | Tenasserim, I. |
| Tawurugerri | Hyderabad, I. |
| Tebbhee | India. |
| Tectova | Hyderabad, I. |
| Teegoola | ——— |
| Teekree | Meerut, I. |
| Teemba | Guzerat, I. |
| Teenjinna | India. |
| Teenmohonee | Jessore, I. |
| Teera | Punjab, I. |
| Teerah | Cutch, I. |
| Teeree | Gurhwal, I. |
| Teesgâum | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Teetaburhaut | Assam, I. |
| Teetlakot | Kumaon, I. |
| Teetroun | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Teghoor | Dharwar, I. |
| Tegra | Mongheir, I. |
| Tehara | Sirhind, I. |
| Teher | Punjab, I |
| Tehree | Bundelcund, I. |
| Teimboornee | Sholapoor, I. |
| Tekeah | Oude, I. |
| Tekerapurra | Jeypoor, I. |
| Tekkree | Malwa, I. |
| Tek Myoo | Arracan, I. |
| Tek Naaj | |
| Tellicherry | Malabar, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Teltaree | India. |
| Tenasserim | Bengal, I. |
| Tengericotta | Salem, I. |
| Tenterfield | N. S. Wales. |
| Teren Taren | Punjab, I. |
| Terepungthoray | Travancore, I. |
| Terha | Bainswara, I. |
| Terikot | Cashmere, I. |
| Terruvumpett | Madura, I. |
| Tewree | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Tezgong | Dacca, I. |
| Tezpore | Assam, I. |
| Thadgaon | Nagpoor, I. |
| Thair | Hyderabad, I. |
| Thakoor | Assam, I. |
| Thakoorwara | Moradabad, I. |
| Thalneir | Khandeish, I. |
| Thana Bashan | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Thanot | Jessulmere, I. |
| Theka Vullior | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Thellar | N. Arcot, I. |
| Thenkaushee | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Therai | Agra, I. |
| Thindooa | W. Falkland Ids. |
| Thoba | India. |
| Thobal | E India. |
| Thogaon | Nagpoor, I. |
| Thonghoo | Arracan, I. |
| Thoree | Nepaul, I. |
| Thorla | Tiperah, I. |
| Thouree | Oude, I. |
| Thulaseeree | Concan, I. |
| Thulindi | Bainswara, I. |
| Thullee | Jeypoor, I. |
| Thunnesir | Sirhind, I. |
| Thurora | Nagpoor, I. |
| Thurowlee | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Thutha | Punjab, I. |
| Thutteea | Furruckabad, I. |
| Thyloosa | N. Cachar, I. |
| Tiagur | S. Arcot, I. |
| Tibbee | Punjab, I. |
| Tihanaganj | Azimghur, I. |
| Tihlura | Jounpoor, I. |
| Tijara | Alwar, I. |
| Tikapar | N.W. Prov., I. |
| Tikaree | Behar, I. |
| Tilbegumpoor | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Tilhur | Shahjehanpoor, I |
| Tillaurah | Nepaul, I. |
| Tiloi | Salon, I. |
| Tilothoo | Shahabad, I. |
| Tilwara | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Tilwun | Khandeish, I. |
| Timboonree | Malwa, I. |
| Timboorney | Hyderabad, I. |
| Timery | N. Arcot, I. |
| Timla Fort | Almora, I. |
| Timmapooram | Hyderabad, I. |
| Timmerawn | Bhopal, I. |
| Timmerycota | India. |
| Tinara | Seuni, I. |
| Tindevanum | S. Arcot, I. |
| Tinnevelly | Madras, I. |
| Tiokla | Amherst, I. |
| Tiperah | Tiperah, I. |
| ———, C. | Bengal, I. |
| Tippachattram | Nellore, I. |
| Tira | Punjab, I. |
| Tiripunaitorai | Cochin, I. |
| Tirit | Cashmere, I. |
| Tirmium | Madras, I. |
| Tirooa | Furruckabad, I. |
| Tirouri | Sirhind, I. |
| Tirowan | Banda I. |
| Tirpavaunium | Madura, I. |
| Tirrupur | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Tirukovalur | S. Arcot, I. |
| Tiru Vadi | |
| Tiruvalur | Tanjore, I. |
| Tisar | Muttra, I. |
| Titahija | Dinajepoor, I. |
| Titulla | Sumbulpoor, I. |
| Toda | Jeypoor, I. |
| Toddicombit | Madura, I. |
| Toga | Punjab, I. |
| Tohanuh | Hurriana, I. |
| Toka | Ahmednuggur, I |
| Tokselghat | Nepaul, I. |
| Toljapoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Tenganur | S. Arcot, I. |
| Tongde | Cashmere, I. |
| Tongho | Pegu, I. |
| Tongso | Bhotan, I. |
| Tonk | Rajpootana, I. |
| Toobkehaugra | Bulloah, I. |
| Toolsea | Bhagulpoor, I. |
| Toolumba | Punjab, I. |
| Toomady | Masulipatam, I. |
| Toombgee | India. |
| Toomcoor | Mysore, I. |
| Toomsur | Nagpoor, I. |
| Toomulthulpoor | Nellore, I. |
| Toonee | Rajahmundry, I. |
| Toonga | Jeypoor, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Toonghawala | Punjab, I. |
| Toongla | Bhotan, I. |
| Tooravakira | Mysore, I. |
| Toorkeira | Khandeish, I. |
| Toosham | Hurriana, I. |
| Tora | Punjab, I. |
| Toragul | Belgaum, I. |
| Torbela | Punjab, I. |
| Toree | Jeypoor, I. |
| Toriore | Trichinopoly, I. |
| Torra | Nagpoor, I. |
| Toudan | Pegu, I. |
| Touveramcoorchy | Madura, I. |
| Towang | Bhotan, I. |
| Towarum | Madura, I. |
| Tranquebar | Tanjore, I. |
| Travancore | Travancore, I. |
| Tribennee | Jessore, I. |
| Trichangode | Salem, I. |
| Trichinopoly | Madras, I. |
| Tricolum | Malabar, I. |
| Triloknath | Cashmere, I. |
| Trimabroyenpatam | Tanjore, I. |
| Trimbuk | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Trimungalum | Madura, I. |
| Trincomalee | Ceylon, I. |
| Tring | E. Canada. |
| Trinomalee | S. Arcot, I. |
| Tripatoor | Madura, I. |
| Tripetty | N. Arcot, I. |
| Trippatur | Salem, I. |
| Tripunaitorai | Cochin, I. |
| Tritchindoor | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Tritrapundi | Tanjore, I. |
| Trittany | N. Arcot, I |
| Trivananellur | S. Arcot, I. |
| Trivandrum | Travancore, I. |
| Trivatoor | N. Arcot, I. |
| Trivelore | Chingleput, I. |
| Trivur | Masulipatam, I. |
| Trunulvasel | Tanjore, I. |
| Tubah | Jeypoor, I. |
| Tugra | Backergunje, I. |
| Tulehgaon | Poonah, I. |
| Tullagaon | Hyderabad, I. |
| Tullegaon | Nagpoor, I. |
| Tulloda | Khandeish, I. |
| Tullodee | Nagpoor, I. |
| Tulluck | Mysore, I. |
| Tulluckwarra | Guzerat, I. |
| Tulsipoor | Oude, I. |
| Tulwandee | Punjab, I. |
| Tumbang Kha | Burmah, I. |
| Tumlook | Midnapoor, I. |
| Tumloong | Sikhim, I. |
| Tumoo | Burmah, I. |
| Tuncaria | Broach, I. |
| Tunda | Dumoh, I. |
| Tungee | Punjab, I. |
| Tunguda | Guntoor, I. |
| Tungul | Sikhim, I. |
| Tupookra | Alwar, I. |
| Tuppul | Allyghur, I. |
| Turanna | Indore, I. |
| Turivakaray | Mysore, I. |
| Turkod | India. |
| Turkooah | Midnapoor, I. |
| Turkoolwa | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Turma | Bengal, I. |
| Turowlee | Muttra, I. |
| Turpoongy | Nagpoor, I. |
| Turrah | Guzerat, I. |
| Turranna | Indore, I. |
| Turrye | Hyderabad, I. |
| Turry Kaira | Mysore, I. |
| Turya | Nagpoor, I. |
| ———Soojun | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Tuttabar | Ramghur, I. |
| Tutwara | Gurhwal, I. |
| Tutwas | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Tyoor | Mysore, I. |
| Uanoolpoor | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Uchara | Rewah, I. |
| Uchnera | Agra, I. |
| Udellee | Ahmedabad, I. |
| Udepoor | Gwalior, I. |
| Udiamper | Cochin, I. |
| Ufzulgurh | Bijnour, I. |
| Ugoohully | Mysore, I. |
| Uhean | Amherst, I. |
| Uji | Goruckpoor, I. |
| Ukburpoor | Cawnpoor, I. |
| Ukhaliya | Nepaul, I. |
| Ukhta | Sarun, I. |
| Ulayi | Budaon, I. |
| Ullagauvery | India. |
| Ulleegunge | Bareilly, I. |
| Ullehpoor | Bijnour, I. |
| Ullynuggur | Madura, I. |
| Ulukdeo | Bareilly, I. |
| Umarawutty | Guntoor, I. |
| Umarpoor | Mynpooree, I. |
| Umballa | Sirhind, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Umbud | Hyderabad, I. |
| Umbuhtuh | Saharunpoor, I. |
| Umlah | Malwa, I. |
| Umrapoor | Guzerat, I. |
| Umrohah | Moradabad, I. |
| Umurgurh | Narbab, I. |
| Una | Natal. |
| Unao | |
| Undersool | Ahmednuggur, I |
| Unghha | Behar, I. |
| Unjengaum | India. |
| Unjunvel | Rutnageriah, I. |
| Unkola | N. Canara, I. |
| Unnoosoora | Pooree, I. |
| Unoula | India. |
| Untoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Uppael | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Urdapoor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Urdnoo | Guzerat, I. |
| Urereal | Purneah, I. |
| Uridachellum | S. Arcot, I. |
| Urmulla | Balasore, I. |
| Urnia | Indore, I. |
| Urrur | Travancore, I. |
| Urrvul | Cawnpuor, I. |
| Urseemaree | Nagpoor, I. |
| Urwul | Behar, I. |
| Usegah | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Uslana | Dumoh, I. |
| Usni | Futtehpoor, I. |
| Usudpoor | Budaon, I. |
| Usuri | Mysore, I. |
| Usya Mut | Sawuntwarree, I. |
| Utree | Behar, I. |
| Uttur | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Vadameam | Tanjore, I. |
| Vadasundoor | Madura, I. |
| Vaimbaur | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Vaipu | Cochin, I. |
| Vairawull | Guzerat, I. |
| Valal | Hyderabad, I. |
| Valam | Tanjore, I. |
| Valamputtu | Salem, I. |
| Valengoody | Madura, I. |
| Valetta | Malta. |
| Vallarapullai | Cochin, I. |
| Valoncurray | |
| Valoor | Salem, I. |
| Vamilapoora | Guzerat, I. |
| Vamulconda | |
| Vandivash | W. Indies. |
| Vaniambaddy | C. of Good Hope. |
| Veejova | Godwur, I. |
| Veeravarassum | Rajahmundry, I. |
| Veerawow | Hyderabad, I. |
| Veerumgaum | Ahmedabad, I. |
| Veesawudur | Guzerat, I. |
| Vellacoil | India. |
| Vellary Kyen | Malabar, I. |
| Vellore | N. Arcot, I. |
| Velungoor | Travancore, I. |
| Vencatigerry | N. Arcot, I. |
| Vencatigherry Droog | N. Arcot, I. |
| Venkatreddy-polliam | Cuddapah, I. |
| Venkitagherry | N. Arcot, I. |
| Verallimalli | Madura, I. |
| Verapoli | Cochin, I. |
| Verapully | Cuddapah, I. |
| Veyloor | Hyderabad, I. |
| Victoria | E. Canada. |
| Vieravandy | S. Arcot, I. |
| Vijayap | Nepaul, I. |
| Vikkur | Kurachee, I. |
| Vinchor | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Vingorla | Rutnagherry, I. |
| Vingur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Vinjoraee | Jessulmere, I. |
| Viraghottam | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Virduputty | Tinnevelly, I. |
| Virgnajung | Kumaon, I. |
| Virsunda | Punjab, I. |
| Vishnooprag | Gurhwal, I. |
| Vizagapatam | Madras, I. |
| Vizayroye | Masulipatam, I. |
| Volcondah | Trichinopoly, I. |
| Voodagoony | Mysore, I. |
| Vullarapullai | Cochin, I. |
| Vullupulum | S. Arcot, I. |
| Wace | Sattara, I. |
| Wadnapoor | Oude, I. |
| Wadona | Hyderabad, I. |
| Wageira | Guzerat, I. |
| Wagoolee | Poonah, I. |
| Wagru | Amherst, I. |
| Wagstun | Rutnageriah, I. |
| Walajahbad | Chingleput, I. |
| Wallajanuggur | N. Arcot, I. |
| Wallancboong | Nepaul, I. |
| Wallee | Godwur, I. |
| Walwa | Kotapoor, I. |
| Wambooree | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Wancaneer | Guzerat, I. |
| Wandipoor | Bhotan, I. |

| Name of Town. | Name of Colony. |
|---|---|
| Wanga Bazar | Hyderabad, I. |
| Wangee | Sattara, I. |
| Wanjee | Sholapoor, I. |
| Wardawan | Cashmere, I. |
| Wari | Sawuntwarre, I. |
| Warnair | Jodhpoor, I. |
| Warragaum | Hyderabad, I. |
| Warrakunchairy | Malabar, I. |
| Warsa | India. |
| Warungul | Hyderabad, I. |
| Warwick | W. Canada. |
| Waseeota | Sattara, I. |
| Wastara | Mysore, I. |
| Watar | Sattara, I. |
| Waulor | S. Australia |
| Wauncaneer | Guzerat, I. |
| Waundia | Cutch, I. |
| Wazeerabad | Punjab, I. |
| Wazirganj | Oude, I. |
| Weamungalum | Malabar, I. |
| Weenen | Natal. |
| Weer | Bhurtpoor, I. |
| Weinboke | Amherst, I. |
| Wer | Bolundshuhur, I. |
| Weseerpoor | B. N. America. |
| Whitton | E. Canada. |
| William | W. Canada. |
| Wirleltivoe | Ceylon, I. |
| Wojerabad | Hyderabad, I. |
| Womolur | Salem, I. |
| Won | Indore, I. |
| Woony | Hyderabad, I. |
| Woregaum | |
| Wozur | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Wuddakurry | Malabar, I. |
| Wuddamurry | Hyderabad, I. |
| Wudjar Curroor | Bellary, I. |
| Wudoo | |
| Wudwan | Guzerat, I. |
| Wueekchong | Muneepoor, I. |
| Wuggun | Shikarpoor, I. |
| Wuhoah | Punjab, I. |
| Wulendurpett | S. Arcot, I. |
| Wultair | Vizagapatam, I. |
| Wunn | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Wunvarly | Hyderabad, I. |
| Wurneir | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Wurr | Cutch, I |
| Wurrodah | Hyderabad, I. |
| Wurwanea | Guzerat, I. |
| Wututur | Trichinopoly, I. |
| Wuzera | Ahmednuggur, I. |
| Wuzergunje | Budaon, I. |
| Wyndham | W. Australia. |
| Wyragur, C. | Nagpoor, I. |
| Yailagherry | India. |
| Yainur | Salem, I. |
| Yajgo | Burmah, I. |
| Yambesee | Hyderabad, I. |
| Yandaboo | Burmah, I. |
| Yang | Muneepoor, I. |
| Yaphoo | Ceylon, I. |
| Yardwar | Belgaum, I. |
| Yaroo | Punjab, I. |
| Yass | N. S. Wales. |
| Yatlakee | Bellary, I. |
| Yavenesuren | Madura, I. |
| Yaygee | Pegu, I. |
| Yeddapaudy | Salem, I. |
| Yeddiacottah | Madura, I. |
| Yedtorra | Mysore, I. |
| Yehyapoor | Sarun, I. |
| Yekali | Hyderabad, I. |
| Yeldoorty | Kurnool, I. |
| Yeljal | Hyderabad, I. |
| Yellagode | Kurnool, I. |
| Yellanoor | India. |
| Yellapoor | N. Canara, I. |
| Yelluander | Mysore, I. |
| Yelwall | |
| Yemhatti | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Yemwuntoung | Burmah, I. |
| Yennicul Goota | Mysore, I. |
| Yeowah | Burmab, I. |
| Yernagoodem | Masulipatam, I. |
| Yewur | India. |
| Yey Mullay | Malabar, I. |
| Yinkolu | Guntoor, I. |
| Yirodu | Coimbatoor, I. |
| Youngai | Tavoy, I. |
| Youn Zeray | Pegu, I. |
| Zabbar | Malta. |
| Zaffarghur | Hyderabad, I. |
| Zafurabad | Jounpoor, I. |
| Zahoorabad | Ghazeepoor, I. |
| Zeerapoor | Holkar, I. |
| Zoiya | Amherst, I. |
| Zongri | Sikhim, I. |
| Zoorhur Ghaut | N. W. Prov., I. |
| Zophaling | Assam, I. |
| Zorawurgunje | Bulloah, I. |
| Zummawala | Punjab, I. |
| Zurkeyl | Shikarpoor, I. |
| Zurrico | Malta. |
| Zynpore | Cawnpoor, I. |


UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
D 000 473 005 7